
Peter Charanis

DR. PETER CHARANIS, Voorhees Distinguished Professor of History Emeritus, of Rutgers University died on Saturday, March 23 after a short illness. The funeral service was held at Saint George Greek Orthodox Church, Piscataway, New Jersey with Rev. Anthony Pappas, pastor, officiating, assisted by Rev. Dr. D. Constantelos.

In addition to many relatives, friends, colleagues, and students, the president, deans and members of Rutgers' faculty attended to pay their respects to a distinguished man, teacher, and scholar.

Born in 1908 on the island of Lemnos, Dr. Charanis emigrated to the United States at the age of twelve. He attended New Brunswick High School where he was described by his teachers as a superior student. One of them commented, "He is a brilliant but dependable, earnest, industrious, and possessed of a very attractive personality."

He attended Rutgers College, receiving his history degree in 1931 and his Ph.D. in 1935 from the University of Wisconsin under Alexander A. Vasiliev. He continued post-doctoral studies in Belgium under Henri Gregoire. Dr. Charanis joined the faculty of Rutgers in 1938 and became full professor in 1949. In 1963 he was designated Voorhees Distinguished Professor.

Under Charanis, Rutgers became one of the most important centers of Byzantine Studies in the United States. In cooperation with Rutgers University Press, he developed the prestigious Rutgers Byzantine Series, a series of scholarly volumes on various aspects of Byzantine history and civilization.

For several years Dr. Charanis served on the Board of Scholars of Dumbarton Oaks Center of Byzantine Studies of Harvard University, the Board of Trustees of Holy Cross Greek Orthodox School of Theology, and the Advisory Editorial Board of *The Greek Orthodox Theological Review*.

The recipient of several academic awards and distinctions, Dr. Charanis was the author of more than seventy books, monographs and

scholarly papers, and numerous reviews and editorial articles. He leaves his wife, Madelaine, daughter, Alexandra, and son, Anthony.

Peter Charanis was eulogized by Rev. Dr. D. Constantelos, one of his students, as follows:

On occasions like this, one is called upon to deliver words of sympathy and consolation when one's feelings seem to dictate silence rather than words, "silence before the incomprehensible," as the Byzantine mystic, Evagrios of Pontos, would advise. Even if time allowed to eulogize at length the man and his work, I would be afraid lest Peter would snap back asking me: "What is your source? Have you examined the evidence carefully? Is what you are saying publishable?" We all know that Peter Charanis was a Byzantinist but he disliked Byzantine hyperbole! I will be brief.

On behalf of my colleagues and former fellow-students under Charanis, I wish to pay a *phoron times*, a tribute of honor, to a beloved and respected teacher and mentor. The concluding verse of the Byzantine funeral service which we have just conducted reads, "*aionia autou he mneme*"—"may his memory be eternal." There is little doubt that Peter's memory will live on for many generations to come. For *mneme* means more than memory, or remembrance, it also means record. And his record as a teacher, scholar, and especially as a human being has earned him a perpetual memorial. Like Socrates of old, Peter advised his undergraduate students: "Think, question your assumptions, know yourself, seek reason and wisdom, pursue knowledge and virtue rather than wealth and power." He was especially proud of his graduate students and in particular those who survived his rigorous, disciplined, and exacting demands and earned their doctorate under his guidance. But Peter was also a meticulous, thorough, and cautious scholar. His scholarly work, too, has earned him an *aionia mneme*. Several years ago, on our way to Mt. Holyoke College to visit his beloved Alexandra, he said to me: "I would rather write a few solid, original small monographs than several big books. That Greek of Alexandria, what was his name, ah, yes, Kallimachos, was right when he said, '*Mega biblion, mega kakon.*' " Peter wrote several first-rate monographs and many important studies, and as far as I am concerned he delivered the ultimate word on that ugly question concerning the ethnographic changes in medieval Greece, a question raised as a result of more personal prejudices than historical evidence. Peter's scholarly record has been treated in an article by Dr. John Barker, his first-born of the teacher-scholars he trained

to carry on his work (*Byzantine Studies/Études Byzantine*, vol. 6.1-2, 1979). No need for a rehearsal here. One thing is certain: there is no major work in Byzantine studies of the last thirty years in which Peter's authority is not invoked. His contributions to Byzantine studies in the United States in particular are of inestimable value and his dedication to quality education paradigmatic.

I can think of no better words in order to describe Peter Charanis, the man, the teacher, the scholar, than his own. Upon receiving an honorary doctorate by the University of Thessalonike on March 14, 1972, Peter advised the young faculty there as follows:

You write, as you must, books and learned articles, but you believe also, I think, that your first obligation is towards your students, determined to train not only your successors, but to form educated men and women so that the quality of life which characterizes a truly civilized people, and among those essential ingredients we must include respect for human dignity, freedom of thought and expression, and the cultivation of independent judgment, may be enhanced in your land.

A meaningful testament for students and teachers alike. Indeed Peter himself possessed these three characteristics: he was a cultivated and dignified human being, a concerned teacher, and a dedicated scholar. All three have earned him an *aionia mneme*.

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A Comparison of the Monastic Experience of Byzantine Men and Women*

ALICE-MARY M. TALBOT

IN COMPARING THE MONASTIC EXPERIENCE of Byzantine men and women, let me begin with two basic monastic institutions, the nunnery and monastery. First of all, it seems clear that nunneries were less numerous than their male counterpart. A variety of evidence leads to this conclusion: for example, the extraordinary discrepancy between the numbers of monks and nuns recorded in the *Prosopographisches Lexikon der Palaiologenzeit*.¹ In the first four fascicles 2035 monks and abbots are listed, but only 84 nuns and abbesses; in other words, only 4% of the members of religious communities listed in the *PLP* are female! Obviously one explanation of these statistics is the under-recording of women in medieval historical sources; thus, a sample based on fascicle 3 of the *PLP* indicates that of the total 1750 listings in this volume, only 144, or 8%, were female.

Statistical evidence on the numbers of male and female monasteries in the empire should be more reliable, since these were institutions which engaged in recorded financial and legal transactions, notwithstanding the sex of their inhabitants. But here, too, caution is necessary, since there are significant differences in the figures for monasteries in Constantinople and for provincial monasteries. Thus, Janin's survey of monasteries of Constantinople² indicates a relatively high proportion of nunneries for the Palaiologan period, 30 convents, compared with

*This article is a revised version of a paper presented at the Byzantine Studies Conference. It has greatly benefited from the comments and suggestions of Alexander Kazhdan and Michael McCormick.

¹ Ed. E. Trapp (Vienna, 1976-).

² R. Janin, *La géographie ecclésiastique de l'empire byzantin. I. Le siège de CP et le patriarcat oecuménique 3. Les églises et les monastères* (Paris, 1969); hereafter cited as Janin, *EglisesCP*

55 male monasteries, or 35% of the total. But these figures for the capital in its final centuries are misleading, and cannot be extrapolated to other centuries, or to the empire as a whole. Thus, a tally of the monasteries of Constantinople during all eleven centuries of its history reveals 77 nunneries and 270 male monasteries, that is, only 22% of the institutions were female. Perusal of Janin's second volume on monasteries, a partial survey of the provinces,³ reveals a startling paucity of nunneries outside the capital, only 17 over a period of eleven centuries, compared with 225 male monasteries (i.e. 7%)! Granted, Janin's provincial survey is by no means complete,⁴ since it omits Athos, Meteora, Mistra, indeed most of Greece and central Asia Minor, but I suspect that any continuation of Janin's survey would reveal the same phenomenon.

Table 1 graphically illustrates the rarity of provincial convents. Janin lists five nunneries for Thessalonike, the second city of the empire, but no other region has more than three. And if one takes into account the life span of each convent, it becomes evident that at any given time a region supported only one or two convents. With this perspective, it is not at all surprising to find that out of the *typika* which survive for Byzantine monasteries, only one in eight is destined for a nunnery. Thus of the 52 *typika* included in the Dumbarton Oaks monastic documents translation project, just six represent convents: one Komnenian, and five Palaiologan.⁵

While many of the most famous centers of male monasticism were located in the countryside, especially at holy mountains such as Athos, Auxentios, Olympos, Galesios and Latros, Byzantine convents were primarily an urban phenomenon; it is apparently no mere coincidence that five of the six *typika* preserved for nunneries were for Constantinopolitan establishments.

How can one explain this striking disparity between the capital and provinces, and between city and countryside? Certainly one factor was the prohibition or discouragement of nunneries at the celebrated monastic centers of the provinces. Athos and Meteora were the most rigorous in the protection of their monks from any contact with the

³ R. Janin, *Les églises et les monastères des grands centres byzantins* (Paris, 1975); hereafter cited as Janin, *EglisesCentres*

⁴ For critical review of Janin's provincial survey, see C. Mango, *BZ* 71 (1978) 113-16, and P. Magdalino, *REB* 35 (1977) 277-85 (with regard to Thessalonike). Cf. also A. Bryer, "The Late Byzantine Monastery in Town and Countryside," *Studies in Church History* 16 (1979) 220 n 3

⁵ They are the convents of the Theotokos Kecharitomene (twelfth century), Lips and Kosmas/Damianos (thirteenth century), Christ Philanthropos and Bebaia Elpis (fourteenth century), and Theotokos at Baionaia (ca 1400)

female sex,⁶ but the other holy mountains also tried to shield their monks and hermits from the sight of women. Latros had no nunneries at all; Galesios, Auxentios and Olympos each had one, which often served the purpose of housing female relatives of monks. The convent of Trichinarea on Mount Saint Auxentios was established in the fifth century about a mile from the saint's hermitage, which the nuns were permitted to visit twice a week.⁷ In later centuries the convent maintained close and friendly ties with the monks of the monastery of Saint Auxentios, to such an extent that in the eighth century the nun Anna could be accused of illicit relations with Saint Stephen the Younger.⁸ This was just the type of scandal which could be avoided on Mount Athos. One might note that Stephen's mother and sister became nuns at Trichinarea after he entered the monastery of Saint Auxentios, a not uncommon occurrence.⁹ Near Galesios, at some remove from the mountain itself, was the nunnery of Eupraxia, named after the mother of Saint Lazaros, also designed to receive women who decided to join brothers or sons or fathers in monastic life.¹⁰

Another factor in the paucity of rural nunneries may have been the founder's fear for the safety of nuns if they were not protected by city walls. The dangers for rural monasteries were real; there are numerous examples of Arab or Turkish attacks on monastic communities in Asia Minor and Greece.¹¹ One piece of evidence for the special perils of convents is the testimony of Leo, bishop of Argos, about the nunnery he founded at Areia near Nauplion in the mid-twelfth century. In a memorandum dated 1143, he noted that he had become concerned about the 36 nuns in his new foundation, because of the danger from

⁶ Athanasios' *typikon* for the Lavra on Athos even forbade the presence of female animals on the Holy Mountain; cf. Ph Meyer, *Die Haupturkunden für die Geschichte der Athoskloster* (Leipzig, 1894), p. 113.15-16; see also chrysobull of Manuel II (1406), which mentions the exclusion of women from Athos; D. Papachryssanthou, *Actes de Prôtaton [=Archives de l'Athos, 7]* (Paris, 1975), no. 13 71-74. The fourteenth century rule of Saint Athanasios of Meteora also strictly excluded women, the monks of Meteora were not to give food to a woman even if she were dying of hunger (N. Bees, "Συμβολὴ εἰς τὴν ιστορίαν τῶν μονῶν τῶν Μετεώρων," *Βυζαντίς* 1 (1909) 251 and 259 (ἀβατον εἶναι γυναιξὶ τὰ κύκλῳ τοῦ Μετεώρου)

⁷ *Vita s. Auxentii*, PG 114.1432-36; cf. Janin, *EglisesCentres*, pp 45-47.

⁸ *Vita s. Stephani Junioris*, PG 100.1129B

⁹ *Ibid.*, 1093C-D

¹⁰ *Vita s. Lazari*, AASS, Nov. 3.558, 570 (cpp 164, 201).

¹¹ Thus, St. Euthymios the Younger was forced by Arab raids to flee from Neoi to Athos, and from Athos to Brastamou in the Chalkidike; L. Petit, "Vie et office de st. Euthyme le Jeune," *Revue de l'Orient Chrétien* 8 (1903) 189-91. Christodoulos of Patmos had to move on several occasions because of Turkish raids; E. Vranouses, *Τὰ ἀγιολογικὰ κείμενα τοῦ δούλου Χριστοδούλου* (Athens, 1966), pp. 3, 60, 93-94 and *passim*. The monks of Athos were particularly vulnerable to attack by Turkish pirates; cf., for example, the *Life* of St. Athanasios of Meteora, ed. Bees, pp. 243-44.

pirates. "For throughout the year our coastal waters have been swarming with pirates, who plunder everything with total license, and commit any outrage they wish against anyone who falls into their hands. Thus a not ignoble fear has disturbed me, lest this convent, which is vulnerable to attack by pirates because of its proximity to the sea, be destroyed by them, and lest, in addition to the loss of monastic property, the nuns be the victims of rape, which is a special delight for men who once and for all have cast aside their fear of God and embraced the life of a pirate."¹² Therefore, Leo moved the nuns to a new convent which he constructed further away from the sea, at a place called Bouze. Subsequently he established 36 monks in the former convent at Areia.

I would also suggest that a significant factor in the preponderance of nunneries in Constantinople must have been the circumstances of their foundation. Most convents were established by women of aristocratic or imperial background, as refuges for themselves and members of their family, and as a family mausoleum.¹³ Since these families were concentrated in the capital, it is not surprising that most convents were located there. The norm for female monastic life was an urban, cenobitic monastery, in contrast to monks who espoused a much greater variety of monastic experience.

There is not sufficient data to reach a firm conclusion about the relative sizes of monasteries and nunneries.¹⁴ By law the minimum number of monks or nuns permitted in a monastery was three.¹⁵ The available figures suggest that monasteries could range from a small establishment with only seven monks (Attaleiates) to vast complexes housing hundreds of monks (see Table 2). Very large monasteries were more common in the early and middle centuries of Byzantium; the Lavra of Athanasios on Athos, for example, is said to have contained 700

¹² *Hypomnema* of Leo, ed. G.A. Choras, *'H ἀγία μονὴ Ἀρείας Ναυπλίου* (Athens, 1975), p. 240

¹³ Thus, the Dowager Empress Theodora Palaiologina arranged for the burial of herself, her mother, and her children in the church of the Prodromos at Lips; cf. *Typikon*, ed. H. Delehaye, *Deux typica byzantins de l'époque des Paléologues* (Brussels, 1921), p. 130, hereafter cited as Delehaye, *Deux typica*. Theodora Synadene founded a convent of Bebaia Elpis in part as a home for her daughter Euphrosyne, cf. *Typikon*, ed. Delehaye, *Deux typica*, p. 25

¹⁴ Most of the available figures on numbers of monks and nuns have been compiled by R. Janin, "Le monachisme byzantin au moyen age. commende et typica (X^e-XIV^e siècle)," *REB* 22 (1964) 29-31, and A. Kazhdan, "Vizantijskij monastyr' XI-XII vv kak sotsial'naya gruppa," *VizVrem* 31 (1971) 52.

¹⁵ *Novel* 14 of Leo VI, ed. P. Noailles—A. Dain, *Les nouvelles de Léon VI le Sage* (Paris, 1944), pp. 57-58. The minimum figure was increased to 8-10 monks by Basil II; cf. PG 117.625D-628A

monks in the mid-eleventh century.¹⁶ In the final centuries of the empire the typical size varied between about 20 and 50 monks. Likewise nunneries might hold as few as 24 nuns or as many as 100, averaging about 45 in the later period.

The population of a monastery was directly related to its resources, to the size of its endowment. Founders often stipulated that if a monastery was able to increase its property holdings, then it would be able to accommodate more monks or nuns.¹⁷ Since the problem of the relative wealth of monasteries is beyond the scope of this paper, I will cite only the obvious fact that there were numerous monasteries and not a few convents with extensive landed estates. At the same time many monastic institutions, both male and female, lacked sufficient endowment to maintain their physical complex, so that the buildings deteriorated and eventually had to be abandoned, unless a wealthy benefactor came to the rescue with funds for restoration.

There are some hints in fourteenth century sources that convents tended to be especially needy, and were therefore singled out for charitable donations. Thus, during the famine of 1305-06, the patriarch Athanasios I ordered a disciple to distribute thirty measures of wheat "to all the female convents, and particularly to the poor ones, since they do not have a sufficient livelihood from properties or other revenues, but [are supported] only by the work of their own hands; and there are many of these in the Queen of Cities."¹⁸ Another fourteenth-century patriarch, Isidore, specified in his will that his property should be distributed to the poor of Constantinople, including "the poor nuns".¹⁹

It seems reasonable to conclude then that, on the whole, Byzantine nunneries were fewer in number than male monasteries, were less well-endowed, and concentrated in the urban environment of Constantinople.

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Double monasteries

In the early and late centuries of Byzantium, there are instances of

¹⁶ *Typikon* of Constantine Monomachos, ed. D. Papachryssanthou. *Actes du Prôtaton*, no. 8.94.

¹⁷ See, for example, P. Gautier, ed., *La Diataxis de Michel Attaliat* (Paris, 1981), 59.682-84, 692-703; *Typikon* of Kecharitomene, ed. F. Miklosich-I. Müller, *Acta et diplomata graeca medi aevi* (Vienna, 1887), 5, p. 337; hereafter cited as MM.

¹⁸ *Vita Athanasii* by Theoktistos the Stoudite, ed. A. Papadopoulos-Kerameus, *Zapiski istoriko-filologičeskago fakul'teta Imperatorskago S.-Peterburgskago Universiteta* 76 (1905) 43 (hereafter cited as *Theoxtisti Vita Athanasi*). The will of Theodore Sarantinos (ca. 1326) provided for charitable donations to poor convents and nuns; cf. G. Theocharides, *Mía diaθήkē kaī mía díkē þuζantinῆ* (Thessalonike, 1962), p. 24.138.

¹⁹ MM 1, 293.

monks and nuns living together in a double monastery,²⁰ that is, a monastery housing two separate but adjacent communities of men and women, under the direction of the same superior, and supported by the same sources of income. Because of the dangers posed by such close proximity of monks and nuns, double monasteries were officially prohibited in Byzantium, as, for example, by *Novel* 123 of Justinian (546). The inefficacy of his legislation is demonstrated by the continuing existence of double monasteries at the time of the Second Council of Nikaia (787), which forbade any future foundations of this sort (canon 20). Ca. 810 the patriarch Nikephoros went a step further and closed down all double monasteries.²¹

The Palaiologan period saw a resurgence of these institutions. Some of the foundations, such as the monastery of Philanthropos Soter established in Constantinople by Irene-Eulogia Choumnaina,²² were designed so that the family of the founder could remain close even in monastic seclusion. The patriarch Athanasios attacked this practice,²³ but is known to have founded two double monasteries himself, Nea Mone on Ganos,²⁴ and the monastery on the hill of Xerolophos in the capital.

It is this latter institution, the so-called “monastery of Athanasios,” that is best known to us of the double monasteries, thanks to an instructive document of the year 1383, a *sigillion* of the patriarch Neilos I. It had been Athanasios’ dream that this would be a home for “perfect men and women, since they had reached such a peak of immunity from passion . . . there should be at the same time union and separation of the men and women, so that they would each have their own living area, and each side would live separately, but that the women would be subject to the monks, and have the same diet and way of life, and be obedient to one abbot, and their estates should be held in common, and their food in common; and the men had to provide for their daily food.”²⁵

²⁰On double monasteries, see J. Pargoire, “Les monastères doubles chez les Byzantins,” *EO* 9 (1906) 21-25; Janin, “Le monachisme byzantin,” pp. 42-44; H.-G Beck, *Kirche und theologische Literatur im byzantinischen Reich* (Munich, 1977), p. 138.

²¹*Novel* 123, cp. 36, ed. Schoell-Kroll, *Corpus Iuris Civilis*, 3 (Berlin, 1928), pp. 619-20; hereafter cited as *CIC* Canon 20 of Nikaia. G. A. Rhalles-M. Potles, *Σύνταγμα τῶν θείων καὶ λεπῶν κανόνων* (Athens, 1852), 2, p. 637. *Vita Nicephori*, ed. C. de Boor, *Nicephori archiepiscopi Constantinopolitani Opuscula historica* (Leipzig, 1880), pp. 159-60.

²²Robert H. Trone, “A Constantinopolitan Double Monastery of the Fourteenth Century: the Philanthropic Saviour,” *Byzantine Studies/Etudes Byzantines* 10 (1983) 81-87.

²³Unpublished *ἔνταλμα*, *Vat. gr* 2219, fol. 137^V, V. Laurent, *Les regestes des actes du patriarchat de Constantinople. I Les actes des patriarches. Fasc. IV. Les regestes de 1208 à 1309* (Paris, 1971), no. 1747 (hereafter cited as Laurent, *Regestes* 4).

²⁴*Theoctisti Vita Athanasii*, p. 17

²⁵MM 2, 80-81

One can see here two crucial differences between monks and nuns living in the same institution: the women were subordinate to the men, and the men provided the food. It is also perhaps significant that the monks outnumbered the nuns, two to one.²⁶

After Athanasios' death, the ideal regime he envisaged broke down, because the nuns allegedly did no work at all and the monks neglected the fields. Therefore Neilos decided to divide the monastery into two separate institutions, and made equitable allocation of the monastic estates based on the 2:1 ratio of monks to nuns.

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Conversion of monasteries into nunneries and vice-versa

The physical structures of convents and monasteries were virtually identical, so that a nunnery could be converted into a male monastery, and vice-versa. Indeed this was not an uncommon occurrence,²⁷ although the Church prohibited the practice. In addition to the case of the nunnery at Areia, cited above, one can mention the monastery of the Theotokos at Didymoteichon. A synodal decision of the mid-fourteenth century informs us that this monastery was originally inhabited by monks; but when the complex fell into decline and was abandoned, nuns moved in. They, too, were unable to maintain the monastery, and by 1340 its buildings were on the verge of collapse, and most of the nuns had moved to other convents. The synod agreed that the monastery should revert to its original status as a residence for monks, "since it is forbidden by the Church of God for venerable monasteries to alter their original condition, and for convents to be transformed into monasteries, and vice-versa."²⁸

At about the same time the synod also ruled on the unusual situation of the monastery of the Theotokos of Maroules in Constantinople. Phokas Maroules had founded a nunnery which he intended as a refuge for his wife and daughters. After his death, however, his son, the falconer John Synadenos, forged a document in which Maroules was purported to have stated that he wished to transform the convent into a monastery. The conversion was effected, the mother was pacified by being provided with two cells and a chapel in the neighborhood. But when the son died prematurely, the mother was stricken with remorse and confessed all to the synod, which restored the monastery

²⁶MM 2, 81.

²⁷E.g., the monastery of Theotokos Panachranton was converted to a nunnery, and the nunnery of Myrelaion was converted to a male monastery (Janin, *EglisesCP*, pp. 214-15, 352).

²⁸MM 1, 198; PG 152.1238-39.

to nuns.²⁹

The swiftness of these transformations proves that there was little or no difference in the layout of male and female monasteries, with perhaps one exception. When the nunnery of Maroules was converted to use by monks, the frescoes of female saints that adorned the refectory were replaced with images of male saints!³⁰

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When we turn from the basic institutions to a comparison of the monastic experience of monks and nuns, it is necessary to keep in mind the sources of one's information. The *typika*, or foundation charters of monasteries, and the homilies and letters of monastic leaders describe an ideal for monastic life, the goals to which monks and nuns should aspire. This ideal must be compared and contrasted with the realities of monastic life, as portrayed in saints' lives, synodal acts, and historical narrative.

Monastic vocation

Men and women adopted the monastic habit for many of the same reasons. In the preambles to *typika*, founders stressed their gratitude to God for the blessings they had enjoyed, their intention to provide a refuge for themselves or other family members, and their desire to establish a monastic church where relatives could be buried and remembered with commemorative services. Some men and women had a true vocation from early youth; others took monastic vows in later life in thanksgiving for miraculous healing, or for consolation in the crisis of bereavement, illness or old age.³¹ Saint Philotheos the Athonite and his brother entered a monastery to escape the Turkish *devshirme*,³² Mark of Corinth to escape a wicked stepmother.³³ Saint Elias Spelaiotes fled the world because his fingers were severely damaged in a childhood accident.³⁴ Some women, like the princess Eudokia, daughter of Constantine VIII, became a nun because of a disfiguring illness, probably smallpox,³⁵ which might have doomed her to

²⁹MM 1, 221-26; PG 152 1256-60

³⁰MM 1, 222, PG 152 1258A

³¹See A.-M. Talbot, "Late Byzantine Nuns. By Choice or Necessity?", *ByzForschungen* 9 (1983) 00-00, for discussion of some of the reasons why women took the veil

³²*Vita s. Philothei*, ed. B. Papouli, *Sudostforschungen* 22 (1963) 274

³³Sphrantzes, *Chronicon minus* 26.5 (ed. V. Grecu, *Georgios Sphrantzes. Memorii, 1401-1477* [Bucharest, 1966], 68)

³⁴*Vita s. Eliae Spel.*, *AASS Sept. 3* 852DE.

³⁵M. Psellos, *Chronographia*, 2 5 (ed. E. Renaud [Paris, 1926], 1, pp. 27-28)

spinsterhood; others retired to the convent to escape an unhappy marriage.³⁶ In virtually all cases, the Byzantine monastery was a refuge, a haven from the cares of this life, where pious men and women found spiritual and material sustenance, while awaiting the joyfully anticipated life to come.

The masculine ideal of monastic life

The procedures for the novitiate and taking the monastic habit varied from one monastery to another, but there does not seem to be any significant difference between the rules of male and female monasteries. The *typika* for both monasteries and convents recommend a life of prayer and work, and emphasize the communal aspects of monasticism. What is noteworthy is that the ideal ascetic life, of struggle versus temptation and sin, was always described with male metaphors, a tradition going back at least to John Chrysostom in the fourth century.³⁷ The successful ascetic nun is compared with an athlete contending fearlessly in the arena; an abbess is likened to a general, leading her nuns to battle against the demons that threatened them, or a physician that healed nuns with ailing souls.³⁸ The ideal for a nun was to rise above her feminine frailty and assume masculine qualities. Particularly striking is the case of Elisabeth the Thaumaturge, who is cited by her hagiographer as one of the saintly women who could "transform feminine weakness into manly resolve."³⁹ She was an abbess of the convent of Saint George in Constantinople who emulated the dragon-slaying patron saint of her nunnery. For when the nunnery was given an estate that harbored a fearful dragon, the resolute abbess, armed only with a cross, slew the beast by spitting on his head and trampling him with her feet!⁴⁰

³⁶E.g. the wife of Kyprianos of Thessalonike, cf. Sphrantzes, 18.3 (ed. Grecu, 32); Hypomone Kalothetina (MM 2, 238ff.); Eudokia Komnene (Zonaras [Bonn ed.]), 3, 739.13-18

³⁷Cf. Elizabeth A. Clark "Ascetic Renunciation and Feminine Advancement," *Anglican Theological Review* 63 (1981) 245 and n. 38; *ibid.*, *Jerome, Chrysostom and Friends* (New York, 1979), pp. 12, 15, 19, 55-57.

³⁸*Athlete*: cf. Chrysostom, *Hom. 13 Eph.*, 3 (PG 62.98); *Ep. 6, 1* (PG 52.599); *Hom. 1 Macc.*, 2 (PG 50.619); *Vita s. Theodorae Thess.*, ed. E. Kurtz, *Des Klerikers Gregorios Bericht über Leben, Wunderthaten und Translation der hl. Theodora von Thessalonich nebst der Metaphrase des Johannes Staurakios. Zapiski I Akademii nauk 8. ser. po istoriko-filologicheskomu obshchestvu*, v. 6, no 1 (St. Petersburg, 1902), 22.37-23.2 *General or soldier*. Chrysostom, *In S. Barlaam*, 4 (PG 50.681); *Typikon of Bebaia Elpis*, ed. Delehaye, p. 35. *Physician*: *Typikon of Bebaia Elpis*, ed. Delehaye, p. 37

³⁹F. Halkin, "Sainte Elisabeth d'Héraclée, abbesse à Constantinople," *AnalBoll* 91 (1973) 251.

⁴⁰*Ibid.*, p. 259

In the early centuries of Byzantium, some nuns, the so-called “transvestite monks,” went so far as to disguise themselves as men. Evelyn Patlagean has theorized that the origins of transvestitism are to be found in the gnostic tradition that “every woman who makes herself male will enter into the Kingdom of Heaven.”⁴¹ The motivation for male disguise was varied and complex: a desire to be in the same monastery as a male relative (Saint Marina),⁴² an expedient to avoid detection by a relative,⁴³ or, for the hermitess, a method of securing her safety in remote regions infested by brigands or wandering lecherous monks.⁴⁴ On the other hand, some women were consciously seeking to deny their femininity and to transcend sexual identification as a way better to ensure their personal salvation. These women no doubt rejoiced when, on account of their extreme asceticism and meager diet, they lost so much weight that their menstrual periods ceased and their breasts withered away.⁴⁵

The phenomenon of the “transvestite monk” disappears after the ninth century, but the tradition remained that the nun’s goal was to overcome the natural weakness of her sex, and assume masculine characteristics. The superior of the nunnery of Sure Hope received the following admonition from its foundress: “Forget our feminine weakness, and for the most part ‘gird your loins’, if not as a man, at least in a manly fashion. Assume a manly and masculine temperament, brace up yourself as best you can.”⁴⁶ Matthew of Ephesos wrote in a similar vein to Irene-Eulogia Choumnaina, recently bereft of her spiritual advisor, Theoleptos of Philadelphia, and urged her to stop acting like a woman, and to show instead her previous “masculine spirit” (ἀρρενωπόν).⁴⁷ The highest achievement of a Byzantine nun was to renounce or transcend her femininity; thus a hagiographer could

⁴¹Cf. *Gospel of Thomas*, *Logion* 114, cited by E. Patlagean, “L’histoire de la femme déguisée en moine et l’évolution de la sainteté féminine à Byzance,” *Studi Medievali*, ser. 3, 17 (1976) 607.

⁴²For the life of St. Marina, see L. Clugnet, *Vie et office de Ste Marine*, *Bibliothèque Orientale* 8 (Paris, 1905).

⁴³For examples, see Patlagean, “La femme déguisée,” p. 605

⁴⁴The early Christian hermitesses were occasionally the victims of attack in their isolated retreats, we read, for example, in the *Historia Monachorum in Aegypto* of a brigand who attacked a tomb where a nun lived as a solitary; another consecrated virgin narrowly escaped being raped by brigands (ed. A.J. Festugière [Brussels, 1961], 10.4 (p. 76.21-23) and 14.4 (p. 103.15-17).

⁴⁵Cf. Patlagean, pp. 605-06.

⁴⁶*Typikon of Bebaia Elpis*, ed. Delehaye, p. 34.

⁴⁷L. Previale, “Due monodie inedite di Matteo di Efeso,” *BZ* 41 (1941) 28.22; καὶ ἀνδρεῖον ἐν γυναιξὶν ἐπιδειξαμένη φρόνημα

write that nuns came to the double monastery of Athanasios on Mount Ganos to "become like men."⁴⁸

Monastic administration and management

In general the rules of the *typika* for convent administration resemble those for male monasteries. One finds the same twofold division into choir sisters or brothers, and those responsible for housekeeping duties. The officials were the same, including a superior, steward (or *oikonomos*), cellarar and treasurer. But already some differences emerge, in that the nuns were not always deemed capable of full management of their affairs.⁴⁹ In some convents, e.g. Lips and Bouze, the position of steward was held by a man, rather than a nun; furthermore the superior of the male monastery at Areia was permitted to supervise the male steward at the affiliated nunnery, the implication being that the mother superior was not competent to take full responsibility for his supervision.⁵⁰ In addition, each convent usually had a lay trustee or guardian (the *ephoros*) to keep a watchful eye on the affairs of the convent. As the dowager empress Theodora Palaiologina stated in her introduction to the *typikon* of Lips, "women of a gentle and weak nature . . . need strong protection, inasmuch as they are accustomed to staying at home and the silence which is most appropriate for women."⁵¹ In cases where the *ephoreia* of a monastery was hereditary, it would sometimes devolve upon a woman in the absence of a male heir. Attaleiates noted in his *typikon* that a man was always to be preferred to a woman as a guardian;⁵² if indeed it should happen

⁴⁸ *Theoctisti Vita Athanasii*, p. 17. It must be acknowledged that there are some indications of a special "feminine consciousness"; thus, nuns were urged to read the Lives of female saints (*Typikon* of Bebaia Elpis, ed. Delehaye, 35-36), and regard them as "living images" and "efficacious and inspiring figures." A number of manuscripts devoted only to lives of female saints have been preserved, and were obviously designed for convent use; cf. Ann Arbor 50 (S. de Ricci-W.J. Wilson, *Census of Medieval and Renaissance Manuscripts in the U.S. and Canada*, [New York, 1937], 2, p. 1112). On Florence, Camaldoli 1214, see H. Delehaye, "Vita Sanctae Olympiadis et Narratio Sergiae de eiusdem Translatione," *AnalBoll* 15 (1896) 406-08, and A.-M. Talbot, "Bluestocking Nuns: Intellectual Life in the Convents of Late Byzantium," *Harvard Ukrainian Studies* 7 (1983) 611. These earlier female role models were praised, however, for their masculine virtues . . .

⁴⁹ It is useful to remember, in this connection, that the nuns at the double monastery of Athanasios were subject to the monks (MM 2, 81).

⁵⁰ *Typikon* of Lips, ed. Delehaye, *Deux typica*, pp. 119-20; *Hypomnema* for Areia, ed. Choras, p. 241.

⁵¹ *Typikon* of Lips, ed. Delehaye, p. 108; cf. also *Typikon* for Bebaia Elpis, ed. Delehaye, p. 29.

⁵² *Typikon* of Attaleiates, ed. Gautier, p. 75.

that a woman inherited this responsibility, it should in reality be exercised by her husband or son or a trusted male employee.⁵³ Another difference between convents and male monasteries was that the former had to bring in priests from the outside, since nuns could not be ordained like their male counterparts, the hieromonks. Again we see the dependence of women upon men for the performance of such essential convent functions as the celebration of liturgy, or hearing confession.⁵⁴

Many of the duties performed by monks and nuns were necessarily the same, to maintain the economy of the monastery. There had to be cooks, bakers, gatekeepers and infirmarians. In some convents, nuns did manual labor in the garden and vineyard,⁵⁵ but usually their tasks were basic housekeeping duties and handwork. The *typika* always use the general term *ergocheiron* without specifying the nature of the handwork, whether it was spinning or weaving or embroidery; I suspect that in fact these activities varied from one convent to another, for some nunneries seem to have produced their own cloth, others to have purchased it on the open market, and yet others to have earned income through the sale of their handwork.⁵⁶

Literary and artistic activity

A significant difference between convent and monastery was in the realm of intellectual life and artistic production; a number of Byzantine monasteries, such as Galesios, Stoudios, Hodegoi and Chora, were famed for their scriptoria and/or libraries and encouragement of literary activity. In such monasteries monks copied and illustrated manuscripts, wrote chronicles, saints' lives and hymns, and composed music. In convents, on the other hand, the scribe was extremely rare, the artist nonexistent. The choir sisters had to be literate and nuns were encouraged to read and study the Scriptures and patristic literature, but it was rare

⁵³Ibid , p 83

⁵⁴E.g., at the end of the twelfth century the canonist Balsamon commented that abbesses did not have the right to hear the confession of their nuns, just as this was prohibited for male superiors who had not been ordained as priests, Rhalles-Potles, 4, p. 477

⁵⁵*Typikon* of Damilas for nunnery of Theotokos at Baionia, ed S Petrides, *IRAIK* 15 (1911) 108.

⁵⁶The nuns at Baionia made habits for the monks in the nearby monastery also founded by Damilas; cf *Typikon*, pp. 102-03. The nuns of Kecharitomene were enjoined to purchase clothes and bedcovers in the market when prices were low, MM 5, 366. The nuns of the convent of Kleraina in Constantinople helped support themselves with their handwork; Sphrantzes, 18.5 (ed Grecu, 34); cf also *Theoctisti Vita Ath* , p 43

for them to engage in literary composition.⁵⁷

Rule of enclosure

In *typika* for nunneries and monasteries alike one finds emphasis on strict enclosure and segregation of the sexes. The *typika* for nunneries were very specific about these regulations; nuns were to remain within the walls of the convent, and no men were to be admitted except the priest, spiritual confessor and doctor; nuns were permitted to leave the convent only for occasional visits to relatives.⁵⁸ Likewise the *typika* of male monasteries prohibited the entrance of women into the monastic precincts,⁵⁹ and forbade monks to leave the confines of the monastic enclosure.⁶⁰

In reality, however, nuns and monks found many opportunities to go outside the monastery walls. Nuns were urged to visit prisoners and the sick.⁶¹ They went to funerals of relatives,⁶² or to visit a spiritual confessor,⁶³ or on pilgrimage to a local shrine.⁶⁴ There were also practical reasons for venturing outside the confines of the nunnery; the nuns might need to buy firewood in the marketplace,⁶⁵ to present a petition or testify before the synod,⁶⁶ or collect overdue rent from a tenant.⁶⁷ The *oikonomos* or superior might be required to visit monastic

⁵⁷For full discussion of this topic, cf. Annemarie Weyl Carr, "Women and Monasticism in Byzantium: Introduction from an Art Historian," *ByzForschungen* 9 (1983) 00-00, and A.-M. Talbot, "Bluestocking Nuns," pp. 604-18. On women hymnographers, see now E. Catafygiotou-Topping, "Women Hymnographers in Byzantium," *Διπτυχα*, 3 (1982/3) 98-111.

⁵⁸E.g. *Typikon* of Bebaia Elpis, ed. Delehaye, pp. 63-64. See also Justinian, *Novel* 133, cp. 3, *CIC*, 3, 669.

⁵⁹E.g. *Typikon* of Pakourianos, ed. P. Gautier, "Le typikon du sébaste Grégoire Pakourianos," *REB* 42 (1984), 103-05; *typikon* of St. Mamas, ed. S. Eustratiades, *Ἐλληνικά*, 1 (1928) 282-83. See also Justinian, *Novel* 133, cp. 3, *CIC* 3, 669.

⁶⁰*Typikon* of Pakourianos, ed. Gautier, 79.994-999. See also Justinian, *Novel* 133, cp. 1, *CIC*, 3, 668

⁶¹Unpublished homily of Theoleptos of Philadelphia, *Ottobon. gr* 405, 171^r.

⁶²Cf. V. Laurent, "La direction spirituelle à Byzance. La correspondance d'Irène-Eulogie Choumnaina Paléologine avec son second directeur," *REB* 14 (1956) 79

⁶³Cf. V. Laurent, "La direction spirituelle des grandes dames à Byzance. La correspondance inédite d'un métropolite de Chalcédoine," *REB* 8 (1950) 63-84. Laurent remarks that Eulogia, who was apparently able to visit at will her spiritual confessor in Chalcedon, enjoyed unusual freedom from rules of enclosure because of her high rank in the nobility (p. 73 n. 5).

⁶⁴MM 1, 223.

⁶⁵*Vita S. Theodora Thess.*, ed. Kurtz, p. 14

⁶⁶Cf. MM 2, 409, 506, 509

⁶⁷Cf. MM 2, 501-02.

properties.⁶⁸ Finally there were ceremonial occasions, such as the installation of the abbess by the patriarch,⁶⁹ or the funerals of nuns if the cemetery lay outside the convent precincts.⁷⁰

Monks appear to have been subject to even fewer restrictions on their movement; they are frequently depicted in the sources outside their own monastery: working in the fields, carrying messages, visiting, advising the emperor, appearing before the synod, etc. Eustathios of Thessalonike, in his treatise “On the Improvement of Monastic Life,” sarcastically commented that monks can be found everywhere outside the monastery: loitering in the streets, riding horseback, jostling with crowds in the marketplace, at the bathhouse.⁷¹ Two centuries later, the patriarch Athanasios inveighed against wandering monks, and urged their strict enclosure.⁷² The rules of enclosure were certainly more rigorously observed at convents; this may be connected with the traditional seclusion of Byzantine women, especially those of the upper class.

Mobility of monks

Particularly striking are the monks’ frequent travels, and their freedom of movement from one monastery to another, even though *stabilitas loci* was encouraged by the Church. With few exceptions, nuns remained in one convent for life,⁷³ and rarely went on journeys; monks, on the other hand, were often on the move, transferring to another monastery, travelling to the capital, going on pilgrimage, visiting holy mountains, living sometimes as hermits, sometimes in a cenobitic community. Sometimes hostile invasions or religious persecution necessitated a move, but often monks changed their residence of their own volition.

The restless career of the patriarch Athanasios of Constantinople

⁶⁸ *Typikon* of Bebaia Elpis, ed Delehaye, p. 48

⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 33-34.

⁷⁰ *Typikon* of Kecharitomene, MM 5, 372-73

⁷¹ Eustathios of Thessalonike, *Opuscula*, ed G. L. F. Tafel (Frankfurt, 1832), pp 245.7-30; 250.22-24, 29-32; 255 30-40.

⁷² Wandering monks: cf Laurent, *Regestes* 4, nos. 1590, 1607, 1640, 1657, 1723, 1747, 1776, 1778, enclosure: Laurent, *Regestes* 4, nos. 1595, 1756. Canon law forbade a monk to transfer from his monastery to another without permission from his superior; cf. canon 21 of Second Nikaia (Mansi, 13 438-39; Rhalles-Potles, 2, p. 641) and canon 4 of the First and Second Council (Mansi, 16 537-40; Rhalles-Potles, 2, pp. 658-59).

⁷³ One exception was Thomais, godparent of Sphrantzes, who was forced to move to Constantinople from the Thessalonican convent of Saint Theodora because of the Turkish conquest of Thessalonike in 1387 (Sphrantzes 18.4, ed. Grecu, 34) In the ninth century Theodora of Thessalonike refused to leave the same convent to become abbess elsewhere because of her vows: “έμοι τοιαύτας δούσης συνθήκας έως γήρως καὶ πρεσβείου παραμένειν ἐν τῷ μοναστηρίῳ” (*Vita S Theodorae Thess*, ed Kurtz, pp 20-21).

illustrates this point. Athanasios first adopted the habit at the age of twelve at a monastery in Thessalonike, and then moved to Athos where he spent three years at Espigmenou. Next he embarked on the long pilgrimage by sea to the shrines of Jerusalem and the desert monasteries of Palestine. After his return, he resided at three of the famous monastic centers of Asia Minor, the holy mountains of Latros near Miletos, Auxentios near Chalcedon, and Galesios near Ephesos. His longest stay was eighteen years at Galesios. Weary of cenobitic life, Athanasios then returned to Athos where he lived as a hermit in a cave near Iviron. He was forced to leave Athos because of Michael VIII's Unionist policy and persecution of monks, and returned to Galesios. From there he moved back to Mount Ganos in Thrace where he founded a double monastery. His final journey brought him to Constantinople where he took up residence on Xerolophos in the monastery which was soon to take his name.⁷⁴ I count at least eleven major journeys, as Athanasios crisscrossed Byzantine lands in a search for the most satisfying form of monastic life. A similar picture is found in the lives of many other Byzantine saints, such as Lazaros, Romylos and Niphon.⁷⁵

In contrast to the early Christian centuries which produced such intrepid women travellers as Melania and Egeria,⁷⁶ nuns stayed close to home in the middle and late periods of the empire, rarely traveled, and never made the long journey to Palestine. I have found reference to only one nun who ventured to set forth for Jerusalem, an eleventh century woman who disguised herself as a man and joined a company of pilgrims en route to the Holy Land. But when they reached Galesios, Saint Lazaros saw through her disguise and bade her return to her nunnery in Constantinople.⁷⁷ Nuns' pilgrimages were limited to local shrines, and their world view must have been much more circumscribed than that of their well-traveled male contemporaries.

⁷⁴ See A.-M. Talbot, *The Correspondence of Athanasios I, Patriarch of Constantinople* (Washington, 1975), pp. xvii-xviii.

⁷⁵ See the comments of A. Laiou on traveling saints, in her "Saints and Society in the Late Byzantine Empire," *Charanis Studies: Essays in Honor of Peter Charanis*, ed. A.E. Laiou-Thomadakis (New Brunswick, N.J., 1980), pp. 97-99.

⁷⁶ E.A. Clark comments on this phenomenon in "Ascetic Renunciation and Feminine Advancement," *Anglican Theological Review* 63 (1981) 251-52, and theorizes that women ascetics had greater freedom to travel than secular matrons.

⁷⁷ *Vita S. Lazarī*, AASS, Nov. 3.538A-C; Lazaros commented: "οὐκ οἶδας δτι γυνὴ εἰ καὶ οὐκ ὀφείλεις ὥδε τε κάκειος περιέναι;" at a much earlier period, a woman pilgrim who traveled from Rome to see the abbot Arsenios, at Canopos in Egypt, received a similar scolding from the abbot: "Dost thou not know that thou art a woman, and ought not to go anywhere?" (tr. H. Waddell, *The Desert Fathers* [Ann Arbor, 1957], p. 65).

Cenobitism vs. eremitism

The career of Athanasios also illustrates a point made earlier about the variety of monastic experience espoused by monks. Athanasios lived in urban monasteries in Thessalonike and Constantinople, as well as in remote mountainous areas, at the holy mountains which were essentially reserved for monks. He was famed for his asceticism, and for a time on Athos endured the particularly rigorous regime of a hermit, which was generally considered a superior form of monasticism.⁷⁸

Most of these options were closed to female religious. Women hermits are extremely rare after the early Christian period, and non-existent in the final centuries of Byzantium. During the early centuries of monasticism, one reads of female solitaries such as Mary of Egypt, or Saint Pelagia, the former harlot, who in the fifth century enclosed herself in a small cell on the Mount of Olives in Jerusalem; significantly she not only rejected her former profession of prostitute, but her very female identity, and disguised herself as a eunuch monk called Pelagios.⁷⁹ In the same century, Eleuthera, a former attendant at the court of the empress Pulcheria, came to Mount Saint Auxentios to live as a solitary under the direction of the saintly hermit. But so many women followed her example and came to share her solitude, that it was necessary to build a convent capable of housing seventy nuns.⁸⁰

In the eleventh century at Galesios we hear of a stylite hermitess who lived in a hut atop a pillar, and subjected herself to mortifications of the flesh more commonly associated with male ascetics. Thus she cut two holes in the hut so that her legs stuck outside, exposed to the elements! But when another nun, named Irene, approached Lazaros and asked to live as a solitary in a cell near his column, the saint refused

⁷⁸In general, monks had to remain in a monastery and submit to the cenobitic rule for at least three years before the abbot would grant them permission to undertake the more arduous existence of an eremite. The cenobitic life was viewed as preparation for those who wished to achieve the peak of perfection as a solitary; cf. D Papachryssanthou, "La vie monastique dans les campagnes byzantines du VIII^e au XI^e siècle: ermitages, groupes, communautés," *Byzantion* 43 (1973) 158-80. Only a small proportion of monks attempted the transition to the eremitic life, but this type of holy man figures prominently in hagiography.

⁷⁹*Vita S Pelagiae* of ps -Jacob, ed H. Usener, *Legenden der hl Pelagia* (Bonn, 1879); P Petitmengin, *Pélagie la Pénitente*, 1-2 (Paris, 1981-84). Another early female solitary was the sixth century Anastasia who spent twenty-eight years in the Egyptian desert; see L. Clugnet, "Vie et récits de l'abbé Daniel, de Scete," *ROC* 5 (1900) 53. Significantly, Anastasia had founded a cenobitic nunnery before withdrawing to the desert.

⁸⁰Symeon Metaphrastes, *Vita s Auxentii*, PG 114 1429-36

her request, and ordered her to return to her convent.⁸¹

For the Comnenian and Palaiologan periods I can find no reference to female solitaries. The danger from brigands, Catalans and Turks made it especially dangerous for a woman to live alone in the countryside; but, more important, the pattern of female monasticism had changed and was firmly rooted by this time in the experience of the cenobitic convent. For example, when Gregory Palamas was living as a solitary in a hermitage on a mountain near Berrhoia, he established his sisters, who wanted to be near him, in an urban convent in the city of Berrhoia.⁸² The canonist Balsamon applauded this difference between the sexes, remarking that nuns surpassed their male brethren in adhering to the ideal of cenobitism. He cited the ruling of canon 47 of Carthage which argued that the communal monastic experience was especially necessary for nuns; since they had left the protection of their fathers, they needed the mutual protection of communal living, and should not live by themselves. He added that the "good order" of cenobitic monasticism was rare in his day, and "only in female cenobitic monasteries is communal diet and habitation observed."⁸³

It should be noted, too, that feats of ascetic prowess were not expected from the aristocratic nuns of late Byzantium. Thus, an unnamed fifteenth-century metropolitan of Chalcedon, spiritual director of the noble nun Eulogia, counseled her to avoid fasting or corporal punishments that might threaten her health. She should not take as her model the Desert Fathers, for a Constantinopolitan convent was far removed from the Thebaid, and did not require the austere regime of a Saint Anthony.⁸⁴

This limitation of the female monastic experience may also be connected with the absence of women saints in the Palaiologan period. Many of the monks who eventually became saints in late Byzantium, Saints Niphon, Romylos, and Maximos Kausokalybites, to name only a few, had spent a good portion of their lives as solitary ascetics or wandering holy men, a way of life denied to women in that period. The whole question of the reasons why certain individuals were singled out for canonization, either popular or official, needs further investigation, but I suspect that rigorous asceticism and a period of solitary

⁸¹ *Vita s. Lazari*, *AASS*, Nov. 3 526-28. This female stylite was a rare, perhaps unique, phenomenon in Byzantium; cf. H. Delehaye, "Les femmes stylites," *AnalBoll* 27 (1908) 391-92.

⁸² Philotheos, *Encomium of Palamas*, PG 151.572B-D.

⁸³ Balsamon, commentary on canon 47 of Carthage, PG 138.176C-D. I am indebted to Alexander Kazhdan for this reference.

⁸⁴ Cf. V. Laurent, "La direction spirituelle à Byzance," *REB* 8 (1950) 78-79.

retreat will prove to be significant elements.

TABLE 1

MALE AND FEMALE MONASTERIES IN THE BYZANTINE EMPIRE
(tabulated from Janin's two surveys of Constantinople and of the
"major provincial centers")

	<i>Male</i>	<i>Female</i>
Constantinople	270	77
Region of Bosporos (Asian shore)	16	3
Chalcedon	26	1
Nikomedia	23	0
Nikaia	12	1
Mount Olympos	53	1
Kyzikos and Hellespont	10	0
Latros	10	0
Galesios	4	1
Trebizond	14	1
Athens	7	3
Thessalonike	24 (plus 14 metochia, mostly of Athonite monasteries)	5
Total	469	93

N.B. This survey is by no means complete, but reflects the situation in the major cities of Greece and Asia Minor, and in some important monastic centers. Bryer estimates that, in all, about 1000 Byzantine monasteries have been recorded in the sources; cf. "The Late Byzantine Monastery in Town and Countryside," *Studies in Church History* 16 (1979) 219-20 and n. 3. Bryer included only those monasteries located within the twelfth century borders of the empire.

TABLE 2

SIZE OF SELECTED BYZANTINE MONASTERIES AND NUNNERIES

A. MONASTERIES

<i>Name</i>	<i>Date</i>	<i>No. of Monks</i>
Bassianou	fifth century	300
Lavra of Saint Sabas	late fifth century	ca.150
Saint Hypatios (Rufinianai)	fifth century	50
Saint Zacharias	ca. 474	12
Akoimetoi (Irenaion)	fifth century	several hundred
Saint Sergios	sixth century	500
Saint George (Sykeon)	seventh century	50
Stoudios	eighth century	700 (this figure must include metochia)
 Galesios		
Savior	eleventh century	12
Theotokos	eleventh century	12
Anastasis	eleventh century	40
Bessai	eleventh century	300
Lavra (Athos)	eleventh century	700
Petritzos (Bačkovo)	eleventh century	51
Heliou Bomon	twelfth century	20
Kosmosoteira	twelfth century	74
Pantokrator	twelfth century	80
Saint Mamas	twelfth century	20? (29 signed <i>typikon</i>)
Prodromos of Phoberos	twelfth century	12
Areia	twelfth century	36
Patmos	1200	ca. 150
Skoteine	thirteenth century	20
Saint Demetrios of Palaiologoi	thirteenth century	36
Nea Mone (Thessalonike)	fourteenth century	19

B. NUNNERIES

<i>Name</i>	<i>Date</i>	<i>No. of Nuns</i>
Trichinarea (Auxentios)	fifth century	70
Saint Basil (= convent of Antiochos)	twelfth century	12
Bouze (near Nauplion)	twelfth century	36
Kecharitomene	twelfth century	24, increased to 40
Kellaraia	twelfth century	4
Lips	thirteenth century	50
Bebaia Elpis	fourteenth century	30, increased to 50
Kosmas and Damianos	fourteenth century	30
Christ Soter Philanthropos	fourteenth century	100



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Discipleship and Priesthood

BISHOP DEMETRIOS TRAKATELLIS

THE POSSIBILITIES TO STUDY the nature and function of the priesthood according to the New Testament are numerous. The synoptic gospels, the Gospel of John, the book of Acts, the Pauline epistles, the other epistles, and the Revelation of John offer a wide range of pertinent material. These New Testament offerings are not always direct and explicit statements on priesthood. Nonetheless, they are susceptible to plausible interpretations which make them appropriate for any in-depth discussion on priesthood.

One of the most important contributions of the New Testament to a proper understanding of the nature and function of the priesthood is the idea of discipleship. Discipleship, a basic concept constantly recurring in the gospels, is applicable to any effort to describe accurately and fully the real Christian as well as the real apostle. The priest, a genuine priest, epitomizes the characteristics of the real Christian, and at the same time constitutes, in a special way, an apostle. Hence the concept of discipleship becomes one of the basic justifying concepts for a description of the priesthood from the standpoint of the New Testament.

A study of the idea of the discipleship in the New Testament could, therefore, be a fruitful endeavor, which should yield significant data for a reappraisal and a re-thinking of the priestly quality. The present paper aims at contributing to such a study. Since, however, there are obvious limitations in terms of space, there are also, by necessity, limitations in terms of the biblical texts which will be examined. In the present work we will focus on the Gospel of Mark. The selection is neither accidental nor arbitrary. In the Gospel of Mark we encounter one of the most rich and profound New Testament sources for a substantive

discussion on discipleship.¹

1. Discipleship as a call

Discipleship begins as a call by Jesus. It is an event, a condition, or a status, which is initiated by Christ himself. This is presented very early in the Gospel of Mark. Already in the opening chapter of this gospel we encounter the first major instance: Jesus “passing along by the Sea of Galilee, saw Simon and Andrew the brother of Simon casting a net in the sea; for they were fishermen. And Jesus said to them, ‘Follow me and I will make you become fishers of men’ (‘Δεῦτε ὥπισω μου καὶ ποιήσω ὑμᾶς γενέσθαι ἀλιεῖς ἀνθρώπων’). And immediately they left their nets and followed him” (Mk 1.16-18).²

This first call is coupled, without any break in the Markan narrative, to a second call: “And (Jesus) going a little farther he saw James the son of Zebedee and John his brother . . . And immediately he called them . . . And they followed him” (Mk 1.19-20).

In chapter two of his gospel, Mark offers one more characteristic case: “And as he (i.e. Jesus) passed on, he saw Levi the son of Alphaeus sitting at the tax office, and he said to him, ‘Follow me’ (‘Ακολούθει μοι. Καὶ ἀναστὰς . . . ’ [Mk 2.13-14]).”³

The narrative in all these instances is extremely condensed and reduced to a bare minimum. Thus it preserves only the very essential aspects. What is impressive here is the tremendous emphasis on Jesus’ initiative. The call scene is introduced abruptly, with the simplest

¹ Extensive recent discussions on the idea of discipleship in the Gospel of Mark could be found, among others, in the following works: R. P. Meye, *Jesus and the Twelve: Discipleship and Revelation in Mark’s Gospel* (Grand Rapids, 1968); K. G. Reploh, *Markus-Lehrer der Gemeinde* (Stuttgart, 1969); K. Stock, *Die Boten aus dem Mit-Ihm-Sein* (Rome, 1975); R. Tannehill, “The Disciples in Mark,” *Journ. of Rel.* 57 (1977) 386-405; E. Schweizer, “The Portrayal of the Life of Faith in the Gospel of Mark,” *Interpretation* 32 (1978) 387-99; E. Best, *Following Jesus: Discipleship in the Gospel of Mark* (Sheffield, 1981); J. R. Donahue, *The Theology and Setting of Discipleship in the Gospel of Mark* (Milwaukee, 1983); R. Busemann, *Die Jungergemeinde nach Markus 10* (Bonn, 1983). Characteristically enough, A. Stock has selected as a title for his literary study on Mark’s Gospel the phrase *Call to Discipleship* (Wilmington, 1982).

² For the pericopes Mk 1.16-18 and Mk 1.19-20, see, besides the major commentaries on Mark, J. Briere, “Jésus agit par ses disciples,” *Assemb Seigneur* 34 (1973) 32-46; J. Donaldson, “Called to Follow,” *Bib Theol Bull* 5 (1975) 67-77; J. D. M. Derrett, “Esan gar Halieis,” *Nov Test* 22 (1980) 108-37; E. Best, *Following Jesus*, pp. 166-75; V. K. Robbins, “Mk 1.14-20,” *New Test Stud* 28 (1982) 220-36; J. Donahue, *The Theology and Setting*, pp. 10-16.

³ On Mk 2.13-14 see J. Donaldson, “Called to Follow,” *Bib Theol Bull* 5 (1975) 67-77; P. Lamarche, “L’appel de Lévi,” *Christus* 23 (1976) 107-18; B. Balembo, “La vocation de Lévi et le repas avec les pécheurs (Mk 2.13-17),” *Rev Afric Théol* 3 (1979) 47-60; E. Best, *Following Jesus*, pp. 175-79; F. J. Moloney, “The Vocation of the Disciples in the Gospel of Mark,” *Salesianum* 43 (1981) 487-516.

grammatical connection (the conjunction “and”) and with no anticipatory references of any kind. As a result, the discipleship emerges as a status which is created exclusively by Jesus and which starts by a personal calling issued by him. This calling is strongly underlined by the absence of any dialogue, and by the predominance of imperatival forms in the phrasing of the invitation (“Δεῦτε ὁπίσω μοι,” Mk 1.17, and “ἀκολούθει μοι,” Mk 2.14). In the episode with Levi, the only word that Jesus addresses to him is the simple, sole, imperative “follow me.” The verbal content of the entire scene is exhausted in just this only word, a fact that brings to a bold relief the unique significance of Jesus’ invitation to discipleship.⁴ In fact the invitations in both Mark 1.16-20 and Mark 2.14 look like commands rather than invitations, but the context indicates that this is merely a way of formulation which aims at emphasizing Jesus’ initiative. This becomes clear in the pericope Mark 1.16-20, where the call of John and James has no direct imperative but it is described indirectly with the phrase, “and immediately he called them” (Mk 1.20). One should note that here the main term used is the verb “he called” (ἐκάλεσεν), a verb which underlines the understanding of discipleship as a call issued by Jesus, and personally addressed by him to concrete persons, to human beings mentioned by name.

At the same time Mark reports in brief and terse terms the response of the disciples to the call: “and immediately they left their nets and they followed him” (Mk 1.18), “and they left their father Zebedee . . . and followed him” (Mk 1.20), “and he (Levi) rose and followed him” (Mk 2.14). In all cases the answer to the call is immediate and radical.⁵ This implies a decision of unusual magnitude, a personal commitment of the highest possible degree. We will return to this point later on. Here one thing ought to be underscored, namely the suggestion offered by the text that the call to discipleship depends absolutely on Jesus and originates in him, but necessitates in turn a series of radical decisions on the part of the would-be disciple. Thus the call to discipleship activates the highest and strongest human capacities. Ultimately, however, the dominant theme is the call, the dominant voice is the voice of Jesus inviting people to the status of discipleship.

This aspect is presented anew by Mark in the episode of the rich

⁴ Cf. D. Trakatellis, *Authority and Passion. Christological Aspects of the Gospel of Mark* (Athens, 1983), p. 47.

⁵ This is more emphatic in the case of Levi for whom there was no way of returning back to what he has left. Victor of Antioch (fifth century A.D.) notes in his *Commentary on Mark*: “Levi without any delay, leaving everything, followed Jesus, thus making his election joyful through a sharp faith” in J. Cramer, *Catena in Evangelia* (Oxford, 1844), 1, 288.

man (Mk 10.17-22).⁶ Here the call is depicted in a context different from what we have seen in Mark 1 and in Mark 2. The role of Jesus as the one who addresses the call to discipleship is handsomely described against the background of the search for eternal life. The unexpected turn of events at the end of the pericope re-emphasizes the importance of the human response to the call. The decision of the rich man not to follow Jesus, becomes a reminder of the truth that Jesus' call to discipleship, no matter how powerful it is, does not eliminate human freedom and responsibility in answering it. Regardless of the human response, however, a fundamental fact remains highly visible and prominent in the Markan text that we have seen, and this is the fact that the call to discipleship is a call decided exclusively by Jesus and addressed by Jesus.⁷

2. *Discipleship as a mission*

In the Gospel of Mark, discipleship has mission as an inherent component. The call by Jesus to an advanced stage and form of discipleship is at the same time an appointment, a fundamental assignment, a mission. Reading some particular pericopes in Mark one has immediately the impression that discipleship is a tremendous possibility for a special kind of work, for a task and enterprise of outstanding quality.

One such basic pericope is the text describing the mission charge of the Twelve (Mk 3.13-19).⁸ This text starts off with a short solemn introduction which presents again the idea of Jesus' absolute authority in calling people to discipleship: "And he went up in the mountain, and called to him those whom he desired" ("καὶ προσκαλεῖται οὓς ἦθελεν αὐτός").

Next comes the appointment or mission statement: "and he appointed twelve, whom also he called apostles, to be with him, and to be sent out to preach and have authority to cast out demons" (Mk 3.14-15). The mission described in the above passage comprises three fundamental elements. The people called to become the disciples par excellence, have as their first assignment to be with Jesus, to be with him wherever he

⁶ For a detailed discussion on this pericope, see J. Galot, "Le fondement évangélique du voeu religieux de pauvreté," *Gregorianum* 56 (1975) 441-67, S. R. Boguslawski, "The Discipleship of the Young Man," *Bible Today* 19 (1981) 234-39, E. Best, *Following Jesus*, pp. 110-19, R. Busemann, *Die Junggemeinde*, pp. 89-102.

⁷ As E. Schweizer notes, "This concept of discipleship is Jesus' own creation. The word 'follow' received a new sound when Jesus said it, a sound which it has nowhere else except in those passages of the Old Testament which declare that one must follow either Baal or Yahweh" (*The Good News according to Mark* [London, 1971], p. 49). See also the pertinent extensive discussion in F. J. Moloney, "The Vocation of the Disciples," 487-516.

⁸ For recent exegetical work on Mk 3.13-19 see G. Schmahl, "Die Berufung der Zwölf in Markus-evangelium," *Trier Theol. Zeit* 81 (1972) 203-13, S. J. Anthony Samy, "The Gospel of Mark and the Universal Mission," *Bibleashyam* 6 (1980) 81-96, M. F. Kirby, "Mark's Prerequisite for Being an Apostle," *Bible Today* 18 (1980) 77-81, E. Best, *Following Jesus* (1981), pp. 180-89.

goes or stays. This special aspect is frequently ignored when we discuss the various facets of mission according to the New Testament. To be with Jesus is an integral part of the reality of mission as presented by Mark.⁹

The second fundamental element revealed in Mark 3.14-15 is preaching as an indispensable part of a mission assignment. Discipleship here is understood as a commission to preaching. Mark does not qualify what exactly this preaching means, he does not explain or describe. He limits himself to one word, one verb: to preach (κηρύσσειν). We know, however, from Mark 1 that the same verb has been used for John the Baptist in connection with the need for repentance ("preaching a baptism of repentance," Mk 1.4) and with the coming of the Messiah "he preached saying, 'After me comes he who is mightier than I,' " (Mk 1.7). But, more importantly, the same verb occurs in the fundamental programmatic passage Mark 1.14-15: "Jesus came into Galilee, preaching the Gospel of God and saying, 'The time is fulfilled and the kingdom of God is at hand: repent and believe in the Gospel.' " The content and the meaning of the term "to preach" in this instance serves well as an exegetical guide for the understanding of the same term in Mark 3.14.

The third basic element revealed in the passage under study is the aspect of mission as an authority "to cast out demons" (Mk 3.15). The concept of discipleship in its fullness includes the particular assignment of engaging in a series of activities by which the demonic powers are cast out, neutralized, vanquished. This commission seems at first glance to address the issue of people being possessed by the demons. The mission, nonetheless, is much wider and deeper. The demonology of Mark is inextricably intertwined with his Christology and with his understanding of human existence under the bondage of evil, demonic powers and disease. Thus "the casting out of demons" becomes some sort of a code phrase or a condense statement which implies a huge number of diversified tasks. The common denominator in all these tasks is the liberation of the human existence from any demonic, evil, afflicting power.

Mark returns to his interpretation of discipleship as mission and as assignment to a number of specific tasks, in the crucial passage Mark 6.7-13.¹⁰ In this instance the pericope begins with a significant phrase which is dominated by the key terms "to call" (προσκαλεῖται)

⁹ According to M. F. Kirby ("Mark's Prerequisite," 79-81), "Companionship with Jesus is Mark's major contribution regarding a theology of discipleship and apostleship."

¹⁰ The following words offer interesting observations on Mk 6.7-13; G. Testa, "Studio di Mc. 6,6b-13 secondo il metodo della storia della tradizione," *Divus Thomas* 75 (1972) 177-91; J. Delorme, "La mission des Douze en Galilée," *Assemb Seigneur* 46 (1974) 43-50; E. Best, *Following Jesus*, pp. 190-98; J. D. M. Derrett, "Peace, Sandals and Shirts (Mark 6.6b-13 par.)," *Heythrop Journal* 24 (1983) 253-65.

and “to send out to a mission” (*ἀποστέλλειν*). The directions for and the contents of the mission which follow are more detailed than the ones in Mark 3.13-19. In addition, Mark 6.7-13 presents the mission not as something belonging to the future but as an immediate action which depends completely on God’s protection and providence in matters of food, clothing and means of living in general. In essence the mission is the same:¹¹ preaching and liberating the people from the dominance of the demons. The charge mission is accompanied immediately by Mark’s report that the Twelve started without any delay their task of preaching, casting out demons and healing sick people.

The above presented interpretation of discipleship as a mission may be strictly applicable only to the twelve Apostles. Variations of it, however, are to be found in other human categories. A touching example is the Gerasene demoniac (Mk 5.1-20). In this instance the demoniac, after having been healed by Jesus, asks him to be with him and follow him. But Jesus “refused and said to him, ‘Go home to your friends, and tell them how much the Lord has done for you’ ” (Mk 5.19). Here discipleship is primarily viewed as a mission to preach the mighty acts of God in a gentile area. The element of liberation from the demonic powers is not included in the assignment. The proclaimer himself, nonetheless, is an alive example of such an astonishing liberation.

3. *Discipleship as a diakonia*

Markan scholarship has long ago recognized the very unique place that the lengthy unit Mark 8.27-10.52 occupies in the Gospel of Mark. Christological statements of great importance occur within the unit which has an easily detectable tripartite structure. A characteristic feature of this structure is the clear and elaborate teaching of Jesus on discipleship, attached consistently to each of the three major christological predictions of the passion (Mk 8.31; 9.31; 10.33-34). Thus the teaching on discipleship acquires a more pronounced significance.

The predominant theme in this teaching is the idea of discipleship as service, as diakonia. According to the masterfully structured narrative in Mark 9, Jesus after announcing his imminent passion and death, notices painfully that the disciples do not understand his saying. Even worst, while he is revealing his inexorably approaching death, they are discussing matters which disclose their personal ambitions, and their craving for the highest possible rank (“they discussed with one another who was the greatest,” Mark 9.34). At this precise point Jesus

¹¹The mission of the disciples in Mk 3.13-19 and 6.7-13 seems to be in direct continuity to the mission of Jesus. H. Kee (*Community of the New Age* [Philadelphia, 1977], p. 88) remarks in this instance that “the continuity between the prophetic-charismatic ministry of Jesus and that of the disciples is stressed in Mark.”

reveals the amazing and radical truth concerning discipleship in his name, and truth that will remain a fundamental and vital principle within the Christian community: “And he (Jesus) sat down and called the twelve; and he said to them, ‘If anyone would be first, he must be last of all and servant of all’ ” (“εἴ τις θέλει πρῶτος εἶναι, ἔσται πάντων ἔσχατος καὶ πάντων διάκονος,” Mk 9.35).¹²

The very nature of discipleship here is revealed through a drastic changing of perspective. The preoccupation with possessing the first place, the passion for high ranking positions are transformed into a willingness and a decision to be the last but to perform something absolutely needed, namely to serve other people. Discipleship within the community of Christ means a consuming passion for diakonia, a function of diligent and unfailing service. The vision now is not a vision of a position but of a function. The call of discipleship is not a call to a static position of honor, power and glory, but a call to a dynamic work of diakonia, of care for other people.

This message of the Lord concerning the discipleship is so absolute that the formulation uses a terminology which does not leave any room for exceptions, excuses or reservations. Christ asks and directs his genuine disciple not to be servant of the “other people” but to be “servant of all” (“πάντων διάκονος”). The statement is astonishing in its radical, absolute and extreme demand, a fact which shows its paramount importance.

Jesus returns to the same subject after the third prediction of his passion and death (Mk 10.33-34). The scenario is similar to that of chapter 9. The disciples hear the sad forecast of the impending arrest and killing of their Master in Jerusalem. Yet they seem to be mentally deaf and blind. They do not understand Jesus. Instead they appear to harbor their own thoughts, ambitions, and ideas of positions of power and glory. Eventually, because of their ambitions, they develop feelings of indignation against each other (Mk 10.41). Subsequently Christ calls them and explains to them, as in Mark 9.35, that discipleship is service, not position of ruling power. This time the statements of the Lord are more elaborate and explicit: “You know that those who are supposed to rule over the nations lord it over them, and their great men exercise authority over them. But it shall not be so among you; but whoever would be great among you must be your servant and whoever

¹²For a discussion of Mk 9.35 and its context (Mk 9.33-50) see A. Strus, “Mc 9,33-37. Problema dell'autenticità e dell'interpretazione,” *Rivista Biblica* 20 (1972) 589-619; J. I. H. McDonald, “Mk 9,33-50: Catechetics in Mark's Gospel,” *Studia Biblica* 1978 2 (1980) 171-77; E. Best, *Following Jesus*, pp. 75-98; H. Fleidermann, “The Discipleship Discourse, Mk 9.33-50,” *Cath Bib Quart* 43 (1981) 57-75.

would be first among you must be slave of all" (Mk 10.42-44).¹³ The comparison with the rulers of the nations, i.e. with the political power, shows exactly what the nature of discipleship as service is. At the same time the categorical statements and the absolute way of their formulation reveal again the importance of the message which they carry. Noticeable here, from the linguistic point of view, is the repetition of the idea of service in two variations with an alternation between great and first on the one hand, and servant and slave on the other (μέγας, πρῶτος, διάκονος, δοῦλος).

The teaching on discipleship as service in Mark 9.35 and 10.42-44 is not, primarily, a teaching on humility, although the element of humility is strong and inherent in the two passages. First and foremost the emphasis is on service as care for the others, as love, as being aware of the needs of the community. The priority of diakonia emphasizes the basic fact that discipleship is not an opportunity for individualistic moral perfection but for a new orientation in life in which the others, the community become the center of attention and love. A new mentality is presupposed here; a drastically different modus vivendi is introduced which is diametrically opposed to the one prevailing in the society. Eventually, what we face in Mk 9.35 and 10.42-44 is a new anthropology, a transformed image of human existence as service.

A decisive evidence for the last point is offered at the end of the pericope Mark 10.42-44. At the conclusion of that passage, Jesus adds one more statement by which he lays the unique foundation for the primacy of service, for the understanding of diakonia as the highest and noblest function and purpose of human existence. This is his own person, purpose and function; ultimately his incarnation: "For the Son of man also came not to be served but to serve and to give his life as a ransom for many" (Mk 10.45).

Such a declaration makes diakonia or service an absolute characteristic of incarnation. Jesus as the perfect man is the διάκονος, the servant. Thus διάκονος becomes instantly an eminent and unique anthropological category, a fundamental model of existence in the realm of the Christian community. Discipleship as service constitutes the highest human state of existence, a state in which anthropology and christology merge into an inseparable unity.

4. Discipleship as a knowledge of Christ

Discipleship in the Gospel of Mark is directly related to knowledge.

¹³On Mk 10.42-44 see S. Légarde, "Approche de l'épisode pré-évangélique des fils de Zébédée," *New Test Stud* 20 (1974) 161-77; E. Best, *Following Jesus*, pp. 123-33; R. Busemann, *Die Jungergemeinde*, pp. 145-61.

Knowledge of the truth revealed by Christ himself, constitutes an essential sign and attribute of true and whole discipleship.

This is a rather painful subject for Mark as it becomes apparent even to a hasty reader of his gospel. The disciples, and more precisely the closest disciples like the Twelve, are often depicted in this gospel as people who have a chronic difficulty to understand what Jesus says and does, who are exceedingly slow in advancing in knowledge of the truth disclosed constantly by Christ. Hence they are rebuked by him in various instances for either not understanding or for misunderstanding in spite of the ample opportunities for the opposite.

Scholars have offered several explanations for the astonishing difficulty of the disciples to perceive clearly what Christ teaches and what he really is. Some even proposed that Mark purposely painted a negative picture of the disciples in order to fight against heresies which were menacing the early Church, and which were advanced in the name of some of the apostles.¹⁴

No matter what explanation should be accepted as more convincing, one thing is certain: through the motif of the misunderstanding or mental blindness of the disciples, the necessity for knowledge and perception regarding Christ's person and revelation is persuasively advocated. Time and again Mark presents Jesus as addressing the issue in a language almost harsh and this fact is strong evidence for the importance of the subject.

At this point a few passages from the Gospel of Mark ought to be cited. The first comes from Mark 4, the well-known chapter of the parables. The disciples, after listening to a number of parables, ask Jesus concerning them (Mk 4.10). He then, after a statement about the mystery of the kingdom of God and the parabolic teaching, "said to them, 'Do you not understand this parable (i.e. the specific parable of the sower); how then will you understand all the parables?'" (Mk 4.13). The question, no doubt, discloses the deficient knowledge and the limited perceptiveness of the disciples. At the same time, at least implicitly, it points out that the opposite was expected, otherwise the clear shade of rebuke would not be justified in this instance. Thus a certain degree of knowledge was presupposed as a natural characteristic of the disciples. Unfortunately such a knowledge was not there. However, it was needed, since no real discipleship could exist without real knowledge of the truth of Christ. Therefore Jesus proceeds and patiently explains the meaning of the parable. So the scheme is clear in its articulation: lack of knowledge, awareness of it, need for

¹⁴E.g. Th. Weeden, *Mark: Traditions in Conflict* (Philadelphia, 1971), and W. Kelber, *The Kingdom in Mark: A New Place and a New Time* (Philadelphia, 1974).

overcoming it, actual overcoming it through laborious teaching. The immediate association of discipleship and knowledge is unmistakable.

The second example is encountered in Mark 6.45-52. The passage is a narrative of Jesus' walking on the sea. At the end of the episode the disciples are astounded. This should not have happened if they were more knowledgeable and perceptive and if they were not oblivious of the very recent manifestations of Jesus' divine authority. Mark's statement underlines such an inference: "and they (i.e. disciples) were utterly astounded, for they did not understand about the loaves, but their hearts were hardened" (Mk 6.52).¹⁵ In this instance a significant idea is introduced by the comment of the evangelist: knowledge of Christ is a matter of heart. Perception of the truth of Christ has to do with a disposition of the whole existence not only with intellectual capacity.

The most significant example in terms of sharp language is to be found in Mark 8.17-21.¹⁶ There, Jesus addresses the disciples with a stern reprimand for their lack of understanding of his teaching. The passage is loaded with pertinent words which appear in sentences arranged in the form of successive questions: "Do you not perceive or understand? Are your hearts hardened? Having eyes do you not see, and having ears do you not hear? And do you not remember? Do you not yet understand?" (Mk 8.17-21).¹⁷ The series of questions is overwhelming,¹⁸ and the message which they convey is plain: Discipleship without understanding of what Christ is, does, and says, is simply unthinkable.

Jesus raises the awareness of the disciples onto the level of the knowledge of his identity through many ways, but more explicitly and directly in Mark 8.27-30. The passage relates the famous episode at Caesarea Philippi. There, Christ asks his disciples: "Who do men say that I am?" After they answer by offering various opinions which were

¹⁵The monograph by Q. Quesnell (*The Mind of Mark. Interpretation and Method through the Exegesis of Mark 6.52* [Rome, 1969]) dedicated to the study of Mk 6.52 shows the significance of this verse for our topic. Quesnell's method and conclusions have been strongly criticized, but the critique does not detract from the significance of Mk 6.52 as a basic indicator of the disciples' lack of understanding.

¹⁶For the discussion on Mk 8.17-21, see D. J. Hawkin, "The Incomprehension of the Disciples in the Markan Redaction," *Journ Bib Lit* 91 (1972) 491-500; F. McCombie, "Jesus and the Leaven of Salvation," *New Black-Friars* 59 (1978) 450-62; N. A. Beck, "Reclaiming a Biblical Text," *Cath Bib Quart* 43 (1981) 49-56.

¹⁷In *Papyrus Oxyrhynchus* 1 (lines 18-22) we encounter a logion of Jesus which seems to be an echo of Mk 8.17-21: "Πονεῖ ἡ ψυχὴ μου ἐπὶ τοῖς νιοῖς τῶν ἀνθρώπων διτυφλοὶ εἰσιν τῇ καρδίᾳ αὐτῶ[ν] καὶ οὐ βλέ[πουσιν]" ("My soul feels pain for the sons of men because they are blind in their heart and do not see").

¹⁸John Chrysostom observes here: "Do you see the magnitude of (Jesus') indignation? There is no other place in which he reprimanded them (i.e. the disciples) in such a way" (*In Matthew*, Homily 53, PG 58.529).

in circulation around, Jesus asks again: “But who do you say that I am?” Peter answered him, “You are the Christ” (Mk 8.27-29). It is not accidental that Jesus sets apart his disciples from the rest of the people because he expects from his disciples a right, proper, and adequate knowledge of his identity. Therefore he has to ask two questions pertaining to two diversified perceptions. Discipleship means an advanced knowledge of Christ, an understanding of his person which is beyond common and average beliefs, opinions, rumors or vague ideas.

Such a deep and whole knowledge of Christ is not a static, ossified accumulation of pertinent information. Discipleship as a deep understanding of Christ is a dynamic and alive state of existence in continuous progress and in continuous alertness and vigilance. Jesus before his passion warns his disciples that their knowledge of who Christ is will be severely challenged and exposed to the danger of fatal error: “And Jesus began to say to them, ‘Take heed that no one leads you astray. Many will come in my name, saying, “I am he!” and they will lead many astray.’ ” A few verses down Jesus repeats the warning, “And then if anyone says to you, ‘Look, here is the Christ!’ or ‘Look, there he is!’ do not believe it. False Christs and false prophets will arise and show signs and wonders to lead astray, if possible, the elect. But take heed; I have told you all things beforehand” (Mk 13.21-3). Against such fierce onslaught of the powers of evil and error, only a strong deep and alive knowledge of Christ can successfully fight, persevere and remain victorious. This kind of knowledge is inseparable from any definition of true discipleship in Christ.

5. Discipleship as a total offering of one's self

In this final section of the present paper, we arrive at the highest point of discipleship presented in the Gospel of Mark: discipleship as a total offering of one's self with all the implications which such an offering entails.

Already in the beginning of his gospel, Mark introduces graphically the concept of a discipleship which requires radical existential decisions. In the scene of the call of the first four disciples, he succinctly observes that Simon and Andrew “immediately left their nets and followed him (i.e. Jesus)” (Mk 1.18), and that James and John “left their father Zebedee in the boat with the hired servants, and followed him (i.e. Jesus)” (Mk 1.20). In this case, the four people, called by Jesus to become his disciples, abandon their profession, which was also the means of their living, and their immediate relatives. The same holds true for the call of Levi (Mk 2.14).

The drastic decisions and actions described in Mark 1.18-20 and Mark 2.14 are powerful expressions of what discipleship as offering

means. The aforementioned passages do not speak explicitly about the first disciples presenting themselves unconditionally to Christ. This idea, however, is unmistakably suggested by the magnitude and the radicality of their action. Profession and close relatives are normally part and parcel of one's self. Leaving them is relinquishing the most cherished and indispensable persons and things in life.

We encounter the same cluster of ideas in another case which Mark describes more extensively, namely in the episode of the rich man's quest for eternal life (Mk 10.17-22). There when the man insists on knowing the best and the safest possible way "to inherit eternal life," Jesus says to him: "You lack one thing; go, sell what you have, and give to the poor, and you will have treasure in heaven; and come follow me" (Mk 10.21). Jesus' answer to the rich man's quest ends with a call to him to become his disciple. The call, nonetheless, is based on the prerequisite that he must give everything that he has to the poor, and then follow Jesus. The man faces a tough request, which involves as it becomes obvious, not only his possessions but himself. Ultimately the call of Jesus is a call to discipleship by a radical offering. Mark informs us sadly that the rich man's "countenance fell, and he went away sorrowful; for he had great possessions" (Mk 10.22). The case is stated brilliantly. There is no real discipleship in Christ without a decision for a drastic disengagement from people and things extremely dear. When commenting on the episode of the rich man, Jesus leaves no room for doubt. In Peter's assertion that "we have left everything and followed you," Jesus gives a very encouraging and reassuring answer which speaks about "leaving house or brothers or sisters or mother or father or children or lands for my sake and for the gospel" (Mk 10.29).

With the above solemn statements, preserved faithfully by the evangelist, we are deeply advanced in an understanding of the discipleship as a total offering. We reach the definitive formulation of the same idea¹⁹ in Mark 8.34-38 in the unique declaration by Jesus: "If anyone would come after me, let him deny himself and take up his cross and follow me. For whoever would save his life will lose it; and whoever loses his life for my sake and the gospel's will save it. For what does it profit a man, to gain the whole world and forfeit his life? For what can a man give in return for his life?"²⁰

¹⁹ R. Tannehill ("The Gospel of Mark as Narrative Christology," *Semeia* 16 [1979] 73) observes that the language in Mk 8.34 is almost the same with the language used in the call of the first disciples.

²⁰ On Mk 8.34-38 see M. Horstmann, *Studien zur markinischen Christologie* (Münster, 1969) pp. 34-71; G. Schwarz, "Aparnesastho heauton," *Nov Test* 17 (1975) 109-12; W. A. Beardslee, "Saving One's Life by Losing it," *Journal Amer Acad Religion* 47 (1979) 57-72; E. Best, *Following Jesus*, pp. 28-54.

This pericope, regardless of a variety of exegetical options for its particular components, establishes firmly the idea of a radical self-denial and a total offering of one's self to Christ as the true and indispensable mark of genuine discipleship. The extent of offering implied in Mark 8.34-38 reaches the ultimate limit which is death. The faithful disciple of Christ, if he wants to be sincere with his discipleship, must be ready for any self-sacrifice for the sake of Christ, even for a sacrifice of his own life. Here we encounter discipleship at its purest form.

The validating reference for such a radical position is to be found in Jesus himself. As depicted in the Gospel of Mark, Jesus is the archetype of a total offering for the salvation of humankind. The predominance of the idea of the passion in Mark's narrative has to do with such an understanding of Christ. The key phrase in Mark 10.45 says it all: "The Son of man also came not to be served but to serve, and to give his life as a ransom for many." Offering his own life is a dominant Christological motif in Mark, which in turn becomes a dominant anthropological motif describing a central aspect of discipleship. At the same time the concept of service is emphasized and tied directly to the offering of life. Service and total offering are projected in the center of the scene as inseparable and indispensable characteristics of a discipleship in Christ.

Total offering of one's self to Jesus could mean the abandoning of everything, the readiness to give up exceedingly dear possessions or relationships of any kind. It could mean giving one's own life. Christ, though, did not speak in terms of possibility or likelihood for such a type of drastic, extreme discipleship. He announced it as a historical reality which would soon be palpable and visible: "And brother will deliver up brother to death, and the father his child, and children will rise against parents and have them put to death; and you will be hated by all for my name" (Mk 13.12-13). Discipleship in many instances will lead inexorably to death. Hence the disciple must be ready and willing for the ultimate self-sacrifice, for the total giving of himself to Jesus and to the Gospel even if this means death at any given time and place.

6. Discipleship and Priesthood

The five basic aspects on discipleship according to the Gospel of Mark which we have analyzed in the preceding pages, relate directly to the priesthood. The readers, no doubt, could easily make the association between discipleship and priesthood as they went through the major points of this paper. Let me then present briefly the main ideas on the subject by way of concluding remarks.

a) Discipleship is a call by Jesus. So is priesthood, since priesthood is, in addition to other qualities, a genuine form of discipleship in Christ.

The priest has been called personally by the Lord to follow him, to become his disciple and apostle (Mk 1.16-16; 1.19-20; 2.13-14). This biblical insight is vital in view of contemporary trends to emphasize the human aspect, the organizational components, or the professional dimension in priesthood. Whenever and wherever the basic New Testament concept of call by God to discipleship-priesthood has been forgotten or put aside, the priestly consciousness and quality has deteriorated alarmingly.

b) Discipleship is a mission and so is priesthood because of the direct association between the two. This is mission with a twofold assignment: to preach the Gospel of the kingdom of God, and to liberate the human existence from any demonic, evil, or afflicting power (Mk 3.13-19; 6.7-13). Both aspects of such a God-assigned mission should be emphasized because sometimes there is a danger of a “targetless” priesthood, or of a priesthood lost in a confusing multifarious activity.

c) The nature of discipleship as diakonia opens up another magnificent perspective for the priesthood. Priesthood is service, diakonia both within and without the Church. The priest as a disciple and follower of the Lord has as his first and strongest ambition to excel in serving the people (Mk 9.35; 10.42-44). Thus he becomes a new anthropological model patterned after Christ (Mk 10.45), a new man for whom diakonia is not just one of many human expressions or virtues, but a whole way of life and a superb human achievement. The significance of this idea is obvious if one considers the very strong tendencies for an egocentric lifestyle and for self-centered professional goals which are so pervasive in contemporary society.

d) Discipleship and, consequently, priesthood is a continuous growth in knowing Christ; Christ himself and the fullness of truth revealed by him. The examples of the Apostles that we encountered in the Gospel of Mark show convincingly that this is not an easy matter. The priest as a disciple of Jesus, has to walk through a difficult road in order to acquire more and more illumination, in order to come to know better and deeper Christ the Son of God (Mk 8.17-21). The knowledge of Christ is an immense, open universe, the exploration of which should be a daily challenge and delight for the priest. In an era, like ours, of the apotheosis of knowledge and of the prevalence of ideological chaos, to know Christ really and substantially becomes a matter of emergency for any honest priest.

e) Priesthood as discipleship means a total offering of one's self to Jesus the Lord. In that sense the priest is not like other professionals. Priesthood is a total commitment which could necessitate even the offering of one's own life. Priesthood as discipleship means a readiness for sacrifice, a willingness for drastic and painful decisions for the sake

of Christ, his Gospel, his Church (Mk 1.18-20; 2.14; 10.29). In the final analysis, Christ the Lord is the absolute priority for any genuine priest who wants to be a genuine disciple; a priority over one's possessions, relationships or even one's own life (Mk 8.34-38).

The last point has been emphasized in an eloquent fashion by a venerable saint of the ancient Church, Ignatios the bishop of Antioch. Writing to the Ephesians and to the Romans on his way to martyrdom, at the beginning of the second century A.D., he says that only when he dies for Christ, only then could he be a real disciple. In the same spirit he confesses: "Now I am beginning to be a disciple" ("Νῦν ἀρχ-ομαι μαθητής εἶναι").²¹

The last idea has a specific meaning due to its association with martyrdom. It could be interpreted, however, in a more general and comforting manner, namely in the sense that it is never too late to discover the dimension and richness of discipleship inherent in any genuine and integral priesthood.

²¹Ignatios of Antioch, *To the Ephesians* 1,2; *To the Romans* 4,2; 5,3.



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An Address to the Opening Plenary Session

ARCHBISHOP IAKOVOS

Your Eminence, Beloved Brother in Christ, Metropolitan Chrysostomos of Myra,
Fellow Hierarchy,
Honored Members and Participants,
Dear Brothers and Sisters:

IT IS A GREAT PLEASURE for me to be able to welcome and greet you on this Holy Cross campus as you are about to commence your deliberations on the most important document ever produced by the Faith and Order Commission of the World Council of Churches.

The challenge is great, as great is the opportunity to further the historic step taken in Lima, Peru. We, the Orthodox, are not to simply comment on the said document but to also make a substantial contribution to it in the light of the unfolding new role of Orthodoxy—to remove the bushel and let the light of Orthodoxy shine forth with more clarity and radiance.

I am certain that this gathering is not one of the many that are held from time to time so that the interest in the ecumenical movement might be rekindled. It is high time that we give additional strength to it and help it to rediscover its proper theological direction lest we be caught offering only lip service to it.

I am most heartened by the fact that the WCC (as well as the NCC here in America) is reaching for the theological substantiation and justification of its socioeconomic concerns. I am, as we all are, praying that the seemingly endless theological discussions may open the vistas that we all anticipate and challenge us with the need for some bolder decisions and actions.

I personally believe that only a united Christianity will be able to

arrest the cataclysmic forces of negation and self-righteousness that menace with drowning the hopes of the world for a better future. The time runs short unless we can prove even at the last moment that we have the brigades and the legions of spiritual and moral armies to combat the openly unleashed forces of materialism, Marxism and atheism.

We Christians owe it to the martyrs of ancient and contemporary Christianity through whose testimony and martyrdom Christian religion prevailed to prove our own faith and determination to change the course of modern history and rechart the path towards the dominance of the Christian values and ideals.

May God bless this ecumenical assembly gathered by the power of the Holy Spirit!



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An Orthodox View of the Councils of Basel (1431-49) and of Florence (1438-39) as Paradigm for the Study of Modern Ecumenical Councils*

Deno J. Geanakoplos

THE COUNCIL OF BASEL, with its accompanying Council of Florence, which is counted as an ecumenical council by the Roman though not by the Orthodox Church, was one of the most extraordinary synods in all of Christian history. For Basel marked not only the high point of Western conciliar claims to supremacy over papal authority, but during its eighteen-year duration, it enabled the beleaguered pope, through his deft diplomacy in achieving religious union with the Greeks at Florence, to administer the decisive coup de grâce to his rival conciliarists sitting at Basel, and thus to revive papal absolutism once again in the Western Church. In the course of Basel and its subsidiary council Florence, opportunity was afforded for the expression of diverse kinds of ecclesiological, doctrinal, and administrative phenomena pertaining to general councils. Even more important, especially from the Greek viewpoint, the Council of Florence marked the first time since before the so-called schism of 1054 that the two churches had met, in an officially sanctioned general council, in order to engage in protracted discussion over the major problems separating the two institutions. Basel and especially its corollary Florence, then, provide an almost ideal paradigm for the study of comparative Byzantine and Roman conciliar ideas *in action* during the late medieval and Renaissance period. Indeed, the record of the inner workings of these two councils, especially Florence, presents us with a very useful blueprint, so to say, for the

*This paper was read in much different form in October 1981 in Basel, Switzerland in commemoration of the 550th anniversary of the Council of Basel. The meeting was sponsored by the Protestant Office for Ecumenism in Switzerland. I am grateful to Professor George H. Williams for certain valuable suggestions for this article.

kind of preparation and discussion that must take place before the convocation of a great universal council of Christendom, hopefully to meet in the not too distant future, though probably not in our lifetime.

The situation of the Roman Church is today of course not the same as it was at the end of the Council of Basel under Pope Nicholas V, several reforms including the vernacularization of liturgy having taken place as the result of Vatican Council II. But the general ecclesiastical, monolithic structure of the Roman Church is the same, in fact even strengthened by the pronouncement of 1870 on papal infallibility. The Orthodox Church, or more accurately, the Orthodox Churches, have in general remained the same, though of course the chief protector of the Greek Orthodox Church, the Byzantine emperor, has long gone and the Ecumenical Patriarch of Constantinople now resides amid a religiously alien nation. Yet many theologians of all Orthodox Churches believe, as do I, that the best way to restore unity in the Church, especially with Rome, is to return to the situation prevailing *before* 1054 when, despite certain largely political, disciplinary, and psychological differences, the two churches were still in full communion. Actually, at Florence in 1438-39, as even earlier at the unionist Council of Lyons in 1274, the Orthodox, who had always prided themselves on being and remaining the Church *par excellence* of the seven ecumenical synods, kept insisting precisely on a return to the situation obtaining before the churches' separation circa 1054 as the simplest, most impartial way of recovering their ancient unity.¹ Of course, to the papacy, this proposal was untenable, because it would at one stroke annul the enormous growth of papal authority and claims to jurisdiction over all churches, including the Greek, begun under Gregory VII and continued through 1870 to the present.

To return to the Western conciliar movement—it is very striking that, after almost two centuries of papal refusal to accept Byzantine requests for convocation of a general council to solve their doctrinal and liturgical differences over the *filioque*, use of the *azyma* (unleavened bread), the question of the *epiklesis* (that is, the exact moment at which the miracle of *metavole* [transubstantiation] occurs), and over the question of celibacy or marriage of clergy—the popes finally relented and

¹ On Lyons, see D. Geanakoplos, *Emperor Michael Palaeologus and the West* (Cambridge, 1959), pp. 258-76. On Florence, see J. Gill, *The Council of Florence* (Cambridge, 1959) and D. Geanakoplos, "The Council of Florence (1438-39) and the Problem of Union between the Greek and Latin Churches," *Church History*, 24 (1955) 324-46. On Greek insistence to return to the situation before 1054, see Geanakoplos, *Emperor Michael Palaeologus and the West* (Cambridge, 1959), pp. 261-62 and Geanakoplos, "Bonaventure and the Two Mendicant Orders and the Greeks at the Council of Lyons," *The Orthodox Churches and the West* (Oxford, 1976), p. 192.

in 1431 accepted the Greek proposal for calling a general council, that is for a convocation of the bishops of the Church in something at least of the manner of the early church councils. What a reversal from the position of Popes Urban IV and Clement IV of the thirteenth century that "it would be absolutely improper, indeed a Council cannot be permitted to meet, since the purity of the faith cannot be cast into doubt by discussion with the Greeks."² Rome, as always hitherto, insisted on religious union first and then a general council could meet, presumably simply to ratify the decisions. At the Council of Lyons in 1274, Eastern and Western representatives had, to be sure, already met. But there, except for some *private* conversations presumably engaged in by the chief Latin legate Cardinal Bonaventure and the chief Greek lay representative, George Akropolites, no public debate or discussion whatever had been permitted by Rome to take place.³ Indeed, some decades later in the fourteenth century, Barlaam, the Byzantine humanist from south Italy, in explaining the failure of Lyons to achieve union, told the pope categorically, that "the Byzantine people will never accept Lyons as an ecumenical council because *all five* patriarchs were not present and no public discussion had taken place."⁴ Emperor Michael in fact then could not even induce the incumbent Greek patriarch to go to Lyons, and instead had to send an ex-patriarch, so strong was the people and clergy's opposition. Actually, Michael had sought union not out of sincere conviction of the need for religious rapprochement, but out of sheer desperation and need—in order to secure papal aid against his mortal enemy, the papal vassal Charles of Anjou, King of Sicily, who was threatening Constantinople. The same situation was in a sense now being repeated at Basel and then Florence, but now with the Turks threatening Constantinople. Nevertheless, this time, with the development of greater interest in each other's cultures and religions in the period of the early Renaissance, a number of Greek clergy and intellectuals (Demetrios Kydones and Bessarion, for example) were ready, for the sake of a higher ideal, the unity of Christendom, to sacrifice some of their doubts. And of course the papacy too, finding itself in dire straits, needed a trump card to play

² Geanakoplos, *Emperor Michael*, p. 203, trans. of papal document, from E. Jordan, *Les registres de Clément IV* (Paris, 1893), 1, no. 585, p. 199; A. Tautu, *Acta . . . Clementis IV . . .* (Vatican, 1953), no. 23, esp. p. 67.

³ See esp. Geanakoplos, "Bonaventure and the Greeks at Lyons," pp. 183-211, esp. 202, 206-08, 211.

⁴ See translation of Barlaam's discourse in D. Geanakoplos, "Byzantium and the Crusades (1261-1453)," chaps. 2-3 in K. Setton, *The Crusades*, 3 (Madison, 1974), pp. 55-56 (text in PG 151.1332f.).

against its increasingly powerful opponents, the Western conciliarist movement.

Before the convocation at Lyons in 1274 Pope Gregory X had commissioned a position paper from the Latin scholar Humbert de Romans, who had lived long in the East. Humbert, with rare psychological insight, had insisted that the difficulty of Greek and Latin theologians to understand each others' position could, at least partly, be alleviated if Greeks and Latins would do what he said no one ever did, namely, to read through each others canon law. In his plea for greater understanding, Humbert also stated that the most basic reason for animosity between the two Churches was originally not religious at all but arose from the recreation of the Roman Empire in the West in 800 by Charlemagne, an act which served to deny the validity of Byzantine claims to be the true successors of Augustus and Constantine the Great.⁵ The lesson to be drawn from this emphasis on differences in Greek and Latin mental and psychological attitudes and the remedies proposed to alleviate them should not be lost on today's theologians interested in the conception of religious union of the ecumene.

The Council of Basel was convened for 1431 by the recalcitrant Pope Martin V at the insistence of the still powerful Conciliarist party of the West, which was pressing for reform of the Church in head and members, especially in its head, the papacy. To be sure, as a result of the two earlier Western conciliarist synods held at Pisa in 1409 and Constance beginning in 1414, the Conciliarist party had finally managed to impose on the Western Church its theory that a general council is superior to the pope, and that therefore papal sanction in convoking such a council could, contrary to medieval Western canon law, be contravened. Several reasons had led to this conviction: the belief that Christ rather than the Pope, successor of Saint Peter, was the true head of the Church; that in time of extreme emergency for the well-being of the entire Church and community—Church and community were here considered coterminous—canon law could be dispensed with and emergency measures adopted for the benefit of all. The conciliar theory was finally translated into action not by the two rival popes but by the cardinals of both curias, one residing in Rome, the other in Avignon. At the Council of Constance, in 1417, the revolutionary conciliar edict *Frequens* was adopted, declaring that a council should be convened regularly, first after five years (later seven, then ten) to take care of pressing church problems such as clerical abuses and the regulation of

⁵ See Humbert de Romans, *Opus Tripartitum* in Mansi, *Concilia*, 24, cols. 106-36; cf. Geanakoplos, "Bonaventure and the Greeks," p. 196.

papal affairs.⁶ It is important to note that in the formulation of such theories, laymen for the first time took a major role.

Such views sound in certain ways similar to the traditional ones of Byzantines.⁷ At least they seem consonant with Byzantine emphasis on councils as the ultimate authority in doctrinal and jurisdictional questions of the Church. That is the superiority of the collective wisdom of the Fathers gathered in council under the guidance of the Holy Spirit is recognized over that of one individual, the pope. For the Byzantines, all the Apostles were believed to be equal in authority, though they almost never denied Saint Peter a primacy of honor.⁸ More significant, however, is the Greek interpretation of the statement made by Christ as found in Matthew: "Thou art Peter and on this rock (*petra*) I will found my Church." For the Greeks this *did* refer to Peter, although some Protestants, wrongly I believe, deny it. But Peter's faith according to Orthodox tradition was the same as that held by all the Apostles. The rock referred to as Peter, then, means the *common faith* of all the Apostles to be disseminated to all Christians.⁹ The Orthodox understanding of this *locus classicus*, it seems to me, has a much more ecumenical ring to it than the Roman view. And of course the meaning of Matthew's passage was much discussed at Florence.

In the Western discussions at the Council of Basel and certainly in the preliminaries to Florence, we know that the fundamental question came up as to who had the authority to call the universal council. Should the old Byzantine tradition prevail of the emperor as the one to do so, or should the pope do so, as formulated by Latin canon law by

⁶ On conciliar theory and its development and the Councils of Constance and Basel, see among others E. Jacob, *Essays in the Conciliar Epoch* (Manchester, 1953) and A. Flick, *The Decline and Fall of the Medieval Church*, 2 (New York, 1920), chaps. 12-19, esp. p. 107 and 135-37 (on Cusanus' ideas) and J. Haller, *Concilium Basiliense*, 1-5 (Basel, 1896-1905); F. Oakley, *Council over Pope* (New York, 1969); O. de La Brosse, *Le Pape et le Concile* (Paris, 1965).

⁷Cf., e.g., Aemilianos, Bishop of Meloa, "The Nature and Character of Ecumenical Councils according to the Orthodox Church," in *The Councils of the Church: History and Analysis* (Philadelphia, 1966), pp. 338-69, esp. p. 348: "The Church (to the East) embraces all humanity and creation to participate in divine life . . . The human race equals the Body of Christ."

⁸ See esp. J. Meyendorff, "St. Peter in Byzantine Theology," in *The Primacy of Peter* (London, 1963), esp. pp. 9-15. Also George Akropolites, "On Sts. Peter and Paul," in his *Opera* (Teubner, ed.) 2, pp. 45-66. Cf. now Bishop of Meloa, "The Councils of the Church," p. 354: "The East always accorded primacy of honor to Rome, though not in matters of dogma or jurisdiction."

⁹ See e.g. Ἡθικὴ καὶ Θρησκευτικὴ Ἐγκυροπαιίδεια (Athens, 1967), 10, pp. 347f. Also Bishop of Meloa, "Nature and Character of Ecumenical Councils," pp. 338-69, esp. 363: "Christ gave authority to all the Apostles collectively, not to one," and "Christ gave power to bind and loose to all bishops, not just to the pope." Cf. Gill, *Council of Florence*, p. 259.

the time of the twelfth century. In any case, we know that the conciliarists at Basel, certainly aware of the implications of this question, tried hard to get the Western emperor, Sigismund, to come to Basel and demonstrate his support for the Basel council, which in fact he did.¹⁰ I shall touch later on the problem of who should convoke a unionist Latin-Greek council today.

A point of interest paralleling that which occurred at early ecumenical synods of the Church was that the Body of Christ included—as the Western conciliarists as well as the Greeks maintained—all Christians, laymen as well as ecclesiastics.¹¹ In the Roman Church, the existence of lay theologians was virtually unknown, while in Byzantium the existence of lay theologians was a long-standing tradition. Several of them, such as Scholarios and Plethon, in fact came along to Florence.

The question now naturally arises: to what degree, if any, were Western conciliar theorists, the German Dietrich of Niem, the French Pierre d'Ailly and Jean Gerson, or the German Nicholas of Cusa, influenced, consciously or otherwise, by the Byzantine conciliar example? After all, Western intellectuals were not unaware of the early Byzantine conciliar tradition, which was also common to them.¹² And Cusanus, to mention only the greatest, had been a convinced conciliarist until the Pope succeeded in attracting the Greeks to Ferrara instead of Basel or Avignon as the Conciliarists wished.¹³

There exists a speech delivered by Gerson before the French king and court in honor of the election at Pisa in 1409 of the Cretan Pope Alexander V. As Gerson stresses, Alexander was a Greek Franciscan, one without family (something that would presumably minimize any tendencies to nepotism) and, as Gerson put it, "We, therefore, look forward now finally, to reunion with the Eastern Church."¹⁴ On the other hand, of course we should not overlook the direct or indirect influence of such earlier lay Western political theorists as Marsillo of Padua and Wycliffe of England¹⁵ This question of influence, I pose

¹⁰See Flick, *Decline and Fall of the Church*, p. 136f. and notes.

¹¹See e.g. Cusanus' views in Flick, *Decline of the Church*, p. 147. Cf. note 7 above, view of Bishop Aemilianos.

¹²Deitrich's treatises certainly seem to reveal knowledge of the ancient Church's ecclesiology, which in the ancient period was common to East and West and largely formulated in the East. Cf. G. Erler, *Dietrich von Nieheim sein Leben und seine Schriften* (Leipzig, 1887-1977).

¹³On the Western conciliar theorists, see Flick, *Decline of the Church*, esp. chaps. 12-15. On the Council of Basel, esp. J. Haller (ed.), *Concilium Basiliense*, 8 vols. (Basel, 1896-1936). Also cf. note 6 above.

¹⁴See A. Galitzin, *Sermon inédite de Jean Gerson sur le retour des Grecs à l'unité* (Paris, 1859), p. 29f.

¹⁵Cf. W. Ullmann, *Origins of the Great Schism* (London, 1948).

because it seems to me likely that some kind of influence, at least by example, would have emanated from the tradition of the Christian East, through whose areas so many thousands of Western crusaders, merchants, and, later, Franciscan and Dominican missionaries had passed since the end of the eleventh century.

It should be noted that, according to Byzantine canon law, it was the emperor's duty to convoke general councils. He was often present at sessions; he ratified and, finally, he published the decisions of the council, doctrinal and canonistic. But he could not vote.¹⁶ This to Professor F. Dvornik is convincing proof that the independence of the bishops was preserved from imperial interference. To be sure the emperors, who also paid the expenses of the bishops whom they had invited to attend, might sometimes withhold funds and thereby, so to speak, "pack" the assembly with those he favored. According to the Byzantine ecclesiastic and historian Syropoulos, who, though knowledgeable, is admittedly prejudiced, Pope Eugenius IV seems at Florence to have withheld subsistence funds from the Greeks just before critical votes were to be taken.¹⁷

Dvornik also believes, following Battifol, that the procedures of the first seven ecumenical synods were modeled after those of the Roman Senate.¹⁸ This opinion, however, is not shared by the modern Orthodox Bishop Aemilianos of Meloa.¹⁹ Since the schism between the two churches in 1054, Rome had, however, in accord with its canon law asserted the right of the pope to convoke ecumenical councils, which, even despite the absence of the Greeks, were and are considered ecumenical by the Catholic West. All this of course evokes a disturbing question for Orthodox scholars, "Who can and will convoke a modern ecumenical council to include both churches?" Not the pope alone whose canon law development is alien to the Eastern spirit; certainly not the king of the Greeks who is no longer even functioning. Most probably it will be on the initiative of the pope and the *primus inter pares* of the Orthodox bishops, the Ecumenical Patriarch of Constantinople. Modern Orthodox scholars, Bishop Aemilianos, Father Georges Florovsky, and others

¹⁶F. Dvornik, "Emperors, Pope and General Councils," in *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 6 (Cambridge, 1951) 1-23.

¹⁷For Syropoulos, see V. Laurent (ed.), *Les "Mémoires" de S. Syropoulos* (Paris, 1971), p. 290, 378, 384, 436, etc. Cf. Geanakoplos, "Council of Florence," pp. 89-90, esp. n. 20. But cf. Gill, *Council of Florence*, pp. 170, 174, 252, 290, who does not accept this view generally. Cf. Siemann, *Die Konzilsidie des altere Kirche*, (Paderborn, 1979).

¹⁸Dvornik, "Emperors, Popes, and General Councils," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, 6 (Cambridge, 1951) 19-23.

¹⁹See Bishop Aemilianos, "Nature and Character of Ecumenical Councils," esp. p. 363.

(including myself), point, I believe, to a way out of this seeming insuperable impasse. In their writings they have shown that the emperor was essentially only the protector of the Church, not its "caesaropapist" master,²⁰ and as such his function in this connection can therefore be dispensed with. Recall Dvornik's views that he had no actual vote in a general council although he could certainly make his opinions felt otherwise. The ecclesiastical assembly was free to vote as it wished and each bishop, though not titular bishops, had a vote. Meeting as a synod the bishops of the first seven synods always strove for unanimity, a consensus, which they believed the Holy Spirit helped them to arrive at.²¹

It is true that the Iconoclast emperors of the seventh to the ninth centuries, during councils they convoked, *did* impose changes in doctrine. But these caesaropapistic changes did not endure. The Seventh Ecumenical Synod of 787 and, then, the proclamation of the Feast of Orthodoxy in 843, which definitively restored the icons, completely annulled and indeed forever condemned the work of the Iconoclast rulers. It was, however, as a result of the Iconoclast struggle that the Byzantine patriarch became much more of a full partner with the emperor in the *Basileia* (or empire on earth) as Patriarch Photios' lawcode, the *Epanagoge*, shows, with the patriarch to deal primarily with souls and the emperor with the body, that is temporal affairs.²² Professor Obolensky has felicitously termed this cooperation, a *symphonia*.

The defeat of the Iconoclast emperors did not mean that the emperor, if he so desired, could not in practice name or even depose a patriarch. But there were limits to his power, as is seen also from the thirteenth century onward by the failure of the emperor's unionist efforts with Rome. The popes of Rome (except perhaps for the understanding Gregory X) always seemed to overstress the power of the Byzantine emperor over his high clergy, not only because of his admittedly complete control over ecclesiastical polity (that is, church administration) but I think, in part, because he had certain sacerdotal privileges. The emperor alone, besides the clergy, had the right to enter the

²⁰See e.g. D. Geanakoplos, "Church and State in the Byzantine Empire," in *Byzantine East and Latin West* (Oxford, 1966), esp. p. 73; and esp. Bishop of Meloa, "Nature and Character of Ecumenical Councils," p. 363: "The role of the Byzantine emperor in calling councils and his conduct there is widely overestimated. In external matters he orders, organizes, pays, transports, but he could not interfere with doctrine. It is wrong to say ecclesiastical councils were patterned after the Roman Senate in procedures."

²¹See Bishop of Meloa, "Nature and Character of Ecumenical Councils," esp. p. 344.

²²See "Epanagoge" in E. Barker, *Social and Political Thought in Byzantium* (Oxford, 1957), p. 92. On this kind of *symphonia* between church and state, see Geanakoplos, "Church and State in the Byzantine Empire," esp. pp. 56-67.

sanctuary and to cross before the altar, to take communion with his own hands (though, notably, a cleric had first to consecrate the bread and wine), to cense the people, and to preach in church. All these so-called sacerdotal powers have led some persons in the West to believe he possessed caesaropapistic powers and was a true emperor-priest, a fact which is not correct. As I have put it in one of my works, though he could completely control ecclesiastical appointments in what I term the "exoteric" side of the Church, he could not enter into the "esoteric" (or inner) life of the Church.²³ Specifically, as Maximos the Confessor points out, no emperor could perform the miracle of *metabole* (transubstantiation) or unilaterally change accepted doctrine.²⁴

It is interesting that at Florence (according to the Greek ecclesiastical historian Sylvester Syropoulos who has left us a very valuable account of what transpired among the Greek legation behind the scenes) the Patriarch Joseph, despite the remarkable increase during the last two centuries of Byzantium's life in his ecclesiastical authority over the huge territory of what D. Obolensky calls the "Byzantine Commonwealth," privately intimated to a fellow-Greek bishop, "I wish we could at least learn from the pope how to prevent imperial interference in ecclesiastical affairs."²⁵

A remarkable example of personal cooperation between a modern pope and patriarch already exists. In 1965 Patriarch Athenagoras of Constantinople and Pope Paul VI, meeting in Jerusalem and acting alone, annulled the mutual anathematizations of 1054, which, the Latin document makes clear, had excommunicated only Patriarch Kerouarios *and all his followers (et omnes sequaces)*. I do not think that the latter term refers to all Byzantines who came thereafter, for in the same document of excommunication, Humbert and the two other Roman legates to Constantinople actually praised the "orthodoxy" of the emperor and his people. Patriarch Kerouarios and his Synodos Endemousa (permanent Standing Synod), on their side, had anathematized *only* the three papal legates, not the

²³Cf. Geanakoplos, "Church and State," pp. 65-80.

²⁴In PG 10.117: "The emperor is not a priest for neither does he participate in the sanctuary and after the consecration of the bread he does not elevate it and say, 'The holy things belong to the holy.' "

²⁵See Geanakoplos, "Council of Florence," p. 94, n. 44; cf. B. Stephanides, "The Last Stage of the Development of Relations between Byzantine Church and State," in *'Επετηρίς Εταιρείας Βυζαντινών Σπουδῶν*, 16 (1953) 38f. For Obolensky, see his *The Byzantine Commonwealth* (New York, 1971), pp. 75-76. The term "Commonwealth" here refers primarily to the Orthodox Slavic areas not technically part of the Byzantine Empire but constituting an integral part of the Byzantine Church, being under the patriarch's jurisdiction. On Maximos, see Bishop of Meloa, "Nature and Character of Ecumenical Councils," p. 363.

pope.²⁶ Thus it would seem that, contrary to the belief of later centuries, there really was no schism, legally, in 1054. In the East, in fact, the pope's name had not been read in the diptychs since 1009, as Martin Jugie has shown²⁷—an omission which in itself could indicate not only lack of communication but also cessation of religious communion.

What *did* produce the final, destructive schism were the predatory Latin crusading attacks against the East, above all the Western conquest of Constantinople in 1204, as a result of which Latin patriarchs were named in conquered Greek Constantinople, Jerusalem, and Antioch.

A point vital to an understanding of the problem of modern ecclesiastical reunion is the development of different Latin and Orthodox ecclesiologies, that is, theories of the Church. These were vividly exemplified, even dramatized, in several incidents which occurred at Florence. Joseph Gill in his authoritative book on the Council of Florence disparages these as of minor importance involving only matters of protocol.²⁸ For me, however, these admittedly rather minor encounters between Greeks and Latins symbolize, more vividly and succinctly perhaps than anything else, the differences in mental attitudes and in principle, underlying the growth of the two similar but in some ways very different ecclesiastical traditions. For example, when the patriarch of Constantinople first arrived in Ferrara, it was demanded that he kiss the foot of the pope. Refusing sharply, he said (as the Greek source Syropoulos alone tells us, though his remark is corroborated by a papal ceremonial book): "Why should I kiss the foot of the pope? What synod gave him this right?" To which the Latins replied, "All bishops, kings, and even the Western emperor perform this act to the pope as Peter's successor." Patriarch Joseph then responded, "Show me where it is written that the other Apostles did this to Peter and we, as representing the other Apostles, shall do the same for the pope. Otherwise I shall leave and go home to Constantinople." Another conflict arose later regarding the seating in the Cathedral of Ferrara of the two bodies of representatives, the pope wishing to seat himself in the middle of the church with the Greeks at his left and the Latins at his right. But the Greeks, insisting on their age-old tradition of the emperor

²⁶For Latin documents of excommunication, see C. Will, *Acta et Scripta* (Leipzig-Marburg), pp. 153-54, and *ibid.*, pp. 155-56 for the Greek text of excommunication. For English translation of the much neglected Greek anathema of the Synodos Endemousa, see Geanakoplos, *Byzantium: Church, Society and Civilization* (Chicago University) no. 151B.

²⁷M. Jugie, *Le Schisme Byzantin* (Paris, 1941), pp. 166-67, based on documents found by W. Holzmann, "Die Unionsverhandlungen zwischen Alexios I und Papst Urban II im 1089," *Byz. Zeit* 28 (1928) 38-67.

²⁸Gill, *Council of Florence*, esp. p. 105, note 3.

as the Vice-regent of God, affirmed that that was the emperor's prerogative. Finally, the pope prevailed, having himself seated on the Latin side but on a throne higher than the Greek emperor's.

The poor patriarch was assigned a position corresponding to that of the highest-ranking Western cardinals. A seat, moreover, was even reserved for the Holy Roman Emperor on a level equal to that of the Byzantine emperor. (Notable, since the pope was denied a position in the center of the church, was the fact that ancient conciliar protocol was followed, with the Bible, as in the first seven ecumenical synods, being placed there.) Finally, at the very end of the council, a dispute arose as to who would first sign the *tomos* of union, the pope or the emperor, the latter in accord with ancient conciliar practice.²⁹ As before, the pope again prevailed but with the text of union reading that he signed first "with imperial participation." All of these various differences which I have here pointed out, it would seem, justify the view that they were more than mere differences of protocol.³⁰ Rather, they reflect basic tendencies or principles of belief of the two churches not only in disciplinary matters but also in conciliar procedure.

Most important of all, of course, is the question of the development of papal authority, from the original primacy of honor accorded Peter's successor by the ecumenical synods of Ephesos and Chalcedon, to the universal and complete jurisdiction, that is, *plenitudo potestatis* over the entire Christian Church including the Greek East, later arrogated to themselves by the popes. The extraordinary development of papal authority from at least the eleventh century onward has led some Protestant and Orthodox canonists and theologians, correctly I believe, to ask, "What is the point of an ecumenical council if the pope persists in his claims that he alone has the right to convoke that council, to ratify it, to interpret it, and to implement it or not, as he chooses?"

In this respect the emergence of so-called "collegiality" of the episcopate with the pope in Vatican Council II was, from the view of many Christians, a step in the right direction. But, unfortunately, it has proved, under the present pope, to be a hollow development. The Byzantine and modern Orthodox views of the functions of bishops and even laymen at the early ecumenical councils seem to reflect a similar sense of "collegiality." Even more so is the sense of collegiality reflected

²⁹On these three episodes, reported fully by Syropoulos (and referred to by other sources), see discussion and references in Geanakoplos, "Council of Florence," pp. 94-98, 107 with bibliography. Papal ceremonial books of the time mention kissing the pope's foot (rather than the knee); cf. *ibid.*

³⁰E.g. Bishop of Meloa, "Nature and Character of Ecumenical Councils," *passim*. Also L. Sevčenko, "Intellectual Repercussions of the Council of Florence," *Church History* (1955) 298, who objects to these kinds of incidents being called "trifles."

in the ancient Byzantine theory (often objected to by the popes) of the so-called “Pentarchy” of the patriarchs.³¹ It is hoped that the apparently abortive appearance of collegiality in the Roman Church at Vatican II will once again reemerge at a future universal council which so many churchmen desire.

Had the seven hundred Greeks who went to the papal conclave at Ferrara-Florence appeared instead at Basel, still another factor might well have arisen to injure their sensibilities—their possible relegation, as at Constance, to represent merely another “nation” along with the four Latin “nations” already designated there: the French, English, German, and Italian. (Spain was soon added.) For at Constance the voting was done by nations, not individuals.³² An imperial Greek ambassador had been in the West negotiating with Western authorities at least as early as 1431, and he doubtless reported on this fact to his master. Moreover, Emperor John VIII had had many occasions to discuss the situation with members of the rival papal and conciliar delegations sent to Constantinople just before 1438, the latter headed by the Greek-speaking “Roman Catholic” John of Ragusa, in some ways a very sympathetic but today insufficiently known figure, and the former by the more famous Nicholas of Cusa, the philosopher who searched so hard in Byzantium to find manuscripts of Plato.³³ The Byzantines may well have recalled, in this connection, their relegation at the earlier Council of Lyons (1274) to being seated *behind all* of the Roman cardinals, though ahead of the rest of the Western clergy and monks.³⁴ Thus at Basel the Greeks would certainly have protested had they been considered merely one among five “nations,” in accordance with the growing emergence in the West of the feeling of “nationality.” But,

³¹On theory of Pentarchy (which was first emphasized by the East in Justinian’s reign), see F Dvornik, *Byzantium and the Roman Primacy* (New York, 1966), pp 75-76, and cf Dvornik, *The Photian Schism* (Cambridge, 1948), p 150, also Geanakoplos, *Byzantine East and Latin West*, p 86. Pentarchic theory, that is, equality of all five patriarchs, is of course not exactly the same as collegiality.

³²See e.g. Flick, *Decline of Medieval Church*, pp 134-35, and now C. Crowder, *Unity Heresy and Reform 1378-1468* (London, 1977), pp 150-52.

³³John of Ragusa was sent in 1431 by the then occupied Cardinal Cesarini to preside over the opening session of the Basel Council see Flick, *Decline of the Medieval Church*, p 136f. Also F. Dolger, “Eine byzantinisches Staatsdokument in der Universitätsbibliothek Basel,” *Historisches Jahrbuch* (1953), pp 218-20, and E. Cecconi, *Studi storici sul Concilio di Firenze* (Florence, 1869), pp 478-86. John’s records of the Basel council and esp those of John of Segovia are the most important sources for that council, many are still unpublished. John of Ragusa knew Greek and was well-liked by the Greeks (On Cusanus, see Geanakoplos, “Council of Florence,” pp 98-99 and bibl.) For Segovia’s history, see his unpublished *Historia Gestarum Generalis Synodi Basiliensis* Cf U. Fromherz, *Johannes von Segovia* (Basel, 1960).

³⁴See now A. Franchi, *Il Concilio di Lione* (Rome, 1965), pp 84-85. Cf discussion in Geanakoplos, *Emperor Michael*, p 261, and quotation from source.

as actually happened, though some attention was indeed paid to the consideration of nationality, the voting procedure was according to interlocking "commissions," a factor which made for extreme complexity in securing the passage of any proposal. Thus the extreme rivalry of the various national delegations made it virtually impossible for any business to be transacted and the end result was a dismal failure.³⁵

The Byzantines still considered themselves "Romans" (a term implying universality), even though their empire was now virtually gone except for Constantinople, the Peloponnesos, and one or two islands. But in contrast to this diminution of territory the jurisdiction of the patriarch of Constantinople, meantime, had become more expanded than ever before—to extend over many of the northern Orthodox Slavic lands, over the Slavs in the Balkans, and over Orthodox lands further east.³⁶ Thus in effect the Byzantines represented the entire Eastern half of Christendom, if not more. Yet, despite this fact, there was no *a priori* assurance that at Basel they would have counted as much more than one nation against four for the Latins. Indeed, to quote Syropoulos, the chief source of information on the Byzantine mentality, before the Greeks left Constantinople for Italy, Gemistos Plethon, the great Byzantine philosopher (who, though hardly Christian, was certainly a Greek "patriot") warned both emperor and patriarch to beware of the majority method of voting at the coming general council.³⁷ For the Latins would vastly outnumber the Greeks in their own territory. It is entirely possible or even probable, that these kinds of voting procedures at Basel constituted the peril about which Plethon was warning.

At the previous Council of Constance and to a lesser extent, Basel, the Western conciliarists had committed a major diplomatic blunder. They had sent a letter to the Greek emperor and patriarch stressing their natural alliance, as it were, against the monarchical-acting papacy. So far so good. But at the same time, and evidently without any real intention to do so, they demeaned the Greeks by speaking of them in the very same context in which they wrote of their attempts to win over the "heretic" Hussites.³⁸ This lumping of the Greeks, so to say, with the heterodox Hussites deeply wounded Greek sensibilities, who considered theirs the most *Orthodox* of churches in the original sense of the word.

³⁵For English trans. of Segovia's account of the voting, see Crowder, *Unity*, p. 150.

³⁶See D. Obolensky, *Byzantine Commonwealth*, p. 264f. Now also J. Meyendorff, *Byzantium and the Rise of Russia* (Cambridge, 1981), esp. chaps. 2, 7, 8, and *passim*.

³⁷See *Les "Mémoires" de Syropoulos*, p. 312, 11, 9-13, for passage.

³⁸On the Hussites, the Greeks, and Basel, see Geanakoplos, "Council of Florence," p. 91 and bibl. Also M. Paulová, "L'empire byzantin et les Tcheques avant la chute de Constantinople," *Byzantinoslavica*, 14 (1953).

Why then did the Byzantines, in view of their own indisputably conciliar emphasis, elect to accept the papal invitation to go to Ferrara-Florence rather than to Avignon or even Basel as the Basel conciliarists requested. The then pope Eugenius IV was by now on bad terms with Basel. They even mutually excommunicated each other at various times. But Pope Eugenius was more astute than the conciliarists with whom the Greeks were also in contact. For he quickly used the Greek request for an ecumenical council as a means not only to bring the Greeks back ("reductio" is the double-edged term used always by the popes) to the Roman Church but thereby to weaken and defeat the Western conciliarist movement.

In my view the Greek decision to go to Ferrara-Florence instead of Basel was for the following reasons: First, Basel and Avignon were too distant from Constantinople and a new and more serious Turkish siege of Constantinople seemed imminent. Second, and much more important, the Byzantines, some of whom now knew Latin well, evidently believed that the conciliar phenomenon in the West would be short-lived and that in the long run the papacy, with its lengthy tradition rivalling their own, would triumph, as actually happened. The Basel conciliarists were, moreover, divided, as Aeneas Silvius, the later Pope Pius II, relates, even coming to blows in Basel over the question of the Greek union and how to treat the Byzantines. Certainly there was a real danger that the pope would not appear personally in Basel, though he promised to do so at Ferrara-Florence. Of course for the Greeks, as Barlaam had clearly shown, it was absolutely indispensable that *all five patriarchs* including the pope, or their representatives, be present. Then, too, many secular princes, especially Italian, and the prince of Burgundy (whose military aid the emperor particularly wanted) promised to come to Italy, not to Basel.³⁹ There is, as noted, also the crucial point of what the voting procedures would be at Basel. And, finally, the papacy, aided by its Medici bankers, was able to promise more financial assistance to the Greeks for the long, difficult journey to the West and for their support while there. Interestingly enough when the Byzantines reached Venice, the Doge asked them where they would go (for they were still hesitant). He himself advised them to go where it was to their advantage.⁴⁰

³⁹On these considerations regarding the Greek decision, see Geanakoplos, "Council of Florence," pp. 93-94. On John's expectations from the Duke of Burgundy, see my "Council of Florence," p. 111, n. 113; also *Acta Graeca*, ed. J. Gill (Rome, 1953), pp. 212-13, for text.

⁴⁰Laurent (ed.) of Syropoulos, p. 220. 11. 5-13 for text. See Pastor, *History of the Popes*, 1, p. 312, who indicates the Greeks had selected Ferrara as site of the (papal) council instead of Savona (which could not raise the monetary guarantee) or Basel itself. On papal bankers (lacking to Basel), see Crowder, *Unity*, p. 33.

The Byzantines of course would have no truck at all with people like the Hussites who seemed, in effect, to deny the importance of holy tradition. This view brings to mind the similar reaction of the Greek patriarch Jeremiah II, later, during the Reformation, after the German humanist Melanchthon, with the best of intentions and confidence, had sent to Constantinople a copy of the Augsburg Confession, perhaps assuming (as some Protestants still do), that the Orthodox Church was a kind of *tertium quid* between Catholics and Protestants and could thus serve as an ally against the Catholic Church. But Jeremiah sent back a censuring letter, branding dogmatic points of the Augsburg Confession heterodox.⁴¹

Nevertheless, even despite the major problem of papal jurisdictional primacy, the church closest to the Orthodox is doubtless the Roman Catholic. It is the only one with a claim equal to the Orthodox in apostolicity, catholicity, and ecumenicity. And this despite its convocation after the Seventh Ecumenical Synod of 787, of a great many councils which it has unilaterally pronounced ecumenical but which are not recognized as such by the Orthodox. Both churches still preserve essentially the same basic doctrinal beliefs and sacraments. The *filioque*, for so long the chief dogmatic difference, in my view will no longer be a major block (as will be indicated below). Moreover, it was as a result of the negotiations between Rome and Constantinople before and during the Councils of Lyons and Florence that the Orthodox Church first enumerated the sacraments as seven. Earlier the Orthodox Church had not distinguished, or rather singled out, exactly which were sacraments (*mysteria*) and which were *sacramentalia* (*mysteriakai teletai*).⁴² Both churches have the same respect for holy tradition as they have for the sacred Scriptures. Moreover, East and West both participated in the decisions of the first seven ecumenical councils which all took place in the East and the conciliar decisions of which all began with the traditional statement, "According to the example of the Holy Fathers of the Church." In view of all these similarities indicated, it would be a far less arduous task for Orthodox and Latins to come together in union than for Orthodox with most Protestants, or for Catholics with most Protestants. (On the other hand, it should be stressed that Orthodoxy certainly has its own unique characteristics, among them especially the concept of *theosis* [divinization, already to some degree in this life], which is not typical of other Christian faiths.)

One of the problems of the Orthodox in dealing with Rome is that

⁴¹On Patriarch Jeremiah, see S. Runciman, *The Great Church in Captivity* (Cambridge, 1968), pp. 248-56.

⁴²See text cited in Geanakoplos, "Church and State in the Byzantine Empire," p. 50f.

in the Greek psyche there still lurk memories, fading to be sure, of the hated Latin occupation and the destruction wrought in Constantinople after 1204. At that time the Byzantines were forced to submit to Roman ecclesiastical jurisdiction with Latin patriarchs installed on the patriarchal throne in Constantinople and in the other Eastern patriarchates. We know from a letter of Pope Innocent III himself that in Constantinople, after a Latin priest had baptized a Greek child, a Byzantine priest would rebaptize him, and that after the performance of the Latin rite in Hagia Sophia, old women would rush up and scrub the altar as if it had been polluted.⁴³ In this connection I have discovered a letter written by the Greek citizens of Constantinople to Pope Innocent III asking for the appointment of a Greek patriarch in Constantinople (along with the Latin), "since," as the Greek citizens put it, "it is impossible for us in confession to tell our secrets to an 'alien,' that is, to a Latin, bishop."⁴⁴

But these kinds of emotional feelings, fortunately, have greatly diminished in intensity and many Orthodox do not remember, or even care to remember, these events any longer. Even the *filioque*, so formidable an obstacle at Florence, should prove far less intractable today. For Florence has provided us with a working through of this vexing question which can constitute a comprehensive basis for discussion today. After an absolutely exhaustive examination (lasting in all almost one and one half years) of patristic texts, Latin as well as Greek, in which both sides piled up catenas of authorities to support their respective positions, the eminently sensible solution was reached that both sides could accept that the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Father *through* the Son. For the Greeks this meant that they could continue to recite the original symbol, so necessary for them to preserve their belief in the monarchy of the Father, while the Latins in their view could with impunity affirm that the Holy Spirit proceeds also from the Son (*filioque*).⁴⁵ Each side was then in effect free to interpret that point of dogma as it wished, since both agreed there was only *one ultimate source* for the Godhead. The difference really was at bottom conceptual in that the Latins in effect stressed unity in the Trinity and the Orthodox tended to emphasize the threeness.

But even before the examination at Ferrara-Florence of the theology

⁴³Ch. Hefele, *Histoire des Conciles*, 8 (Paris, 1872), p. 124, quoting papal document.

⁴⁴See my *Byzantium: Church, Society and Civilization Seen Through Contemporary Eyes* (Chicago, 1984), document no. 155.

⁴⁵See Gill, *Council of Florence*, pp. 259-61. Also D. Geanakoplos, "The Second Ecumenical Council of Constantinople (381): Proceedings and Theology of the Holy Spirit," *The Greek Orthodox Theological Review* 27 (1982) 407-29, which discusses this view already held much earlier in the age of the Fathers.

of the *filioque*, the Greeks had objected on the grounds that it was useless even to bring up theology since no addition whatever to the creed was permissible in accordance with the express prohibitions of the ecumenical councils of both Ephesos and Chalcedon. With this rather simple but ingenious approach, the Greeks meant to cut the ground from under the Latins even before theological debate could begin.⁴⁶ This points up again the sanctity, the absolute inviolability, of the ecumenical councils and their decisions for the Orthodox. Not one letter of the conciliar decrees should be altered, they insisted.⁴⁷

Before arriving at a final solution of the *filioque*, some of the Greeks (except for Bessarion, Isidore of Kiev, Andrea of Rhodes, and Dorotheos of Mytilene, in particular) were still sharply against acceptance of the *filioque* but gave another reason for rejection of it. One Greek bishop in particular kept repeating over and over: "I will not accept the *filioque* and become Latinized."⁴⁸ This touches once more on a deeper psychological nerve, for he, like many of the Greeks of the age, especially monks and lower clergy, were fearful that acceptance of the *filioque* would constitute the first step toward Latinization. In other words they feared loss, or some loss, of their identity as a people. And that may well have had some basis. For Eugenius' first act after signing the union was to see to the election in Florence of a new Greek patriarch in place of the recently deceased Joseph. What is interesting is that he suggested as nominee the Latin patriarch of Constantinople, his own nephew.⁴⁹ In the same vein of Greek fear of cultural or even "ethnic" absorption, is the statement made not long before this by Joseph Byrennios, a Byzantine monk. He said, "If the Latins come to save us, they will come only to destroy our city, our race and our name."⁵⁰ Such manifestations of ethnicity or "nationalism," important for the Greeks at the Council of Florence, should also be taken into account in any future council, especially in view of the even closer identification of church and state in most modern Orthodox countries.

Most serious, of course, was the question of Greek acceptance of

⁴⁶ Geanakoplos, "Council of Florence," pp. 99-100 and Gill, *Council of Florence*, p. 147. G. Every, *Misunderstandings between East and West* (London, 1965), pp. 43-47.

⁴⁷ In accord with canonical prescriptions of the councils of Ephesos and Chalcedon.

⁴⁸ See text in *Acta Graeca*, J. Gill (ed.) (Rome, 1953), p. 400. Cf. Syropoulos, Laurent (ed.), pp. 546, 556, etc.

⁴⁹ Mentioned by principal sources, esp. Syropoulos and *Acta Graeca* (cf. Geanakoplos, "Council of Florence," p. 108 and n. 102).

⁵⁰ See Geanakoplos, *Interaction of the Sibling Byzantine and Western Cultures in Middle Ages and Italian Renaissance* (New Haven, 1976), p. 16 and n. 30; cf. N. Kalogeris, *Mark of Ephesos and Cardinal Bessarion* (Athens, 1893), p. 70.

the tomos (document) of union which stated or reaffirmed papal jurisdiction and in which the pope was said to “possess the primacy over the whole world” as “successor to Saint Peter,” as “first among the Apostles, true Vicar of Christ, head of the entire Church.” But as if the Council purposely intended to weaken these affirmations and to pacify the Greeks, after that clause there was added the phrase: “All the traditional rights and privileges of the Eastern patriarchs shall be excepted.”⁵¹ As strange as that may sound, why could not that kind of precedent be followed today? Let each church have control in its own sphere of jurisdiction and there will be, I suspect, few if any serious collisions. The Ecumenical Patriarch, before and especially since 1453, has been considered *primus inter pares* in the Orthodox Church.⁵² Let him exercise his authority, a primacy of honor, in the East and let the pope exert the jurisdiction he is accustomed to in the West. After all, when Pope Gregory the Great in the sixth century complained of Patriarch John the Faster’s assumption of the title of “ecumenical,” meaning “universal” patriarch, he was apparently satisfied by the explanation that it referred only to the churches in the Eastern *ecumene*⁵³ (though there is some evidence the title actually meant more than that to the Eastern patriarch). The wording of the tomos of union at Florence was such as to permit each church to retain its own ritual, language, and disciplinary practices (marriage of priests or celibacy, for example). True, the Orthodox had to accept the Latin belief in purgatory. But for some Orthodox a reconciliation of the two views may not have been too difficult, since in some quarters of Orthodoxy a kind of inchoate view of purgatory seemed already to exist.⁵⁴

In any present encounter between East and West, if the Orthodox find themselves in a position that seems insoluble, administratively, at least they can always have recourse to their concept of *economia*. *Economia* was (and is) the application of a certain elasticity in ecclesiastical

⁵¹ Gill, *Council of Florence*, p. 285f. for text; Geanakoplos, “Council of Florence,” pp. 107-08. For Latin view, M. Schmidt, “The Problem of Papal Primacy at the Council of Florence,” *Church History* 30 (1961) 35-49.

⁵² By decree of the second ecumenical council of 381 of Constantinople, the latter was raised to the position of first in honor (after Rome) over the other Eastern patriarchs.

⁵³ S. Vailhé, “Le titre de patriarche oecuménique avant saint Grégoire le Grand” and “Saint le Grégoire Grand et le titre de patriarche oecuménique,” *Echos d’Orient* 11 (1908) 65-69, 161-71.

⁵⁴ Tomos of union quoted in full in *Acta Graeca*, Gill (ed.), (Rome, 1953), p. 461. English trans. also in Crowder, *Unity*, pp. 169-72. On purgatory, see under “Middle state of souls” in *Θρησκευτική καὶ Ἡθικὴ Εὐκυκλοπαίδεια*, 8 (1966) cols. 1013-18; and F. Gavin, *Some Aspects of Contemporary Greek Orthodox Thought* (London, 1932), p. 411 referring esp. to the seventeenth-century Dositheos’ views resembling the Catholic view of purgatory.

administrative and disciplinary matters (though it is never applied to dogma), whenever the *Basileia*, the Byzantine Empire—that is the “state”—was in mortal danger.⁵⁵ Thus in the seventh century, Emperor Heraklios was permitted by the Church to overlook the usually stringent canonical strictures on the alienation of church property before the grave Persian danger to the empire, and, with ecclesiastical approval, Emperor Alexios Komnenos melted down church treasures in order to secure gold and silver coins with which to raise effective armies.⁵⁶ The Roman Church has long contravened its canon law by granting dispensations for such things as divorce or annulment of marriage. The Orthodox Church in a time of crisis or need can invoke its own *economia*. Here surely are two important devices for solution of seemingly intractable problems in the spheres of discipline and ecclesiastical administration, especially for the less major questions.

The Roman Church has recently been viewed by Westerners in some respects as more flexible than the Orthodox. While it is unquestionably more legalistic in its approach, Rome, since Vatican II and before John Paul II, has seemed more willing to bend with the times. Witness the *aggiornamento* in adoption of vernacular languages in the mass, restoration (in some cases) to the laity of communion in two kinds, standing while receiving communion, etc. It is rather the Orthodox Church which to some appears more intransigent. Not in its basic dogma (which has and should remain unchanged) but in its opposition to finding new modes of expression in worship, perhaps to new types of prayers, and in certain other respects. As the archbishop of Smyrna some fifty years ago put it to his flock—and this statement with its surrounding context is claimed by some Orthodox to have led the way to the formation of the ecumenical movement—“Do not be afraid to cast aside worn-out ecclesiastical garments and to put on new ones.”⁵⁷ The same spirit could well apply today. G. Florovsky put it well in various discussions of his on the “spirit of the Fathers” (and I paraphrase his remarks): “To retain the spirit of the Fathers of the early Church is not to deny all change. The Fathers themselves lived in an age of tremendous social ferment and therefore had to entertain change with respect to external matters while preserving unchanged the *kerygma* of Christ and the

⁵⁵For *economia*, see esp. Geanakoplos, *Byzantine East and Latin West*, p. 74 and his (recent work) *Byzantium: Church, Society, and Civilization*, doc. 97; cf. H. Alivizatos, *Oikouμenia kai tō kaiōnikōv dīkaiōv tῆs Ὀρθοδόξου Ἑκκλησίας* (Athens, 1949).

⁵⁶For texts relating to Heraklios and Alexios, see Geanakoplos, *Byzantium*, nos. 87A and B 2.

⁵⁷Quoted in D. Geanakoplos, “The Greek Orthodox Church: Alive and Relevant,” in *Orthodox Theology and Diakonia: Essays Honoring Archbishop Iakovos* (Brookline, 1981), p. 175

Apostles.”⁵⁸

J. Meyendorff has recently suggested that in order to achieve reunion the Roman and Orthodox Churches should revert to their respective positions at the time of the unionist council of 879-80, when Patriarch Photios was reinstated as patriarch of Constantinople after a serious schism between him and Pope Nicholas I. In accordance with papal instructions the papal legates had acquiesced in this action. Nor did the pope, as Meyendorff stresses, seem to mind that he was backtracking on his predecessor's excommunication of Photios.⁵⁹ The peace, “*eirene*”—a word often used by the Byzantines also for religious reconciliation and union—prevailed with both sides feeling respect for each other. In the same manner, Patriarch Athenagoras and Pope Paul VI, meeting at Jerusalem in 1965, after almost ten centuries of schism, treated each other as brothers, prelates on the same level, despite their differing claims of jurisdiction and administration.

I now turn to the important matter of what modern ecumenists call “reception” (*hepodoche*) of the ecumenicity of a council. Some synods earlier designated as ecumenical, such as the Robber Synod of 449, the Constantinople Synod of 1215, and even that of Florence in 1438-39, were *not* ultimately accepted by the Orthodox as ecumenical. To be sure, none, as the Orthodox Church insists is necessary, was proclaimed ecumenical by a later synod. Yet all (or most) other requisites for ecumenicity existed, and with respect to Florence especially. Unlike Lyons, at Florence all five patriarchs or their representatives were present, there was prolonged discussion, and at the end the emperor, all the Orthodox clergy (except Mark of Ephesus) and the pope, accepted the union. It was the Byzantine population, or as Khomiakov, Trembelas, and others have put it, “the conscience of the Church,” who would not “receive” the union when the Orthodox legates returned home.⁶⁰ Hence, although Rome still today accepts Florence as an “ecumenical” council, the Orthodox list it with

⁵⁸See G. Florovsky, “The Ethos of the Orthodox Church,” *Ecumenical Review* 12 (1960) 183f; “The Authority of the Ancient Councils and the Tradition of the Fathers,” and “St. Gregory Palamas and the Tradition of the Fathers,” both in *Bible, Church, Tradition* (Belmont, 1972, rpt.), pp. 93-120.

⁵⁹J. Meyendorff, *Living Tradition, Orthodox Witness in the Contemporary World*, essay “What is an Ecumenical Council?” (1978) p. 71: “Can we today jointly accept the Photian Council of 879-880 as ecumenical?”

⁶⁰On these, see Geanakoplos, “Church and State,” p. 80, n. 76. A. Khomiakov, *L'église latine et le Protestantisme au point de vue de l'église d'Orient* (Lausanne, 1872); H. Alivizatos, *Ἡ συνειδητοῖς τῆς Ἐκκλησίας* (Athens, 1954), and now Bishop of Meloa on the legitimacy of a council being dependent on the response of the laity, “Nature and Character of Ecumenical Councils,” p. 358.

Lyons as a rejected council.⁶¹

But, I ask, could the Greek people, then so violently antiunionist, ever have been persuaded to accept the ecumenicity of Florence? I think it would have been possible only if, as the Orthodox constantly urged, the council had been held in Constantinople itself, where the populace, so mistrustful especially of their own *Latinophones* (Latinophiles), could follow the proceedings and thus have their suspicions allayed. As it is, on the return of the Orthodox legates the people demanded to know why their representatives had signed the document of union and thus betrayed the "purity" of the Orthodox faith, something they felt would bring down upon their heads the wrath of God, much as they believed had happened to them for their sins in 1204. Here again we see the near identification of Orthodox religious feelings with their ethnic sentiments—feelings which made them, they believed, quite different from the Latins.⁶² This consideration made the achievement of union at Florence doubly difficult. Today, however, we are *all* more or less Western in culture, and such deep-seated cultural differences are less likely to be of real importance. Moreover, since 1821 there is (as in the present case of Israel) a solidly established Greek nation and little danger exists that Greek culture will become attenuated. Nonetheless, national pride is still a factor that must at least be taken account of in any future council.

To return to the Council of Basel—which continued to sit during that of Florence—its minority ecclesiastical group had moved to Ferrara. Subsequently it moved to Florence with the pope, who had now succeeded in drawing the Greek delegation to himself. The consummation of union, however ephemeral, by the pope and the Greeks was the key factor (as Gill and Flick flatly and correctly affirm) which gave the previously almost powerless Pope Eugenius new life, the ability to stand up to the majority group of conciliarists at Basel and, finally, the courage to abort the Western conciliar movement (although he himself had been excommunicated at Basel).⁶³ Of course in the triumph of the papacy the fact that Cardinal Caesarini and other leading conciliarists, including Aeneas Silvius and above all Nicholas Cusanus, went

⁶¹It appears that the Roman Church accepts the initial twenty-five sessions of the Council of Basel as ecumenical but not the latter sessions (that is, those held after the beginning of the Council of Ferrara-Florence). (But this point was variously regarded in the later fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries.) See *Lexicon für theologie und Kirche* 2 (1958), col. 25.

⁶²See on Greek fear of Latinization esp. Geanakoplos, "Council of Florence," pp. 103-06; and his *Interaction of the Sibling Cultures*, pp. 46-48, 289-92.

⁶³Gill, *Council of Florence*, pp. vii, 411, and Flick, "Decline," p. 202. Now also Crowder, *Unity*, pp. 159, 172-77

over to the papacy was also vital. But that might well not have happened had not the Greeks, paradoxically enough, elected to go where the pope was, in preference to the conciliarists whose tradition was far less familiar to them.

I mention here another point revealed by the sources on the proceedings at Florence—that the Greek Emperor John instructed his bishops to preserve utter silence on the doctrines of hesychasm.⁶⁴ After all, with the Latins considering the hesychastic vision of the “divine light” to be a theological innovation (the Hesychasts believed it was an expression of the “energies” of God), the Latins might well have thrown this “innovation” back at the Greeks who themselves were rejecting the Latin *filioque* addition to the creed as an interpolation.

As noted earlier, after the convocation of the first Western conciliarist council at Pisa in 1409, there was raised to the papal throne the Greek Alexander V. Although Latin in faith, he was born of a Greek family on Venetian-Crete as Petros Philarges. And, as mentioned above, when Jean Gerson, one of the great conciliarist thinkers and rector at the University of Paris heard of Peter’s election, he read a jubilant speech before the French king and University of Paris professors, praising the election not only because Peter had been a student and then a noted Scholastic-professor “at our University of Paris,” not only because most of Europe—England, where Peter had earlier studied at Oxford; France; parts of Germany and Italy, especially Venice (though not at first)—“seem to support him, but especially because it bodes well for the unity of the Roman Church and, most significant of all, for the reunion of the two ancient branches of Christendom.” Peter had been archbishop of Milan, probably the leading conciliarist activist just before Pisa, and he had pressed for a council primarily because of the evil of having two rival popes.⁶⁵ Peter, to some degree at least, may consciously or not have been influenced by certain Byzantine or patristic conciliar ideas. I am not, incidentally, proposing the election of a Greek pope to promote union (!) though it should be recalled that in the early Church many Greeks and Syrians became popes. (Indeed, next to Italians, more Greeks have been pope than any other people.)⁶⁶

As we know, with the papal triumph at Florence—the Byzantines in effect begging for help against the Turks and the emperor constantly seeking to force the issue of religious union—the conciliarists sitting

⁶⁴ Gill, *Council of Florence*, p. 206. On hesychasm at Florence, Hesychasts and Bernardino of Siena, see my *Interaction of the Sibling Cultures*, chap. 11, pp. 219-24.

⁶⁵ Discussed in my forthcoming biography of Pope Alexander V. For speech, cf. above text and note 14.

⁶⁶ It has been estimated that most popes have been Italian, then come Greeks (and Syrians), then French, Spaniards and (one) English pope.

at Basel finally accepted the new Pope Nicholas V and declared their council dissolved. The conciliar pronouncements of Constance and Pisa seemed a dead letter but there can be little doubt that they did affect, theoretically, the views of certain German reformers of the Reformation period. As to the Council of Florence, it has been considered by the Roman Church as the continuation of the Council of Basel.⁶⁷ Rome in fact terms Florence—though, as we have noted, there are questions about Basel—an ecumenical council.

The most important legacy of Florence is that virtually every possible issue between Constantinople and Rome was discussed and some logical solutions, some compromises, or even *modi vivendi* on many questions were suggested or adopted. In my view any future council to be held between Orthodox and Roman Churches—and let us not forget that the Armenians, certain Monophysites, Nestorians, and other dissident Eastern Churches then also signed union with Rome—could do no better than to regard this council and its deliberations as a, indeed *the*, point of departure. Study of its deliberations will help ecumenicists not only to avoid the mistakes made but also to draw lessons from what was accomplished, and thus to permit ventures into certain pressing questions of our much more secular world: in the sphere of ecclesiology, social ethics, and of course the difficult question of which churches should (or perhaps should not) be invited to an ecumenical council.⁶⁸

May I say in conclusion that, although I do not envision or perhaps even really desire an *institutional* merger of the Orthodox and Latin Churches, in conformity with immemorial Orthodox belief I would accept the pope as president, honorarily, of a united Christian Church. But I would hope above all for acceptance of each other's sacraments—that is, for a *spiritual* union. For though the Latins accept the efficacy of Orthodox sacraments, the Orthodox do not do the same for the Latins—a consideration which I believe can without insurmountable difficulty be overcome, especially in the light of the common experience of Florence. As Patriarch Athenagoras of Constantinople, that sage and beloved prelate said to me in 1965 in Istanbul, “My one ambition now is to go to Rome and to take communion from the same cup as

⁶⁷See Flick, “Decline”; also Haller, *Concilium Basiliense*. As noted, the first twenty-five sessions at Basel are considered ecumenical by the Roman Church. Cf. also Crowder, *Unity*, p. 166 and Schmidt, “The Problem,” pp. 35-49.

⁶⁸Presumably the Catholics (including the Old Catholics) and Orthodox (probably including the “dissident” Orthodox) will come. Somewhat later at another council also the Anglicans and Episcopalians and, possibly, still later, Lutherans. But should other Protestants, especially those not accepting the theory of apostolicity as handed down by tradition, attend a modern ecumenical council? This question I believe can be settled only after a council of the Greek and Roman Churches first meets.

the pope.” To which I can only add, in something of the manner in which the decrees of the first seven ecumenical synods began: “May the many, spiritually at least, become one under the guidance of the Holy Spirit.”⁶⁹

⁶⁹It should be noted that a commission of the various Orthodox Churches has had meetings to reach agreement among themselves before a future council with Rome see *Towards the Great Council Introductory Reports of the Interorthodox Commission in Preparation for the Next Great and Holy Council of the Orthodox Church* Meantime, a joint commission of Roman and Orthodox representatives has also met looking toward a possible convocation of the Orthodox and Roman Catholic Churches. Finally, see G H Williams, “The Ecumenism of John Paul II,” *Journal of Ecumenical Studies* 19 (1982) And Pope John Paul II’s work on a council, titled *Foundations of Renewal*



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Body, Hierarchy, and Leadership in Chrysostom's *On the Priesthood*

RICHARD VALANTASIS

SAINT JOHN CHRYSOSTOM'S early treatise *On the Priesthood* is traditionally believed to have been written during the latter time of his diaconate in Antioch in the years 380-86. As a deacon he was involved with the provision for the widows and the poor. The treatise has been characterized as "a classic on the importance and dignity of the pastoral office" which Chrysostom wrote shortly after his abandoning of monastic life for clerical responsibility.¹

The text holds particular interest for me because of the interplay of a literary and theological agenda. The literary agenda generally has been accepted at face value and the autobiographical material as essentially correct. The treatise, then, is traditionally seen as Chrysostom's justification for avoiding the episcopal office and a straightforward exposition of the merit and value of the priesthood. This position has recently been questioned. Robert Carter writes: "Of Chrysostom's own works the *De Sacerdotio* is the most important autobiographical source we have, if it is not a literary fiction. Since its historical value is doubtful, its testimony should be accepted only after careful consideration."² It is my thesis that the treatise is a literary device intended not so much to prove the ostensible fictional point of the treatise but rather to use the literary agenda in order to effect changes in the understanding and significance of the priesthood. The literary agenda prepares the ground for a significant theological treatment of ecclesial leadership.

¹P. W. Haskins, "St. John Chrysostom," *New Catholic Encyclopedia* (New York, 1967), 7, p. 1041.

²Robert E. Carter, SJ, "The Chronology of St. John Chrysostom's Early Life," *Traditio* 18 (1962) 358.

This paper intends to look at the literary agenda of the treatise, then at Chrysostom's definition and understanding of the leadership of the Church by defining the theological agenda. This theological agenda will require an investigation into his anthropology and the metaphysical structure and nature of the cosmos in which the priest operates. With this understanding, the nature and characteristics of the priest may be defined. It will emerge that Chrysostom wants to elevate the anthropology of the ecclesiastical authorities in the hierarchy of being and thus to alter the nature of their relationship to the world.

The Literary Agenda

The literary agenda of the treatise revolves about the friendship between Chrysostom and Basil. The treatise explains to Basil at once the reasons for Chrysostom's refusal to be ordained and his feeling about the propriety of Basil's ordination because of his superior suitability for that office. In explaining his refusal, Chrysostom also justifies his own position with regards to the criticism and accusations of injustice, pride, and ingratitude levelled by the public toward him, so that the arguments and discussion of the priesthood are directed literally both to Basil and to the public at large:

Be of good cheer. I am prepared to make an accounting, not only in this matter, but I shall endeavor to answer to the best of my ability even in regard to that for which you ask no explanation. Indeed, if you wish, I shall begin with this letter. What absurdity, what ingratitude it were for me to be concerned with the opinions of strangers, and to do everything possible to put an end to their accusations, while being unable to convince the dearest of all my friends that I have done no wrong; and thereby seem to treat him with an indifference greater even than the consideration he has shown me in the patience which prevents him from accusing me of the wrongs which he believes he has suffered at my hands (1.8.54-55).³

Chrysostom wants to explain to Basil why he avoided being consecrated a bishop himself by explaining not only the position of the priest/bishop in society, but also his own reasons for avoiding it. This gives Chrysostom an opportunity both to explicate the office and to explain his early refusal to accept it.

³The English translation used throughout is that of W. A. Jurgens, *The Priesthood: A Translation of the Peri Hierosynes of St. John Chrysostom* (New York, 1955). The annotations following quotations indicate the Book, Chapter, and numbers from this translation based upon the Nairn text. The Greek text consulted is that of J. Arbuthnot Nairn, *Peri Hierosynes (De Sacerdotio) of St. John Chrysostom* (Cambridge, 1906).

Through the literary agenda, however, emerges a full discussion of the role and function of the leadership of the Church—a discussion which forms the basic thrust of the entire treatise. The underlying agenda, then, is to elevate the function of the leadership of the Church both priestly and episcopal:

What greater advantage can there be than to be engaged in these works which are the greatest proof of love for Christ, as he himself has declared? Addressing the leader of the Apostles, Christ said, “Peter, lovest thou me?” When Peter had affirmed his love, Christ added, “If thou lovest me, shepherd my sheep.” The Master asked the disciple whether he loved him, not in order to ascertain this of him (for how should he be taught who searches the hearts of all?), but in order to show us how close to his heart is the guidance of his flock. This being clear, it must also be plain how great and ineffable is the reward reserved for him who labors among those who are so dear to Christ. When we see anyone taking care of our servants or our flocks, we consider their care of them as a proof of love for ourselves, even though all these things are purchased for money. And he who purchased his flock, not with a price of money, but with the price of his blood—what reward will he give to his shepherds (2.1.82-85).

In this exegesis of the conversation between Peter and Jesus in Jn 21.15-19, Chrysostom argues that to be a leader of the Church is to participate in the works which directly manifest Christ’s own love: to be a priest or bishop means working in a leadership role close to the Lord’s own concern, a role beneficial to the leader and living proof of Christ’s love. Chrysostom thus aligns the leadership of the Church to the function and position of its Head:

When he asked Peter if he loved him, he asked not from any need of determining the affection of the disciple, but rather to show the depth of his own love. Similarly, when he now asks, “Who then is the faithful servant and wise?” he asks not as one ignorant of the wise and faithful servant, but rather as one wishing to show how rare are such qualities. He wishes to make clear the greatness of this office. See also how great is the reward, “He will set him over all his belongings” (2.1.89).

This exegesis finds Jesus giving an enormous responsibility to the church leaders. Chrysostom elevates their position substantially from public servants to representatives of Christ.

Ecclesial offices apparently had suffered a devaluation and diminution. Chrysostom, therefore, seeks, with his elevated position for the

clergy, to reform the excesses of the political and social aspects. Literally, he accomplishes this by claiming that he is not worthy of so great an office:

This is what was about to befall me, when God suddenly delivered me from such dangers, sparing his Church and my own soul. Tell me, if you please, whence do such disturbances arise in the Church? It is my opinion that they arise from no other source than from the negligent and uninstructed manner in which superiors are chosen and elected (3.10.220-21).

The Church had grown lax in the manner of grooming leaders. The priestly office would be used for a multitude of reasons, few of which would relate to the very high esteem of the office which Chrysostom envisions:

The point I wish to make is this: if neither piety nor old age is sufficient qualification to assure that a man will fulfill the duties of the priestly office worthily, then the pretexts referred to above can hardly make him worthy. Some men allege reasons even more absurd: for example, some are enrolled in the orders of the clergy to prevent their apostatizing, and others because they have an evil temper and might work great mischief if they are overlooked. Can anything worse than this be imagined? That wicked men, weighed down with innumerable faults, are promoted for the very reasons which ought to forbid even their crossing of the threshold of the church? Tell me, then; shall we look further for the cause of God's anger in our regard, when we hand over things so sacred and so awe-inspiring to be defiled by wicked and worthless men? When the wicked are charged with an administration for which they are unfitted, and the worthless with things which their strength cannot bear, then assuredly they will render the affairs of the Church as unsettled as Euripios (3.15.277-80).

Even granting that Chrysostom is exercising his rhetorical skill and making a case in excess of the facts, he is still dissatisfied with the current state of the clergy. He is positing a clergy which is political in nature and which mirrors too much the secular, administrative, and social orientation of the empire. For example:

You will see the priest beset by accusations as numerous as the people in his care. All those who have the privilege of electing to his honor are split into many factions, and one can never find the council of priests in agreement among themselves as to whom the lot of the episcopacy has fallen. Each stands apart from the others,

one voting for this man, another for that. The reason for this divergence of opinion is that they do not all look to the one thing that should be kept in mind—strength of character. Instead, they allege various other qualifications for the honor. Of one they say, “Let him be elected, because he belongs to a prominent family”; of another, “because he is wealthy and will not require support from the revenues of the Church”; of a third, “because he has come over to us from the adversaries.” One wishes to give preference over all others to an acquaintance, another to a blood relative, a third to a flatterer. But no one wishes to consider him who is truly qualified, nor to make any test of fitness. I do not think such reasons trustworthy criteria of a man’s fitness for the priesthood (3.15.271-74).

The criteria for the episcopacy are too secular for Chrysostom. He wants to develop other criteria because the leadership of the Church was being devalued by the social and political aspects of selection and election of bishops. In the mind of Chrysostom, this tended to diminish the sacramental and properly life-giving aspect of the offices both of the priest and of the bishop.

This politicization and socialization of the leadership of the Church led Chrysostom to advocate the reform of the criteria for electing priests and elevating bishops, by laying out the nature and duties of the office, the manner of person best suited to that function, and the impediments to achieving full effectiveness in the offices. This is the literary agenda of the work: it forms, in essence, an outline of the structure of *On the Priesthood*. It also laid the foundation for a significant theological reappraisal of the offices of the Church. This discussion resulted in his elevation of the nature and character of the office, so that the priest or bishop relates to an office defined and inaugurated by the work of the Lord himself. The explanation of the stature of the offices is in language and images which define their positions spiritually, thus raising the moral and theological requirements of the person seeking that position. For Chrysostom there is no question: the core of the leadership of the Church is spiritual, not political, and he dramatically brings the nature and stature of priest and bishop to a higher theological plane.

Anthropology

It is necessary in order to get at the means by which Chrysostom works out his theological agenda to look at the metaphysical structure of the cosmos in which he locates the work of ecclesial leadership. Within that structure, Chrysostom must alter the relationship of people and their cosmic function in order to make the point that the priesthood

is theologically based. I will begin by looking at his anthropology, for it is here generally that the meeting point of the physical and spiritual world is seen. Much of his language about the hierarchical place of monk, virgin, and priest within the cosmos revolves about metaphor and descriptions of the human body-soul relationship.⁴

Chrysostom is not directly concerned in the treatise with describing the nature of the body and the sensible world. He is not arguing with Gnostics or Monophysites or philosophers who are disparaging the body, so he does not directly address the issue; there are a number of places, however, which contain casual references to the body, and other places which treat of other physical phenomena (death, sight, and ecclesiology).

Most of the casual references to the comparison of body to soul indicate that the body has less value and importance than the soul:

Were a king to bestow such power upon one of his subjects that he permitted him to imprison anyone whom he wished and free him likewise at his discretion, such a man would be envied and respected by all. He, however, who has received from God a power which is as much greater than this as heaven is more precious than earth and souls than bodies, seems to some to have received so inconsiderable an honor that they imagine he is able to despise it (3.5.185).

Here the body's value decreases in relationship to the preciousness of the soul and the heavens. There is no hint that the body has an essentially evil nature, nor any desire to denigrate the earth, but rather to emphasize the positive and precious nature of the soul and the heavens. This seems to be a neutral attitude toward the body and the physical universe and a very positive orientation toward the soul and the heavens.

This sort of orientation heavenwards locates real life and value in spiritual things:

Now I shall attempt to prove that I was not motivated by pride. If a military commission or royal dignity had been offered me, and I had acted then as I have now, I would have been open to suspicion; but I would have been found guilty of folly, not of pride. When, however, it is a question of the priesthood, which is as much

⁴It is interesting that a similar kind of metaphysical adjustment takes place in Chrysostom's political theory in which he defines the rule of the emperor as below (essentially human and therefore exercised over humanity) and the rule of the Church as above (essentially divine with authority over all human beings, including the emperor). See Robert E. Carter, SJ, "St. John Chrysostom's Rhetorical Use of the Socratic Distinction between Kingship and Tyranny," *Traditio* 14 (1958) 367-71.

more sublime than a royal dignity as the soul is more sublime than the body, will anyone dare accuse me of pride (3.1.164-65)?

In this analogy, Chrysostom again does not devalue the body, but rather places authentic living, sublime and profound living, in the realm of the soul. This serves to elevate the soul as being more oriented to life and to make the body comparably inferior to the soul:

He who attends to his own perfection profits himself alone; but the benefit of the pastoral office extends to the whole people. One who distributes alms to the needy, or otherwise defends the oppressed, benefits his neighbor to some extent; but these corporal benefits are as much less than the spiritual benefits conferred by the priest as the body is inferior to the soul. Rightly then did our Lord say that caring for the flock was a proof of love for himself (2.4.120-21).

This does not mean that physical benefits are not necessary, or good, or profitable, but rather that spiritual benefits are greater in goodness and profitability. The shepherd of the flock does not guide and protect disembodied beings by tending only their spiritual halves. The caring of the flock is both physical and spiritual with an emphasis on the spiritual development. Corporeality in itself is incomplete, and insufficient, but not evil. Compared to the benefits of the spirit, corporeality suffers.

Aside from these casual references to the comparison of soul to body, there are also a number of more definite references to the effect or difference between soul and body. There is, for example, a difference between physical and spiritual death:

The wounds received in conflict with the devil do not bring about the same kind of death as do the wounds received from men. No, there is as much difference between these two deaths as there is between soul and body. When the soul is dealt a blow and struck down, it does not lie senseless like the body; on the contrary, it is tormented in this life by the gnawing of conscience, and after death, at the time of judgment, it is delivered up to eternal punishment (6.13.615).

The body dies when it is mortally attacked: there is a finite limit to the extent of interaction and conflict available to it. The soul, however, lasts through judgment: there is no limitation to the soul's ability to respond and to be effected by its activity. Death, although final for the body, is not final for the soul which must pass beyond death and mutability.

Even though the body is not evil, because it is inferior to the soul, it does, however, interrupt the clarity and fullness of the soul:

Do not imagine that I put the case too strongly, nor think that because we are shut up in this body as in a prison, and are unable to see anything of the invisible world, what I said is exaggerated. If with these bodily eyes you could see the woeful formation and frantic attack of the devil, you would behold a far greater and more formidable battle than I have described. . . . If it were possible to put aside this body—or indeed while remaining in the flesh—to see clearly and fearlessly with the bodily eyes the whole of the devil's battle forces and his warfare against us, you would see, not streams of blood nor dead bodies, but so many fallen souls and such grievous wounds, and so many struck down every day that you would regard the whole description of warfare which I have just recited to you as mere child's play or sport rather than a real warfare (4.13.612-14).

Physical seeing disrupts spiritual sight because it is not capable of seeing beyond the images which it is accustomed to see. The bodily eyes can see the battle forces in the “blood and dead bodies,” but they cannot see the fallen souls. The true battle for life takes place in the spiritual realm primarily and, in the physical realm, secondarily. The bodily eyes interrupt true vision because they are oriented to physical, rather than to spiritual, reality. It remains within the realm of possibility to train the bodily eyes to see the invisible reality—Chrysostom does not reject this possibility.

With the value and elevation of soul over body, an ecclesiology which was specially discussed in spiritual or invisible language might be expected, but that is not the case:

Yet my accusers are unwilling to consider any of these things; if they were they would cease blaming me for not wishing to perish needlessly. We are not treating the management of wheat or barley or oxen or sheep or of anything of that sort, but the body of Jesus himself. The Church of Christ, according to blessed Paul, is the Body of Christ; and he to whom that body is entrusted should raise it up to a condition of excellent health and surpassing beauty, watching everywhere that neither spot nor wrinkle nor any such thing may spoil its youth or comeliness. In other words he should, insofar as it is humanly possible, make that body worthy of the incorruptible and blessed Head which is set upon it (4.2.388-90).

Chrysostom's description of the Church here retains very physical and bodily terms, but the physical level of the Church's existence is to be

oriented completely to its spiritual Head. The physical Church must become worthy of its "incorruptible and blessed Head which is set upon it." The physical Church must be derivative from its spiritual element. It is not a denigration of the physical, but a recognition and affirmation of the superiority of the spiritual. The body must conform to the higher principle.

Chrysostom's attitude toward the body is basically very positive. Locating the true life in things invisible, spiritual, and soulful, he insists that things visible, corporeal, and bodily have their meaning and value through their orientation to the soul and through their submission to the things above. Physical existence becomes positive as it relates to spiritual reality. In itself it is neutral; when it is not oriented to the things above, it is disruptive. The objective, then, of physical existence is to move toward spiritual things. And this brings us to the hierarchy of being.

The only section of the hierarchy of being that Chrysostom directly discusses is the center section consisting of human being on the bottom, then priest above that, with monk and virgin on the level of the angels. Human being is pivotal between bodily and spiritual life. The description of the higher life of a virgin shows the hierarchical view:

The virgin, however, has engaged in a greater struggle, and has followed the highest philosophy. She professes to lead on earth an angelic life, and while yet in the flesh proposes to imitate the perfection of the incorporeal powers (3.17.315).

Human being exists primarily on earth, a bodily existence, yet there are some (virgins, and also monks) who live on earth an angelic and spiritual life. These people train the flesh to reflect the spiritual values to which they are committed. The hierarchy of being divides at human being, with some being oriented upward, and most being oriented downward.

This imitation of the heavenly in the physical applies as well to the priest. The role and position of the priest in the hierarchy of the cosmos is based on physical living, yet with its source in the spiritual:

Though the office of the priesthood is exercised on earth, it ranks, nevertheless, in the order of celestial things—and rightly so. It was neither man nor angel nor an archangel nor any other created power, but the Paraclete himself who established this ministry, and who ordained that men abiding in the flesh should imitate the ministry of the angels. For that reason it behooves the bearer of the priesthood to be as pure as if he stood in the very heavens amidst those powers (3.4.175).

In the hierarchy human being exists below the priest, whose function relates to the level which human being occupies, but whose own place is a step above human being “in the order of celestial things.” If human being lives at the pivot point of the hierarchy, then priest (as well as virgin and monk) live at the point of transformation where the bodily existence is totally subject to the spiritual nature “as if he stood in the very heavens amidst those powers.” The Paraclete who ordained this level of existence for the religious, empowers the priest in the spiritual life, and the priest (presumably) brings upward other human beings. There seems to be a tension here: human being ascends upward in the hierarchy, but the priest seems to be upward already pulling the lower level to the higher. It is as though by function or ordination the priest were elevated to the spiritual level to move toward the physical—a sort of connection within the priestly office from the upper levels to the lower, from the spiritual to the physical.

The priest holds a powerful and important position in the cosmos. The placement of the priest on the hierarchical position above human being and the tendency to see the priest’s power as derivative from the Paraclete and from above makes the priest essential to transforming humanity:

If anyone considers how great a thing it is that a man wrapped in flesh and blood approach that pure and blessed nature, then he will see plainly what great honor the grace of the Spirit has bestowed upon priests. It is by their agency that these rites (and others by no means inferior to them), pertaining to our dignity and salvation, are performed: They who inhabit the earth, they who make their abode among men, and are entrusted with the dispensation of the things of heaven! Priests have received a power which God has given neither to angels nor to archangels. . . . Temporal rulers have indeed the power of binding, but they can bind only the body. Priests, however, can bind with a bond which pertains to the soul itself, and transcends the very heavens. Whatever priests do here on earth, God will confirm in heaven, just as the master ratifies the decisions of his servants. . . . The Father has given all the judgment to the Son. And now I see the Son placing all this power in the hands of men. They are raised to this dignity as if they were already gathered up to heaven, elevated above human nature, and freed of its limitations (3.5.181-84).

Even allowing that this kind of exaggerated opinion might be employed as a means to correct a very low opinion and regard for the priesthood, still this is a very startling position. The priest’s nature transcends humanity and all of the limitations of bodily existence; and from this

elevated position in the cosmos, the priest dispenses the sacraments, the transforming agents, to those below, with the guarantee that “God will confirm in heaven” what the priest does on earth. It is curious that the priest does not confirm what God has ordained, but that God confirms what the priest has done: this hierarchical view allows the embodiment of higher levels of existence to perform fully toward humanity through the activity of the priest. The Father gives the power to the Son, who gives it to the priests.

The point in the cosmos where the priest and humanity meet is also the point at which heaven and earth meet. Chrysostom defines his cosmos sacramentally. Even allowing for his interest in reforming the low estate of the priest, the language describing the priest’s activity is very dramatic so that it appears as though the priest is given both power and authority to transform time, space, matter, and spirit in the sacraments:

When you see the Lord immolated and lying upon the altar, and the priest bent over that sacrifice praying, and all the people en-purpled by that precious blood, can you think that you are still among men and on earth? Or are you not lifted up to heaven? Is not every carnal affection deposed? Do you not with pure mind and clean heart contemplate the things of heaven? Oh, how wonderful! Oh, love of God for men! He who sits on high with the Father is in that moment held in the hands of all. He gives himself to any who wish to embrace and receive him. All who accept him do so with a full faith (3.4.177).

In the sacraments, the hierarchical view of the world collapses. Christ is present, the priest presides at the sacrifice of Christ on the cross. The very physical description of the eucharistic elements shows time and space, the earthly and the heavenly, the divine and the human to be conflated. God now lives in physical matter, on earth, and now; and human being can enter the full realm of life and faith. The hierarchy no longer separates bodily from spiritual or earthly from heavenly: the sacraments bring all together.

The priest who controls by his prayers the descent of the Holy Spirit upon the elements becomes the point of transformation and regeneration for humanity. The analogy of Elias exemplifies this:

Would you learn of this great holiness from yet another miracle? Picture to yourself Elias, and the multitude standing about, and the victim already lain upon the altar. All the people are motionless and they observe a deep silence while the prophet prays alone. Suddenly the sacrifice is consumed by fire from heaven. These are

remarkable things and awe-inspiring. Now leave this scene and consider the present-day rites. You behold not only the marvelous, but that which surpasses all admiration. Here stands the priest bringing down not fire, but the Holy Spirit. He prays long, not that a flame sent from on high may descend and consume the offering, but that grace may descend upon the sacrifice and thereby inflame the souls of everyone and render them more sparkling than silver tried in the fire. Who can despise this most awful mystery, unless he has utterly lost his mind? Are you not aware that the soul of man could not abide the splendor of that sacrifice? All would perish were it not for the abundant assistance of this grace of God (3.4.178-89).

The activity of the priest revolves not about the human being's ascent into the divine, but rather about the divine descent through the activity of the priest into the physical cosmos. Through the activity of the priest grace enters physical existence and transformation of life becomes possible, and true splendor achieved. The priest's power opens the physical universe to regeneration:

When the priest has invoked the Holy Spirit and performed that awful sacrifice, and constantly handled the Lord of all, where, pray tell me, where shall we rank him? What is the purity and what is the piety that we shall exact from him? Only think, what manner of hands should they be which perform such a ministry? And what is the tongue which speaks those words? There ought to be nothing purer, nothing holier, than the soul which receives so great a spirit. In that moment angels are in attendance upon the priest. The space around the altar is filled with the whole order of heavenly powers in honor of him who lies thereon (6.4.519-20).

At the sacrament which the priest celebrates, the hierarchy gathers around the altar: the priest functions as the agent for the meeting of the two realms.

Chrysostom's appreciation for the spiritual realm and his preference for the spiritual over the physical world elevates the spiritual world significantly without in any way denigrating the physical world. The body has less glory than the soul; the body, therefore, must orient itself to the spiritual or the higher levels of the hierarchy of being. As bodily existence moves toward conformity to spiritual life, so does God move downward toward human being through the activity of the priest, so that in the sacraments heaven and earth, spirit and body, visible and invisible meet and are united. The hierarchy collapses in the eucharistic sacrifice—it seems to be not only the meeting point of all things in the hierarchy, but also the apex.

This hierachial view of the cosmos frees Chrysostom to define the place and function of the priest in a very unusual manner. His theological agenda was to elevate the status and position of the priest by placing the priest on a level above the rest of humanity. This opens the way to a significantly more powerful and impressive definition of priestly life. The language, however, seems on the whole to be pushing that status even higher, for in the scheme of things the priest, as well as the monk and the virgin who are even higher than the priest, ranks on a level with celestial beings. The work of the priest reveals the sacramentality of the cosmos: through the sacraments, bodily things reveal the presence of heavenly and spiritual realities.

The Nature of the Priesthood

That Chrysostom has placed the leadership of the Church above the human being in his metaphysical hierarchy has done most of the defining of the function and nature of the priesthood. Now it remains briefly to observe the explicit statements which he makes regarding the work of a priest.

Located in the hierarchy of being at an upper level and empowered by the Holy Spirit to collapse that hierarchy during sacramental rites, the priest mediates salvation:

Inasmuch as no man can enter into the Kingdom of Heaven unless he be born again of water and spirit, and since unless he eat the flesh of the Lord and drink his blood he is excluded from eternal life—since, I say, all these things are administered only by those holy hands, the hands of priests, how could any man without those priests either escape the fire of hell or obtain the crown which is intended for him (3.5.187)?

Chrysostom implies that without the benefit of priestly activity there could be no salvation for humanity. The priest's first function, then, is to make possible and accessible the salvation of humankind through the administration of the vital sacraments of baptism and eucharist.

This sacramental role makes the priest also function as a supernatural parent:

God has given to priests powers greater than those given to our parents; and the differences between the powers of these two is as great as the difference between the future life and the present. Our parents begot us to temporal existence; priests beget us to the eternal. The former are not able to ward off from their children the sting of death, nor prevent the attack of disease; yet the latter often save the sick and perishing soul—sometimes by imposing a lighter

penance, sometimes by preventing the fall. Priests accomplish this not only by their teaching and admonishing, but also by the help of prayer. . . . Moreover, natural parents, if their children should happen to offend men of rank and power, are unable to assist them; whereas priests are often able to reconcile men not to princes or to kings—but to God himself (3.6.194-97).

The priest's second function is to bring the people to eternal existence through teaching, healing, admonition, prayer, reconciliation. Just as the natural parent has overall concern for the care of the children, so does the priest for the supernatural care. The precedence of the spiritual over the physical again influences the role of the priest.

The accomplishment of these two primary functions requires rigorous and comprehensive study and training. The priest should have a thorough understanding of every aspect of human being's life in order to assist in regeneration:

Most of those who are subject to the guidance of a priest are tied down by worldly considerations which make them slower in the performance of spiritual duties. On that account it is necessary for the teacher, so to speak, to sow the seed daily; and thus by his diligence the word of doctrine will be retained by those who hear him. Excessive riches, powerful influence born of luxury, and many other things besides, choke the seeds which have been sown. Nay, oftentimes the briars are so thick that the seed does not even fall upon the surface of the soil. Moreover, extraordinary trials, pressure of poverty, constant insults, and whatever things are the opposite of what I mentioned above, divert men's attention from the things divine (6.4.516).

The priest has responsibility for the doctrinal and spiritual state of the community and this responsibility demands diligence and discernment about the societal, personal, and cultural hindrances to receiving that seed fruitfully. Sowing the seed necessitates a thorough understanding of the environment in which the seed is to be sown and a strong personal example in the priest's own life which directs attention Godward.

The primary arena for sowing the seed is the sermon, and Chrysostom devotes an entire book of the treatise to the importance and seriousness of preaching. Preaching is essential; good preaching is vital:

The preacher, then, must be a man of soulful character far exceeding my own mediocrity if he is able to check the disorderly and useless whim of the crowd, and if he is able to direct their attention to something more beneficial. In this way they will follow him and yield to him, without his being led by their fancies. But this

cannot be attained except by two means: indifference to praise, and ability to eloquence (5.1.453-54).

Preaching is usually not merely a gift from God, but also an ascetical discipline:

Even if a man has great talent for preaching (which, however, is found only in a few), he is not on that account released from his constant labors. Preaching comes not by nature, but by study; and though a man may reach a high degree of perfection in eloquence it will soon desert him unless he cultivate that power by constant practice and exercise (5.5.468).

In the sermon the priest must eloquently and honestly direct the hearers' attention to the beneficial spiritual life.

Preaching, moreover, normally takes place not in the peacefulness of a stable community, but in the constant debates about truth in the community, so that the priest needs to be an effective debater:

Sound faith is of no avail to one whose morals are corrupt. For this reason, more than any other, it behooves him whose office is to teach others to be experienced in argumentation. Even though he himself stands firm and is not harmed by gainsayers, nevertheless, when the simple multitude whom he guides see their leader overcome and unable to answer the gainsayers, they will lay the blame for the defeat not upon his inability, but upon the doctrine, as if it were unsound. Thus, by the ignorance of the one, total ruin is brought upon the whole people; for even if they do not all desert to the enemy they are forced to doubt, where before they had confident faith (4.9.444-46).

Because the people follow the thinking as well as the example, the preacher must be acquainted with the various opposing views on any subject, and be able as well to argue them self-confidently, effectively, and publicly.

The priest relies heavily, then, on verbal communication in sowing the seed daily, in preaching, in intellectual understanding, in rhetorical skill, and in the sacraments. The priest communicates that which can be seen above to that which can be implemented below and translates into the physical, the spiritual good which humankind may achieve. By word and example, the priest draws bodily attention spiritward and brings heavenly power into earthly living.

The ability to communicate and to translate effectively depends upon the personal character of the priest. The statement: "Everyone is ready to judge the priest as though he were not a being clothed in flesh, nor

subject to human frailties, but like an angel, free of every kind of infirmity" (3.14.264) expresses Chrysostom's dilemma. On the one hand he wants his clergy to have a hierarchical position higher than other human beings, and on the other that position is unattainable:

I speak not of leading armies nor of ruling kingdoms, but of an office which demands the virtue of an angel. The soul of the priest ought to be purer than the very rays of the sun, so that the Holy Spirit will not abandon him, and so that he may be able to say, "It is no longer I that live, but Christ that lives in me" (6.3.503-04).

The hyperbole is too much, and the effect is to place the goal practically beyond reach. For Chrysostom, the resolution of this dilemma rests in the priest's total re-orientation of himself Godward:

He must treat men who have wives, and who raise children, who possess slaves, who abound in riches, who hold public offices, and who are persons of affluence. He must, therefore, be a versatile man. Versatile, I say, not affected; nor a flatterer nor a hypocrite, but a man eminently free and confident, who knows how to adapt himself advantageously to the necessity of circumstances, and to be both kind and severe. It is not possible to employ the same methods *with all* who are in one's charge, any more than it is possible for a physician to use the same treatment with all his patients, or for the captain of a ship to have but one procedure in coping with the winds. The priest is a storm-tossed vessel; and these storms attack not only from the outside, but even rise up within him. All these things however diverse, are directed to the same end—the glory of God and the welfare of the Church (6.4.527-30).

What gathers up the fragments of the adaptation and the versatility is the final cause, the glory of God and the welfare of the Church. Obviously this hierachial reorganization makes a difficult dilemma for the priest, for example:

He must be a man of wide experience, abounding in discretion, so that he may be as familiar with worldly affairs as they who are engaged in them, while remaining detached as the hermits who dwell in the mountains (6.4.526).

The priest lives very much in the earthly spectrum and business of the world, but very much from without it.

Chrysostom's priest lives under enormous pressure to live effectively in the world and yet not to be influenced by it, to understand and to comprehend the world without appreciating it, to see clearly but not to like what is seen, to direct all attention to God while maintaining

concern for human being and his physical existence. The priest, in short, transcends normal human existence in stature, perception, values, skills, discernment and understanding so that he may communicate clearly and honestly and effectively the superiority of the heavenly reality over the physical. The priest's character must enable him to live at the transformation point of the hierarchy of being.

Summary

For Chrysostom, the priest or bishop must direct energy and attention to God while remaining firmly rooted in both heaven and human existence. The priest's life must be of such purity that the sacraments and the words may have authenticity and point clearly to the divine and the spiritual. To achieve this theologically, Chrysostom places the priest on a level with the virgins and monks in the celestial realm above humanity on the hierarchy of being. This forces the priest to be adept in both spiritual and physical planes. The abuses of the physical planes must be avoided, the benefits of the spiritual developed. The elevation of the hierarchy of the Church above humanity removed the hierarchy from fellowship with people and gave priests enormous authority and power over them. It also created problems, but for Chrysostom, to err on the side of angels was more beneficial than to err on the side of human beings: "Though the office of the priesthood is exercised on earth, it ranks, nevertheless, in the order of celestial things" (3.4.175). The literary device of the controversy with Basil has been the occasion for Chrysostom to develop a theological base for the reformation and instruction of his clergy.



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Byzantine Churches. By Elias Mastrogiovopoulos. Trans. N. & M. Logiades. Brookline, Massachusetts: Holy Cross Orthodox Press, 1984. Pp. 128. Clothbound, \$15.95. Paperbound, \$11.95.

I am often flabbergasted at how little Orthodox, especially Greeks, living in the West know of the architecture of Byzantium. Not only does our church architecture in the West often deviate tremendously—and sadly, one might add—from Byzantine prototypes, but many Orthodox of Greek descent have come to think that they have little to match the “richness” of Russian Orthodox church architecture, which, for odd and various reasons, has more greatly captured the attention of Western students of ecclesiastical architecture and design. So often I have wished to produce an English-language “Guide to Greek Churches,” but I have had no opportunity to do so, nor do I have anything that could approach a decent photographic collection of the churches which I have seen.

Now I am absolutely delighted to see an excellent translation of Mastrogiovopoulos’ Greek text, *Byzantine Churches of Greece*, which has brought such pleasure to Greek readers. The book was written to honor the Byzantine spirit and its witness in modern Greece. And while this may not be a theme that excites a largely American readership, it is one which does great justice to the Greek Orthodox Church and its long history of mastery in ecclesiastical architecture, ranging from the haunting and architecturally intricate Church of St. George in Thessalonike (fourth century), which is a Christian temple formed from a pagan temple, to the sublime Church of Olympiotissa in Thessaly (fourteenth century).

The majority of the churches in the text were built between the tenth and sixteenth centuries, though there are some older ones and photographs of restorations that belong to modern times (e.g., St. Demetrios Church in Thessalonike). The remarkable thing about the book is that it does what few others do: it includes in its survey the churches of Mt. Athos, Macedonia (which, if I may display a prejudice stemming from my family roots, are simply superb in their simplicity), several islands, Cyprus, and Epiros (the stunning Church of the Parigoritissa in Arta being a magnificent monument to the architectural sophistication in this latter area).

I might regret that the photographs in this book are not in color. But this would indeed be an unfounded complaint, since a book of this kind is so needed and so welcome. However, there are some inconsistencies in transliteration, but they are really of little bother or import.

Anyone who thinks that Greek church architecture is second to anything should read this book. Those who wish to capture the heaven

on earth which our Orthodox churches should be is also encouraged to read this book. And anyone wishing to travel in Greece should consider this book an essential! This is one of the most valuable texts that the Holy Cross Orthodox Press has produced.

Archimandrite Chrysostomos
Center for Traditionalist Orthodox Studies

Research Guide to Religious Studies. Sources of Information in the Humanities, No. 1. By John F. Wilson and Thomas P. Slavens. Chicago: American Library Association, 1982. Pp. 192.

In recent years many colleges and universities have established religious studies for a deeper understanding of religion. This book is a significant guide to the scholarly study of religion as a cultural interpretation of human society.

The book is divided into two parts. In the first part the authors give excellent essays on religious studies and scholarship. The first essay offers a definition of the concept of religion as well as the development of the field of religious studies as a scholarly endeavor. It gives an analytical interpretation of religion and an anthropological development of the meaning of life. In this essay the several schools of interpretation of the origin of religion are represented. In the second essay, the history of religions is discussed. The phenomenon of religion is deeply rooted in human nature as "homo religious." The essays discuss the religions among the preliterate peoples, the oriental religious traditions, the Near Eastern, and classical religions of the Mediterranean. Also, essays analyzing the development of Judaism, Christianity, and Islam are included. In the third essay the religious traditions of the West are discussed. The medieval as well as the modern study of Judaism and Christianity and the American religious history are examined. The fourth essay concerns religious thought, ethics, and the philosophical study of religion. The fifth and last essay is about the scientific study of religion. Following each essay and subsection the authors give resources to guide the student in his search for information on religions. The titles that are suggested here are of great importance to a deeper study of religion.

The second part of this book includes an annotated bibliography of major reference works. It includes atlases, bibliographies, biographies, dictionaries, encyclopedias, directories, guides, handbooks, indexes, journals, and quotations of particular religions. The recommended works are carefully annotated for the student's greater enrichment and understanding of the world's religions.

The book's importance and usefulness for the student of religion



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Christianizing the Roman Empire (A.D. 100-400). By Ramsay MacMullen. New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1984. Pp. viii + 183. \$18.00, Cloth.

It has certainly become popular these days to try to see the development of the history of Christianity from the point of view of the pagans. A leader in trying to uncover how the Christian Church managed to win a dominant place in the Roman imperial world, Ramsay MacMullen, Dunham Professor of History and Classics at Yale University and the author of such books as *Enemies of the Roman Order: Treason, Unrest, and Alienation in the Empire* (1966); *Constantine* (1969); *Roman Social Relations 50 B.C. to A.D. 284* (1974); and *Paganism in the Roman Empire* (1981), is considered by some to be America's most important social historian of the Roman empire. His books are always heavily documented for scholars but at the same time directed to general audiences who might have an interest in the rather provocative questions that Professor MacMullen raises.

Of his own latest book MacMullen says: "My subject here is the growth of the Church as seen from the outside, and the period is the one that saw the Church become dominant, and Europe Christian" (p. vii) and, "My object is history. It might be, but isn't theology" (p. 1). MacMullen's approach "may be summed up in a few words: the adhesion to the Church that turned it into a dominant institution is to be traced and understood as much as possible from the ancient evidence, and with the least possible coloring imported from other worlds" (p.9). With this kind of understanding, MacMullen produces eleven brief but concentrated chapters that discuss "Problems of Approach"; "What Pagans Believed"; "Christianity as Presented"; "Points of Contact, Modes of Persuasion, before 312"; "Constantine as a Friend of the Church"; "Nonreligious Factors in Conversion"; "Evangelical Campaigns and Publicity, after 312"; "Conversion of Intellectuals"; "How Complete was Conversion?"; "Conversion by Coercion"; "Summary."

What emerges from all this is a non-theological explanation for the rise and success of Christianity. It is MacMullen's contention that before 312 A.D. the small numbers of Christians who existed felt compelled to spread their teachings discreetly from their homes and shops, depending heavily on reports of miracles to gain converts. "Great is the God of the Christians!" This saying became a public acknowledgment of the Christian's effectiveness because non-Christians would note: "Theirs is truly a God all-powerful. He has worked a hundred wonders" (p.41).

News of the successful miracle-working of the Christian God spread rapidly and widely. However, it was not until after the Emperor Constantine embraced Christianity in 312 A.D. that Christians made major efforts to convert pagans to the Christian faith, and the issuance of the Edict of Milan did not hurt the Christian cause, but more important were the enormous consequences Constantine's conversion had for Christianity. Christians were free to publish and preach their faith. MacMullen sees Constantine's long reign and his building of great Christian basilicas, and exemption from taxation for church land as substantial *material* contributions to the maintenance and spread of Christianity in the Roman empire: "But of far greater importance, and the chief reason for that enormous impact he had on the rate of the Church's growth, was the set of his measures making his favor explicit and official: first, toleration decreed; second, money or its equivalent assigned in such forms as tax exemptions and grand buildings" (p. 151).

Initially, the Christian Church began as an urban phenomenon. In 400 A.D. the empire was predominantly non-Christian but by 407 non-Christians were considered outlaws and were persecuted, as Christians had been. MacMullen sees the promise of social and material rewards and the threat of violence as primarily responsible for the mass of pagan conversions to Christianity. MacMullen's emphasis is on the forceful methods used by Christians and the supportive Roman government to destroy the pagans and their establishments physically as well as religiously: "Silencing, burning, and destruction were all forms of theological demonstration; and when the lesson was over, monks and bishops, generals and emperors, had driven the enemy from our field of vision" (p. 119). The Christians had emphatically "one thing they were able to make manifest and undeniable—undeniable in non-Christians' own terms of thought: that the gods were never more than mere demons, they availed nothing in the defense even of their own homes" (*ibid.*). Pagan religions were dealt a death blow.

The pagans may not be back but their defenders certainly are. Ramsey MacMullen has done a superb job showing us how a religious majority became a religious minority and a religious minority a religious majority. The explanation helps us enhance our understanding of this important epoch in world history; it in now way changes the impact or development of that historical event for which there was additionally ample religious and theological foundation.

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Constantine and Eusebius. By Timothy D. Barnes. Cambridge, Massachusetts and London: 1981. Pp. viii + 458. Paperbound, \$12.50.

The purpose of this book is to examine Constantine and Eusebius as individuals and then view their relationship to each other. The author reviews the full range of Eusebius' writings (many of which he believes have been ignored) in order "to illuminate the age in which both he and Constantine lived." Following a detailed inspection of Constantine's life, from his birth to his defeat of Licinius, the author proceeds to discuss the intellectual background of Eusebius. His *Ecclesiastical History*, *Martyrs of Palestine*, and other early writings are investigated, and the Christian empire and the parts played by Constantine and Eusebius are discussed.

The author sees Constantine as an astute politician and one whose ambition was to become the sole ruler of a united Roman Empire. He cites Constantine's attention to details, which was evidenced when he changed the imprinted representation on his coinage from the god Mars to Sol (Apollo):

In the new political situation, that change had clear advantages. Since Sol stressed Constantine's status as his father's heir, devotion to Apollo, the patron of culture and of the emperor Augustus, would appeal to the civilized parts of Gaul—and solar monotheism was far less objectionable than the normal pagan pantheon to the Christians, who formed an influential section of Constantine's subjects.

He describes Constantine as an educated man, who spoke Greek and had some knowledge of Greek philosophy. He liked to read and was a patron of the arts, as well as a benefactor to the needy.

Constantine publicly declared himself a Christian before the Battle of the Milvian Bridge, and in the author's opinion: "After 28 October 312 the emperor consistently thought of himself as God's servant, entrusted with a divine mission to convert the Roman Empire to Christianity." Although Professor Barnes states he is fully convinced that Constantine was a Christian, he seems to have some doubts about the sincerity of his motives, when he alludes to the political convenience of Constantine's religious beliefs in a speech delivered to the assembly of bishops at Sardica or Thessalonike sometime between 321 and 324:

But the Speech is a political manifesto. Constantine the Christian denounces persecutors, he thanks God for liberating the persecuted, and at the same time he alludes to his own defeat of an ignoble person who had wrongfully seized the imperial throne . . . the reference to Licinius was transparent. As so often, Constantine's religious prejudices neatly coincided with his political interest.

The description of the events leading to the armed conflict between Constantine and Licinius suggests that Constantine may well have orchestrated the political situation so as to ensure that he alone would name the next Augustus or Caesar in the East. Professor Barnes, however, does note that it is possible that a real threat of rebellion existed in Thessalonike where Licinius had been exiled after his defeat in 324. He believes that Constantine probably had Licinius and his nine-year-old son killed in 325, because as long as he was alive, Licinius was a threat to Constantine's rule.

Eusebios receives thorough treatment from the author. He writes that Eusebios' theological background is found in the writings of Origen. He gives us examples of Eusebios' writings which show an attempt to philosophize as Origen had done, although in the author's opinion Eusebios never matched his mentor:

Although Eusebios had learned from Origen to express the Christian view of God and man in terms of Middle Platonism, he never completely mastered the philosophical issues. He tends to lack clarity and even lapses into occasional confusion.

Eusebios was not an apologist for Christianity and he did not compose his major works under the influence of Constantine. "The three dominant characteristics of his thought are a continual emphasis on the Bible, an intellectual framework which derives from Origen, and celebration of the success of Christianity in the Roman World." Professor Barnes believes the first version of Eusebios' *Ecclesiastical History* was written ca. 290. He notes the importance of this and other early works of Eusebios but adds:

Eusebios was limited by more than his ability to date and evaluate all his evidence correctly. He projected the Church of the late third century back into the first two centuries and assumed that Christian churches had always been numerous, prosperous, and respectable.

Of Eusebios' *Martyrs of Palestine*, the author cites evidence which would indicate that rather than a history of the persecution of Christians between 303 and 311, this work is more a "memorial to the friends of Eusebios who died for their faith." Eusebios was by instinct and training a scholar, and Professor Barnes believes that as a source for events of which Eusebios had personal experience he is irreplaceable. Eusebios attended the Synod of Nikaia in 325 under a provisional ban of excommunication for Arian beliefs. At the synod, during which

Constantine apparently played a major part as a moderator, Eusebios affirmed that: "The Father is truly Father, the Son truly Son, and the Holy Spirit truly Holy Spirit."

Constantine affirmed Eusebios' belief as being identical to his own, and when Eusebios agreed (however reluctantly) to add that "the Son was of one substance with the Father," he was received back into communion and admitted to membership of the synod. The author rejects the theory that Eusebios was a close and constant advisor of Constantine, and states that modern accounts which take this position are incorrect. His evidence shows that Constantine met with Eusebios only four times, and there seems to be a paucity of written correspondence between them as well. Only six letters were exchanged and none of them indicate an intimacy between the two men: "Constantine doubtless regarded Eusebios highly as a scholar, writer, and theologian. There is no sign that he ever sought his advice on any political issue."

Eusebios' *Life of Constantine* may have been started while the emperor was still alive, but when Eusebios died in 339 it was left unfinished:

Another hand, perhaps that of Akakios, who succeeded him as bishop of Caesarea, tidied the manuscript, added the chapter headings, and published the text as it stood. Hence the four books of the *Life* . . . contain doublets and inconsistencies which show that the author was still engaged in revision when he died.

Professor Barnes indicates that the version being revised by Eusebios was an encomium and that the unfinished revisions were more biographical in nature. This is extremely important knowledge to have when evaluating and using a source. Constantine is described as an intelligent and politically astute man, as well as an ambitious one. Some of his actions which seem religiously ambiguous were in fact statesman-like actions dictated by political practicality. He was a Christian in substance as well as appearance, but also willing to use his religion for political purposes. He was a benefactor to the needy, but he could also be cruel.

The author presents a balanced portrait of Constantine. He has used contemporary sources of Constantine and Eusebios, thereby trying to eliminate modern bias and misconceptions, and this lends credibility to his history. This is a scholarly work, valuable for students and scholars alike.

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Crisis in Byzantium: The Filioque Controversy in the Patriarchate of Gregory II of Cyprus (1285-95). By Aristeides Papadakis. New York: Fordham University Press, 1984. Pp. 265. Clothbound, \$22.95.

After the barrels of ink spilled by Greek and Latin theologians over the theological question of the *filioque*, one would think there would be very little left to say on the subject. But Aristeides Papadakis in his relatively slim but densely packed book, *Crisis in Byzantium: The Filioque Controversy in the Patriarchate of Gregory II of Cyprus (1285-95)*, makes an important contribution to theology by analyzing, for the first time so comprehensively in English, the Byzantine conciliar reaction to the unionist Council of Lyons (1274) in 1285. This council, under the leadership of the learned Patriarch Gregory II of Cyprus, analyzed from every conceivable point of view the implications of the *filioque* question and, with the Tomos written by Patriarch Gregory himself, introduced what Papadakis (I think justifiably) calls a "new" but yet "traditional" aspect of the question of the procession of the Holy Spirit.

The genuine merit of this book lies not so much in any really new points of view presented but in its mastery and utilization of the Byzantine sources. As the author shows, Gregory was a skillful, if not systematic, theologian. He was an enlightened theologian in all ways *within* the Orthodox tradition, but at the same time one who fully understood the Latin point of view. In his study the author takes pains to show that while Gregory did not create a truly new theology, he was, on the basis of the early fathers of the Orthodox Church (Gregory the Theologian, Maximos the Confessor, Athanasios, and Basil the Great), able to carry further and complete the rather simplistic dogmatic formulation of Patriarch Photios on the procession of the Holy Spirit. The book contains many admirable features: cogency of expression, theological precision, and appreciation for the extreme subtlety of many of the arguments used at the Blachernae Synod. Papadakis also stresses (I believe correctly) that Gregory's views on the procession of the Holy Spirit constitute the crucial link that prepared the way for the fourteenth-century Gregory Palamas' formulation of the doctrinal beliefs of Hesychasm.

The author is clearly Orthodox in his presentation, but that is not to say that he is unsympathetic to the Latin side. His objectivity in fact sometimes leads the careful reader to believe that the path of the usually highly subtle doctrinal argument is leading to a "Latin" solution, only to find at the end of the argument that such is not the case. The work as a whole is very clearly written and organized into cohesive chapters, and although there is a certain amount of repetition of the points of argument, one can see the necessity for such repetition for the sake of

clarity in the veritable thickets of doctrinal material.

As the author several times points out, the work does not claim to be a full biographical treatment of the life and career of Gregory of Cyprus. It does, nevertheless, offer considerable additional material that would enrich a full biography of this learned man and theologian whose career has been generally neglected and whose theological "creativity" has been either overlooked or unworthily maligned by most historians and theologians. (One wishes Papadakis had added a bit more to elucidate his observation that Gregory's learning made him one of the first protagonists of the Palaiologan Renaissance.

Among many useful judgments and conclusions provided are that the work of the Greek clergy at Blachernae (which included the so-called Tomos of Patriarch Gregory) may well be the most important contribution of the Byzantine Church to the *filioque* debate. The author believes that, because Patriarch Photios devoted little or no thought to the theological tenet of "through the Son," subsequent Byzantines ignored the eternal relationship of the Son and the Holy Spirit. Hence Gregory turned for inspiration to the early Greek fathers and, like them, emphasized the concept of the eternal manifestation of the Holy Spirit by the Son (in contrast to the temporal procession). The Byzantine Church's endorsement of this concept of the eternal manifestation, thus, according to the author, supplied the conceptual clarity hitherto lacking in the doctrine of the procession of the Holy Spirit. Thus, the contribution of Gregory II, constituted the "new" but still "traditional" element that henceforth remained the standard Greek delineation of the doctrine of the procession of the Holy Spirit.

The author takes pains to cite the benefits he derived from his reading of secondary authorities (such as, above all, Troitski, who is the only one to have written substantially on Gregory's theology). Papadakis uses a vast number of sources, both primary and secondary, including Russian articles and studies and those from Greek journals (often difficult to come by) such as those written by Sakellion and others in *Ekklesiastikos Pharos*. The author might perhaps also have cited this reviewer's article, "The Byzantine Recovery of Constantinople from the Latins in 1261: A Chrysobull of Michael VIII Palaeologus in Favor of Hagia Sophia," in *Continuity and Discontinuity in Church History (Festschrift for G. Williams)*, ed. F. Church and T. George (Leiden, 1979), pp. 104-17, and also his book, *Interaction of the Sibling Byzantine and Western Cultures in the Middle Ages and Italian Renaissance*, the sections on the procession of the Holy Spirit in Maximos the Confessor and Gregory of Nazianzos. Though the author does not cite the book of J. Gill, *Byzantium and the Papacy, 1198-1400*, he does refer to his extremely important dossier of documents pertaining to the

Council of Lyons. On page 108 the term *refendarios* should rather read *referendarios*.

This very well documented work will, I believe, become the standard study on the question of the theological reaction of the Orthodox Church to the Council of Lyons in the reign of Emperor Michael VIII's son, Andronikos II Palaiologos.

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The Church and the Charisma of Leadership in Basil of Caesarea. By Paul Jonathan Fedwick. Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 1979. Pp. i-226.

Saint Basil the Great, the bishop of Caesarea during the fourth century, has always been an inexhaustive and admirable source of inspiration because of his indisputable intellectual, spiritual, and pastoral excellence, as well as because of his great influence on the formation of a genuine Christian life-style. Indeed a man of charisma and of extraordinary capacity for leadership, Saint Basil became a great father of the Church, and the significance of his contribution has found many admirers, since his friend Gregory the Theologian delivered his celebrated "Funeral Oration," a deserving encomium for the saintly bishop of Caesarea.

Professor Paul Fedwick published the present volume on the sixteen-hundredth anniversary of Saint Basil, and there is no doubt that it constitutes a product of painstaking research and of great respect for the great Cappadocian father. Professor Fedwick correctly writes of Saint Basil that "his forceful defense of the faith, his immense learning, and his effective charity combined to make him an exemplary aristocrat, statesman, pastor, theologian, in short, a saint and an authentic father and doctor of the Christian Church" (p. xvii).

The book is divided into four main chapters: "The Church in the Life and Works of Saint Basil," "The Charisma of Church Leadership," "The Charisma of the Leader of the Word," and "The Pastoral Solitude for the Communion of All the Churches." Five Appendices follow, which include among others a revised provisional chronology of the life and works of Saint Basil. A select bibliography makes this volume most useful for the serious student of Saint Basil and his theological thought.

The charismatic structure of the Church is one of the favorite themes of Saint Basil according to Professor Fedwick. Although there is no



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Daimon in Classical Greek Literature

JOHN E. REXINE

FROM THE VERY BEGINNING, it can be pointed out that the word δαίμων reflects the dynamism of the Greek vocabulary operating throughout the various periods of Greek literature. There is, of course, no single English equivalent. It is a word of tremendous range and significance. In its way, it reflects the dynamic range of Greek literature and thought. It is a convenient word for poetry since the one form satisfies both the masculine and feminine genders, and it has a vocative which θεός does not.¹ Δαιμών is a word of literature rather than cult. It is a word that is more generalized and less personalized than θεός. A systematic examination of the various Greek authors would tend to show that no ONE meaning was fixed upon the word until Christian times. The Christian vocabulary used it to mean "an evil spirit," and in Modern Greek² δαίμονας = δαίμων means simply "the Devil." In the authors to be examined, we shall see that the word has a variety of meanings.

Though Homer will not be discussed at great length, some notice of him is unavoidable since all Greek literature must for us begin with Homer. A brief discussion of Homer's use of δαίμων will follow shortly. The observation has been made that even though the Homeric poet repeatedly refers to anthropomorphic gods, the "cause of events" is not assigned by him to a specific θεός, but rather to a δαίμων or a θεός τις or Zeus. *Daimon* generally is considered as a supernatural power rather than a personalized god, but also as a power exerting influence over the fortunes and lives of

¹ Θεός does not occur until Hellenistic times, and, of course, frequently in the Christian vocabulary.

² Δαίμονες is used in the plural in Modern Greek also, as well as with the meaning "evil spirits," "devils."

mankind.³ The word even approaches the meaning of fate in such expressions as σὸν δαίμονι, πάρος τοι δαίμονα δώσω. The tragedians retain the old reference to a specific manifestation in such expressions as ὁ παρὸν δαίμων. People also refer to a good and evil *daimon* that follows one through life. The term is not generally applied to cult gods, but to less definite gods.

To categorize generally,⁴ we might say that an investigation of classical Greek literature would lead to the discovery of the following meanings for δαίμων: (1) the use of the word to signify a god or goddess or individual gods and goddesses. This would be a rare use of the term; (2) more frequently, we would find it used of the Divine Power (the Latin *numen*).⁵ This would signify a superhuman force, impersonal in itself, but regularly belonging to a person (a god of some kind); (3) the Power controlling the destiny of individuals and then one's fortune or lot; (4) it could be further specialized as the good or evil *genius* of a person or family; (5) a more special use would reveal the δαίμονες as tutelary deities, the "souls" of the men of the golden age of Hesiod; (6) general spiritual or semi-divine creatures who are less than the gods, but intermediate between the gods and men (cf. Plato); (7) finally, "devil," "bad spirit" in the Christianized sense (of course, this last is not classical).

The Indo-European philologist would tell us that δαίμων comes from the IE *dai—and would compare δαίομαι. It is interesting to note the scholiast on Homer: *Iliad* I. 222: δώματα ἐς αἰγιόχοιο Διός μετὰ δαίμονας ἄλλους. Athena manifests herself to Achilles who is contemplating whether to slay Agamemnon or curb himself. Athena assuages him and Achilles consents to obey (1. 218): ὃς κε θεοῖς ἐπιπειθῆται, μάλα τ', ἔκλυνον αὐτοῦ. "And Athena forthwith departed to Olympos, to the other gods in the palace of aegis-bearing Zeus" (222). On this last line (222) the scholiast explains δαίμων etymologically: οὗτος δαίμονας καλεῖ τοὺς θεούς, ἦτοι δτὶ δαήμονες (ἔμπειροι γὰρ καὶ ἔδρες πάντων αὐτοὶ εἰσιν) ἢ δτὶ διαιτηταί εἰσι καὶ διουκταί τῶν ἀνθρώπων, ὡς "Αλκμαν" Ἀλλους τε θωπεύοντες οἰκοῦμεν σύ τε κάγῳ

³ Compare Martin P. Nilsson's article on *daimon* in the *Oxford Classical Dictionary*; Martin P. Nilsson, *A History of Greek Religion*, trans. F. J. Fielden (Oxford, 1925), pp. 165-68; M. P. Nilsson, *A. R. W.*, 22 (1924) 363f.; *Geschichte d. griech. Religion* 1.201f.; H. J. Rose, *H. T. R.* 28 (1935) 243; the article on *daimon* in the third supplement of Pauly-Wissowa (267-322).

⁴ See also Friedrich Pfister's article on δαίμων in the seventh supplement of Pauly-Wissowa: *Real-Encyclopädie*, as well as the regular article.

⁵ For *numen*, see H. J. Rose, "Numen and Mana," *Harvard Theological Review*, 44 (1951) 109-20. On p. 109, Rose tells us that "numen signifies a superhuman force, impersonal in itself but regularly belonging to a person (a god of some kind) . . ." On p. 110, we are informed that *genius* is the common Latin translation of δαίμων.

τὸν αὐτὸν δαίμον' ἔξειληφότες. Plato, in his *Kratylos*,⁶ suggests a similar etymology for δαίμων. But to continue, our Indo-European philologist would compare δαίμων with the Norse “time,” “time,” “hour”; Anglo-Saxon “tíma”; English “time”; Old High German * “tí-man,” “period” (* dī-) and would explain δαίμων as coming from an earlier * δάσι-μων Latin * lasi (cf. Sabine * dasi-) in the Latin lasēs. The Latin plural more familiar to us as larēs, larium and larum.⁷ Thus, we would have an IE etymological connection of the word δαίμων with a Latin word with which one of the meanings of the Greek δαίμων occasionally corresponds.

Enough has now been said to serve as a general introduction to the use and meaning of the word δαίμων. But what about its use generally in Homer, and specifically in Hesiod and the Pre-Socratics? We shall see that the modern conceptual mind would like to reduce the word to a single, clear-cut meaning, but that the pre-conceptual and semi-conceptual minds will refuse to be strait-jacketed. We shall be able to draw up a few general categories, but no more. The word tends to slide easily from one meaning to another. We shall note that Homer uses the word fairly frequently; that Hesiod presents the word rarely and bafflingly; and that the use of the word in the Pre-Socratics is limited, but can be fairly adequately defined.

The discussion of the use and meaning of the word δαίμων in Homer does not intend or pretend to be exhaustive, but merely suggestive. In the Homeric poems, δαίμων emerges in at least three different senses, one oftentimes merging into another: (1) it is used with reference to a specific god or goddess; (2) with reference to a divine power, or divinity (cf. Latin *numen*) unspecified and unnamed but potent; (3) with reference to one’s fate, lot or destiny, good or evil. The most usual sense in Homer is (2), to which are assigned events not referred to any particular god. The most numerous instances show that *daimon* brings or is the CAUSE of bringing upon man something that is contrary to his will, purpose, or expectations. The adjective derived from δαίμων, δαιμόνιος generally has the notion of blame more or less saliently attached to it and signifies something wonderful, incomprehensible, irrational.

The word δαίμων in its first meaning may refer to any god or goddess, as in *Iliad* XIX, where Thetis brings Achilles his new arms and

⁶ *Kratylos* 398b: τοῦτο τοίνυν παντὸς μᾶλλον λέγει, ὡς ἐμοὶ δοκεῖ, τοὺς δαμόνας δτὶ φρόνιμοι καὶ δαήμονες ἡσαν, δαίμονας αὐτοὺς ὄνόμασεν καὶ ἐν γε τῇ ἀρχαίᾳ τῇ ἡμετέρᾳ φωνῇ αὐτὸν συμβαίνει τὸ δνομα.

⁷ Both genitives occur, though the most familiar is certainly larum. Cf. Emile Boisacq, *Dictionnaire Etymologique de la langue Grecque*, 4 ed. (Heidelberg, 1950), p. 162.

an assembly is called in which Achilles publicly renounces his wrath against Agamemnon. Agamemnon apologizes for his actions in seizing Briseis, claiming that he was possessed of Ate when he did the deed. Odysseus bids Agamemnon to “be more righteous hereafter; for no shame it is that a man that is king should make amends if he have been the first to deal violently.” Then Agamemnon replies:

χαίρω σοῦ, Λαερτιάδη, τὸν μῆθον ἀκούσας·
 ἐν μοίρῃ γάρ πάντα δίκεο καὶ κατέλεξας.
 ταῦτα δ’ ἔγων ἐθέλω δύμσαι. κέλεται δὲ με θυμός,
 οὐδὲν ἐπιορκήσω πρὸς δαίμονος (185-88).

δαίμων here means that Agamemnon will not forswear himself by any god: no specific god is named. But there is also another point that is clear. There is no moral connotation involved in swearing by a god. However, to swear falsely by a god is dangerous. It is using the god’s name in vain. It is like signing his name to a bad check. So Agamemnon is here careful to avoid making any mistakes. Agamemnon will swear by *a* god, but he does not name him here.

Another example of category (1) in which the plural refers to θεούς (“the other gods”) is the one already cited above (p. 336) in *Iliad* I. 922 where Athena returns to the palace of Zeus and to the other gods, (μετὰ δαίμονας ἄλλους) where δαίμονας clearly refers to the Olympians.

In Book III. 420 of the *Iliad* δαίμων equals θεός and in this case a specific θεά, that is, Aphrodite. In answer to a proposal that the outcome of the war between the two sides, Trojan and Greek, be decided by a single combat between Menelaos and Paris, an agreement is reached that the winner keep Helen. Paris is at first reluctant, but Hector rebukes him for his hesitation, and Paris finally consents. The fight turns unfavorably for Paris but before any fatal blow can be struck against him, Aphrodite rescues him, and transports him miraculously to his chamber. There Aphrodite prepares him for love. Helen reproaches Aphrodite for enticing her to love with Paris, but Aphrodite gets furious and says (11. 414-20):

μή μ’ ἔρεθε, σχετλίη, μὴ χωσαμένη σε μεθείω,
 τῶς δέ σ’ ἀπεχθήρω ὡς νῦν ἔκπλαγα φίλησα,
 μέσσωδ δ’ ἀμφοτέρων μητίσομαι ἔχθεα λυγρά,
 Τρώων καὶ Δαναῶν, σὺ δέ κεν κακὸν οἴτον ὅληαι.

“Ως ἔφατ”, ἔδεισεν δ’ Ἐλένη Διός ἐκγεγαυῖα,
 βῆ δὲ κατασχομένη ἐανῷ ἀργῆτι φαεινῷ
 σιγῇ, πάσας δὲ Τρωάς λάθεν· ἥρχε δὲ δαίμων.

Helen was afraid and obeyed, “and the goddess (δαίμων) led the way.” The goddess specifically referred to is Aphrodite. δαίμων is here not only metrically convenient, but the single form suffices for either the feminine or masculine gender (here, of course, it is feminine). It is noteworthy that δαίμων may be used for θεός but never θεός for δαίμων.⁸

In *Iliad* XVII at lines 98-99, we have the words of Menelaos:

δππότ' ἀνήρ ἐθέλη πρὸς δαίμονα φωτὶ μάχεσθαι
ὄν κε θεός τιμῆ, τάχα δὲ μέγα πῆμα κυλίσθη

The struggle in Book XVII is over the body of Patroklos. Menelaos distinguishes himself in preventing the Trojans from getting it. But when Hector enters the fray, Menelaos exclaims the words quoted above: “When a man would fight against his lot with another whom a god honors, then swiftly on him rolls a great woe.” Here the δαίμων is conditioned by the action and is equated with μέγα πῆμα. However, it seems easily to fit into category (2) or (3): it probably originally meant “against divinity” in the line quoted and since it is beyond human power to contend with Divine Power, an individual’s lot.

A few lines below, in lines 103-05, Menelaos says:

ἄμφω καύτις ιόντες ἐπιμνησαίμεθα χάρμους
καὶ πρὸς δαίμονα περ, εἴ πως ἐρυσαίμεθα νεκρὸν
Πηλεῖδη Ἀχιλῆι κακῶν δέ κε φέρτατον εἴη

This Menelaos says after he has explained that none of the Greeks would be angry with him for giving way to Hector because he has the gods on his side, but that he and Aias could save the body of Patroklos for Achilles even against divinity (πρὸς δαίμονα περ). Remember, Diomedes by his great fortitude wreaked havoc on the Trojans and even wounded Aphrodite and Ares with the assistance of Athena (Book V). Here πρὸς δαίμονα seems to blend from the meaning “against divinity” to “lot” or “destiny,” since the δαίμων is something beyond an individual human being’s control. It is not in Menelaos’ power to go against divinity, but with Aias he would get Patroklos’ body in spite of Divine Power. The chief sense of this passage would place δαίμων here in category (2).

In *Iliad* II. 792, Nestor speaks to Patroklos of the command of his father Menoitios who had said to him: “My child of lineage is Achilles higher than thou, and thou art older but in might he is better far. But

⁸ This is an important observation.

do thou speak gently, and show him what things he should do, and he will obey thee to his profit.” Nestor bids Patroklos to try and persuade Achilles to return to battle saying (11. 792-93):

τίς δ’ οἰδ’ εἴ κεν οἱ σὸν δαίμονι θυμὸν ὀρίναις
παρειπών; ἀγαθὴ δὲ παραίφασίς ἔστιν ἔταιρον.

With the help of Divine Power, with the favor of the gods, Achilles might be persuaded by Patroklos. The δαίμων here is undefined, but powerful (category 2).

In *Odyssey* V. 396, after some time with Kalypso, Odysseus sets out on a raft, but Poseidon spots him and stirs up the sea violently. Brave as he is, Odysseus fears death. Luckily he sights land, a sight most welcome to Odysseus (11. 394-99):

ώς δ’ ὅτ’ ἀν ἀσπάσιος βίοτος παίδεσσι φανήη
πατρός, ὃς ἐν νούσῳ κεῖται κράτερ’ ἀλγεα πάσχων
δηρὸν τηκόμενος στυγερὸς δέ οἱ ἔχρας δαίμων,
ἀσπάσιον δ’ ἄρα τόν γε θεοὶ κακότητος ἔλυσαν
ώς Ὁδυσῆ ἀσπαστὸν ἐείσατο γαῖα καὶ ὕλη,
νῆχε δ’ ἐπειγόμενος ποσὶν ἡπείρου ἐπιβῆναι.

The δαίμων is here described as a hateful deity because of “his” consequences. Divinity is assigned as the cause of the illness.

In *Odyssey* X. 64, Aiolos asks Odysseus:

πῶς ἦλθες, Ὁδησσεῦ; τίς τοι κακὸς ἔχρας δαίμων;

An evil divinity has returned Odysseus and his men to Aiolos. While Odysseus was sleeping, his men, out of curiosity and foolishness, had opened the bag of winds that Aiolos had given Odysseus. We are still in category (2) but verging very closely on category (3) here.

In *Odyssey* XI. 61, we are definitely in category (3). Odysseus meets Elpenor in his visit to the Kingdom of the Dead. Odysseus wonders how Elpenor got there so quickly, to which Elpenor answers:

διογενὲς Λαερτιάδη, πολυμῆχαν’ Ὁδυσσεῦ,
ἀσε με δαίμονος αἴσα κακὴ καὶ ἀθέσφατος οἴνος.

It was not merely the wine that made him lose his balance, but also a piece of bad fortune. δαίμονος αἴσα κακή is a periphrastic way of referring to a κακὸς δαίμων.

From here let us return to another illustration from the *Iliad*, this time a final one from Book VIII. 166. In Book VIII, Zeus summons an assembly of the gods and instructs them to cease interceding

on either side. His purpose is to keep his promise to Thetis by granting victory to the Trojans when the battle is resumed. This promise is carried out. The morale of the Greek troops declines sharply and even Diomedes retreats. It is at this point that Hector threatens Diomedes with destruction (ll. 160-66):

Τυδεῖδη, περὶ μέν σε τίον Δαναοὶ ταχύπωλοι
 ἔδρη τε κρέασίν τε ἵδε πλείοις δεπάεσσι·
 νῦν δὲ σ' ἀτιμήσουσι· γυναικός ἄρ' ἀντὶ τέτυξο.
 ἔρρε, κακὴ γλήνη, ἐπεὶ οὐκ εἰξαντος ἔμειο
 πύργων ἡμετέρων ἐπιβήσεαι, οὐδὲ γυναικας
 ἀξεις ἐν νήεσσι· πάρος τοι δαίμονα δώσω.

Δαίμον here is an evil lot or destiny = death.

These illustrations should be sufficient to give some idea of the use of δαίμον in Homer. The adjective δαιμόνιος generally suggests something wonderful, incomprehensible, irrational. It indicates that something is under superhuman influence. Five shades of meaning may be distinguished in Homer,⁹ particularly in its vocative use: (1) in stern reproach; (2) in more or less stern remonstrance; or in tender or gentle remonstrance; (3) implying folly or senselessness; (4) indicating a degree of wonder, the person addressed himself being superior to what his outward appearance would indicate; (5) merely as a term of affectionate address, with all sense of connection with the original δαίμον lost.

This brief survey with a limited number of Homeric illustrations serves to suggest the three basic senses of δαίμον in Homer: (1) reference to a specific god or goddess or an unnamed god or goddess; (2) divine power, divinity, power that controls human circumstances; (3) one's personal fate or lot, good or evil. This neat little scheme, worked out by the conceptual mind, does not mean that every time the word δαίμον occurs that it will fit exactly into any one of the preceding categories. It merely suggests a general line of approach. It would be more natural to expect one meaning to blend into another in this pre-conceptual period. Some of the examples cited indicate just that.

Hesiod presents many baffling and unsolved problems. The use and meaning of δαίμον simply add another one. The occurrences of δαίμον or words derived from it in Hesiod are rare. This might seem unusual, particularly in the case of the *Theogony*, but there the word δαίμον occurs only once, and then in the accusative form δαίμονα (*Theogony*, 991): "And Eos bare to Tithonus brazen-crested Memnon, king of the Ethiopians, and the Lord Emathian. And to Kephalos she

⁹ Cf. Richard J. Cunliff, *Lexicon of the Homeric Dialect* (London, 1924).

bare a splendid son, strong Phaethon, a man like the gods, whom, when he was a young boy in the tender flower of glorious youth with childish thoughts, laughter-loving Aphrodite seized and caught up and made a keeper of her shrine by night, a divine spirit" (vs. 984-91).

τόν δα νέον τέρεν ἄνθος ἔχοντ' ἐρικυδέος ἥβης
παῖδ' ἀταλὰ φρονέοντα φιλομμειδῆς Ἀφροδίτη¹⁰
ῷρτ' ἀναρεψαμένη, καὶ μιν ζαθέοις ἐνὶ νηοῖς
νηοπόλον νύχιον ποιήσατο, δαίμονα δῖον.

The meaning of δαίμων here is difficult to determine exactly because it cannot be checked against the word elsewhere in the *Theogony*. The word occurs twice in the *Works and Days* (122.314) in two different usages and in the one case (314) some editors would reject the line as spurious.¹⁰ Add to this the unusual pairing of δῖος with δαίμων. This description of Phaethon (not to be connected with Phaethon of chariot fame) indicates that he is a lesser divine creature, not a full-fledged divinity, for he is described in line 987 as a θεοῖς ἐπιείκελον ἄνδρα. Further, he occurs in the section of the *Theogony* generally called the Ἡρωογονία. Of course, according to the myth, Tithonus¹¹ was a mortal. Consequently, it seems safest to say that here δαίμων with δῖος means that Phaethon was a demi-god, a hero plus (the δῖος being the plus factor).

The *Theogony* contains once only the derivative δαιμόνιος in the elided vocative form (l. 655). It is contained in Kottos' reply to Zeus' exhortation to resist and defeat the Titans. Zeus is addressed as δαιμόνι'. The usual translation is "Divine one" and this seems to be acceptable, meaning perhaps simply "sir" in divine company (ll. 654-63):

“Ως φάτο· τὸν δ’ ἔξαῦτις ἀμείβετο Κόττος ἀμύμων
Δαιμονί', οὐκ ἀδάητα πιφαύσκεαι ἀλλὰ καὶ αὐτοὶ¹²
ἴδμεν, δ τοι περὶ μὲν πραπίδες, περὶ δ' ἐστὶ νόημα,
ἀλκτήρ δ' ἀθανάτοισιν ἀρῆς γένεο κρυεροῖο.
σῆσι δ' ἐπιφροσύνησιν ὑπὸ ζόφου ἡερόντος
ἄψορρον δευρ' αὐτὶς ἀμειλίκτων ὑπὸ δεσμῶν
ἡλύθομεν, Κρόνουν υἱὲ ἄναξ, ἀνάελπτα παθόντες.
τῷ καὶ νῦν ἀτενεῖ τε νόώ καὶ ἐπίφρονι βουλῇ
ρύσόμεθα κράτος ὑμὸν ἐν αἰνῇ δηϊστῆτι
μαρνάμενοι Τιτῆσιν ἀνὰ κρατεράς ὑσμίνας.

In the *Works and Days* we come across the marvellous Hesiodic

¹⁰I would not.

¹¹Cf. the *Homeric Hymn to Aphrodite*, 11. 218-55.

description of the Five Ages: Golden, Silver, Bronze, Heroic, and Iron. At the end of the description of the Golden Age, we are told that when this generation of men of the Golden Age had passed away, they were called goodly spirits who dwell on the earth, delivering men from harm, wandering over the earth clothed in mist and keeping watch on judgments and cruel deeds, givers of wealth. This passage perhaps illustrates the most unusually specialized meaning of δαίμων in Greek literature and states and explains most explicitly what δαίμων here means (ll. 121-26):

Αὐτάρ ἐπει δὴ τοῦτο γένος κατὰ γαῖ ἐκάλυψε,-
 τοί μὲν δαίμονες ἄγνοι ἐπιχθόνιοι καλέονται
 ἐσθλοί, ἀλεξίκακοι, φύλακες θνητῶν ἀνθρώπων
 οἵ ῥα φυλάσσουσιν τε δίκας καὶ σχέτλια ἔργα
 ἡέρα ἐσσάμενοι πάντη φοιτῶντες ἐπ' αἰαν,
 πλουτοδόται.¹²

Line 314 of the *Works and Days* contains a proverbial saying whose translation has caused much difficulty and which has been rejected or bracketed by some editors: δαίμονι δ' οῖς ξησθα, τὸ ἐργάζεσθαι ἀμεινον.

However, the general sense seems clear: “And whatever be your lot, work is best for you.” This meaning for δαίμων here is substantiated by Homeric usage, category (3). Thus far, we have found the word δαίμων used in Hesiod in three different ways. No one categorization is possible.

In lines 207-11 of the *Works and Days* is contained in pictorialized form the famous precursor of the arguments of Gorgias and Thrasy-machos in Plato:

Δαιμονί, τί λέληκας; ἔχει νυ σε πολλὸν ἀρείων
 τῇδ' εἰς· ή σ' ἀν ἐγώ περ ἄγω καὶ ἀοιδὸν ἐοῦσαν
 δείπνον δ', αἱ κ' ἐθέλω, ποιήσομαι ήὲ μεθῆσω.
 ἄφρων δ', δς κ' ἐθέλῃ, πρὸς κρείσσονας ἀντιφερίζειν
 νίκης τε στέρεται πρὸς τ' αἰχεσιν ἄλγεα πάσχει.
 'Ως ἔφατ, ὀκυπέτης Ἱρηξ, τανυσίπτερος δρνις.

The hawk calls the nightingale δαιμονί. The problem here is what does δαιμονί really mean? Evelyn-White translates it as “miserable thing”; Hays¹³ says, “δαιμονί means fool rather than wretch”; others have other views. Mazon approaches closest perhaps with “possessed,”

¹²The readings of the text would vary with the editor. Though Mazon would reject 11. 124-25, I would keep them as is.

¹³Heber Michel Hays, *Notes on the Works and Days of Hesiod* (Chicago, 1918), p. 106.

“fey.” The nightingale is certainly possessed of something, namely a δαίμων, but the δαίμων is not clear at first glance. The further reading of the passage indicates the context. The δαίμων implied is a κακὸς δαίμων under the circumstances, one that brings her on the verge of annihilation now, at the mercy of the ἥρηξ. The nightingale is physically inferior to the hawk. It would seem that the hawk attributes the nightingale’s position to her bad lot (κακὸς δαίμων) by calling her δαιμονίη.

The adjective εὐδαίμων occurs only once in Hesiod and that once in the *Works and Days*, at the very end of the poem in the final description of the days (ll. 826-28):

τάων εὐδαίμων τε καὶ ὄλβιος, ὃς τάδε πάντα
εἰδὼς ἐργάζηται ἀναίτιος ἀθανάτοισιν,
ὅρνιθας κρίνων καὶ ὑπερβασίας ἀλεείνων.

Εὐδαίμων is “happy,” but the happiness results from having a favorable guiding δαίμων who brings you to the realization of happiness and prosperity by helping you to know what you should know and helping you to do what you should do. He is thus your individual *genius*.

Such are the occurrences and uses of δαίμων and its derivatives in Hesiod. Many difficulties present themselves. The rarity of the use of the word makes it difficult to generalize except to say that in a few of the rare occurrences of the word, the general sense corresponds with known meanings in Homer and elsewhere; in other cases the Hesiodic usage is unique or beyond immediate exact analysis.

In dealing with δαίμων in the Pre-Socratics, a number of men will be included who, though not strictly chronologically anterior to Socrates, are so in thought. Only known original fragments will be quoted. Spurious, doubtful fragments, and testimonia will be excluded. All references are to the sixth edition of Hermann Diels’ *Die Fragmente der Vorsokratiker* 1952, by Walter Kranz. In this edition, references outside and preceding a parenthesis indicate the number of the testimonia (A) or the fragments (B) or the imitation (C). No references will be made in this paper to (A) or (C); only to (B). The numbers inside the parentheses of the reference indicate volume, page, and line number respectively.

The occurrence of δαίμων and related words, is, of course, limited in the Pre-Socratics by the limits imposed upon us by the fragmentary nature of the evidence. In spite of the lack of full texts the frequency in the fragments is noteworthy. It is possible to draw up three separate categories for the use and meaning of the word δαίμων on the basis of

the genuine fragments that are in our possession. The collection of citations below will reinforce the validity of these three categories. They are: (1) in its most important Homeric sense as Divine Power, Divinity; (2) in the sense of ghost or spirit (this meaning will need further clarification); (3) in the sense of lot, fate, destiny. The following citations will include all genuine references to δαίμονες that are known to us, with occasional others.

The first category of δαίμονες for the Pre-Socratics must be subdivided into two subdivisions of a different nature: (A) divine power; (B) references to a specific deity like Homeric category (1).

The first fragment to be cited for category I (A) is from Herakleitos B79 (I. 169.1):

ἀνὴρ νήπιος ἥκουσε πρὸς δαίμονος δικωσπερ παῖς πρὸς ἀνδρός.

A comparison is here made: “A man is called foolish (childish) compared with divinity, just as a boy compared with a man.” The fragment is distinctly proverbial and δαίμονες is here Divine Power. The common denominator in the analogy is power in its widest and most comprehensive sense. There is a doubtful fragment assigned to Herakleitos (?) B128 (I. 180.11) in which Herakleitos is pictured as reprimanding the Greeks for praying to the unresponsive statues of gods. The word used for gods in this doubtful fragment is δαίμονες which here must equal θεός for Divinity (Numen) as such cannot be worshipped in the form of a statue: δτὶ δ Ἡράκλειτος δρῶν τοὺς Ἑλληνας γέρας τοῖς δαίμοσιν ἀπονέμοντες εἰπεν· δαιμόνων ἀγάλμασιν εῦχονται οὐκ ἀκούουσιν, ὁσπερ ἀκούειν, οὐκ ἀποδίδουσιν, ὁσπερ οὐκ ἀπατοῖεν.

In Parmenides' hexameter poem *Περὶ Φύσεως* we have a reference in the Prologue to δαίμονες (B1.3 [I. 228.19]). Parmenides speaks in epic language of the mares which carried him as far as he wanted with the goddesses directing his way along the resounding road. The goddesses (δαίμονες) are later clearly explained as daughters of the Sun. They raise some doubts as to their being called θεοὶ even though they are daughters of Helios. The clear thing about a θεός is that he is worshipped; Helios was only worshipped on the island of Rhodes. Whether his daughters ever were is another question. Be that as it may, in this passage from Parmenides δαίμονες = Ἡλιάδες κοῦραι:

ἴπποι ταί με φέρουσιν, δσον τ' ἐπὶ θυμὸς ἱκάνοι
πέμπον, ἐπεί μ' ἐς δόδον βῆσαν πολύφημον ἄγουσαι
δαίμονες, ἡ κατὰ παντ' ἀστη φέρει εἰδότα φῶτα
τῇ φερόμην τῇ γαρ με πολύφραστοι ἵπποι
ἄρμα τιταίνουσαι, κοῦραι δ' δόδον ἡγεμόνευον
ἄξων, δ' ἐν χνοίησιν ἵει σύριγγος αὐτὴν

αἰθόμενος (δοιοῖς γὰρ ἐπείγετο δινωτοῖσιν κύκλοις ἀμφοτέρῳθεν), δτε σπερχοίατο πέμπειν Ἡλιάδες κοῦραι, προλιποῦσαι δώματα Νυκτός, εἰς φάος, ωσάμενοι κράτων ἀπο χερσὶ καλύπτρας.

Again in Parmenides B12.3 (I. 243.2) we run into δαιμῶν, this time in the sense of a Divine Power who governs everything. Parmenides here speaks of the narrower rings that were filled with unmixed fire and that next to them was night, but that a portion of flame rushes between. In the center of these comes our δαιμῶν who seems responsible for generation and mating:

αὶ γὰρ στεινότεραι πλῆντο πυρὸς ἀκρήτοιο
αὶ δ' ἐπὶ ταῖς νυκτός, μετὰ δὲ φλογὸς ἔται αἴσα
ἐν δὲ μέσῳ τούτων δαιμῶν ἡ πάντα κυβερνᾷ.
πάντα γὰρ (ἥ) στυγεροῦ τόκου καὶ μίξιος ἄρχει
πέμπουσ' ἄρσενι θῆλυ μιγῆν το τ' ἐναντίον αὐτῆς
ἄρσεν θηλυτέρῳ

In Empedokles B.59 1 (I. 333.21), the Empedoklean φιλίη and νεῖκος are described as δαιμῶν in their commingling:

αὐτὰρ ἐπεὶ κατὰ μεῖζον ἐμίσγετο δαιμονὶ δαιμῶν,
ταῦτα τε συμπίπτεσκον, δηπη συνέκυρσεν ἔκαστα
ἄλλα τε πρὸς τοῖς πολλὰ δημεκῆ ἐξεγένοντο.

Thus here δαιμῶν is used by Empedokles for his personified deities of Love and Strife (Category 1 [B]).

Again in Empedokles B126 (I. 362.7), δαιμῶν reappears in its female form clothing (the soul) in the unfamiliar tunic of the flesh. Δαιμῶν here appears to refer to another Empedoklean personified deity or goddess:

σαρκῶν ἀλλογνῶτι περιστέλλουσι χιτῶνι.

Finally, for category number (1), Thrasymachos of Chalcedon may be briefly cited. Thrasymachos was active in the latter half of the fifth century. In his work Περὶ Πολιτείας B1 (II. 322.8), he speaks of the “good old days” when men kept silent unless circumstances compelled them to speak and when the older men correctly supervised the state. But in Thrasymachos’ day, Divine Providence has so advanced matters that an individual must suffer the consequences brought about by the rulers whom he has to obey; and since these dire effects are not deeds of Divinity or Heaven, one must speak:

ἐπειδὴ δ' εἰς τοσοῦτον ἡμᾶς ἀνέθετο χρόνων δ' δαιμῶν, ὅστε (έτερων μὲν ἀρχόντων) τῆς πόλεως ἀκούειν, τὰς δὲ συμφορὰς (πάσχειν) αὐτούς, καὶ τούτων τὰ μέγιστα μὴ θεῶν ἔργα εἶναι μηδὲ τῆς τύχης, ἀλλὰ τῶν ἐπιμεληθέντων . . .

Here δαιμῶν simply denotes generalized Divine Power.

In the famous fragment of *Kritias* B25.17 (II. 387.11), the sophist describes the rise of conventions as man-made to preserve law and order, but possessing no absolute validity in themselves. Generalized divinity (τὸν δαιμὸν) is one of these “police” conventions.

The second classification of δαιμῶν in the Pre-Socratics is based wholly upon its occurrence in the fragments of Empedokles. Only two fragments can be quoted. In the first, δαιμῶν is the form taken on by a god when he foolishly pollutes himself with bloodshed and swears falsely. He is made to wander all over the world, being born through this time (thrice ten thousand seasons) into all sorts of mortal shapes, suffering all sorts of terrible ordeals. The wandering δαιμονες reminds one of Hesiod, but what a difference between the wandering δαιμῶν of Hesiod’s Golden Age and Empedokles’ erring “ghosts” of erring gods. The fragment is from *Kaθαρμοί*:

ἔστιν ἀνάγκης χρῆμα, θεῶν ψήφισμα παλαιόν,
ἀίδιον, πλατέεσι κατεσφρηγισμένον δρκοις·
εὗτέ τις ἀμπλακίησι φόνῳ φύλα γυῖα μιήνῃ
(νείκεϊ θ') δς κ(ε) ἐπίορκον ἀμαρτήσας ἐπομόσσῃ
δαιμονες οἵτε μακραίωνος λελάχασι βίοιο,
τρίς μιν μυρίας ὥρας ἀπὸ μακάρων ἀλαλῆσθαι
φυομένους παντοῖα διὰ χρόνου εἰδεα θνητῶν
ἀργαλέας βιότοι μεταλλάσσοντα κελεύθους;
αἰθέριον μὲν γάρ σφε μένος πόντονδε διώκει
πόντος δ' ἐς χθονὸς οὖδας ἀπέπτυσε, γαῖα δ' ἐς αὐγὰς
ἡελίου φαέθοντος, δ' αἰθέρος ἔμβαλε δίναις
ἄλλος δ' ἐξ ἄλλου δέχεται, στυγέουσι δὲ πάντες
τῶν, καὶ ἔγώ νῦν εἰμι, φυγάς θεόθεν καὶ ἀλήτης,
νείκεϊ μαινομένῳ πίσυνος.

Such is the transmigratory (practically metempsychotic) nature of the δαιμῶν in this Empedoklean fragment. The second “ghost” fragment pairs δαιμονες with μοῖραι B.122 (I. 360.23): διτταὶ τινες ἔκαστος ἡμῶν γινόμενον παραλαμβάνουσι καὶ κατάρχονται μοῖραι καὶ δαιμονες. So much for the “ghost” or “spirit” classification.

The third classification entails the meaning “lot,” “fate,” “destiny.” The most famous one in this category is probably Herakleitos

B199 (I. 177.6): ἡθος ἀνθρώπῳ δαίμων. The ethos of man is his lot, destiny, familiar spirit. This saying is paralleled by Epicharmos B.17 (I. 201.13) who supplies more information: ὁ τρόπος ἀνθρώποισι δαίμων ἀγαθός, οἵς δὲ καὶ κακός. “Character for man is good destiny, but for some men bad also.” There is a good as well as a bad *daimon*. There are a pair of doublets in Demokritos which belong under this heading. They also serve to illustrate the derivatives εὐδαιμονία and κακοδαιμονία. These fragments are B170 and 171 (II. 179.2): εὐδαιμονίη ψυχῆς καὶ κακοδαιμονίη (170) εὐδαιμονίη οὐκ ἐν βοσκήμασιν οίκει οὐδὲ ἐν χρυσῷ ψυχὴ οἰκτίριον (cf. Herakleitos B199).

Antiphon the Sophist, in a fragment on the advisability and vicissitudes of marriage uses δαίμων in the Homeric sense of πότμος. Antiphon explains his δαίμων by πότμος—what marriage can turn into B49 (II. 357.15):

Περὶ ὁμονίας. φέρε δὴ προελθέτω ὁ βίος εἰς τὸ πρόσθεν καὶ γάμων καὶ γυναικὸς ἐπιθυμησάτω. αὕτη ἡ ἡμέρα, αὕτη ἡ νὺξ καὶ νοῦ δαίμονος ἄρχει, καινοῦ πότμου μέγας γὰρ ἀγών γάμος ἀνθρώπῳ.

So much for δαίμων in the Pre-Socratics. Εὐδαιμονία, εὐδαιμονίκος, εὐδαιμών and the opposite κακοδαιμονέστερος (Demokritos B.45 [II. 156.2]. ὁ ἀδικῶν τοῦ ἀδικουμένου κακοδαιμονέστερος) occur in limited frequency. An examination of the fragments in which these are used would indicate that they involve what in Latin is called felicitas and felix, “happiness,” “prosperity,” “happy,” “prosperous.”¹⁴ Thus, there is no unusual mystery about εὐδαιμών in what we have of the Pre-Socratics.

Thus, we conclude our swift survey of δαίμων in Homer, Hesiod, and the Pre-Socratics. We have seen that it is a word of great fluidity and range, a word that very often defies strict categorization. The three different uses in Homer were neatly outlined but often merge one into the other; the Hesiodic cannot be generally categorized since each surviving use is distinct within Hesiod though corresponding in a few instances to Homeric examples; the Pre-Socratic material, limited though it is, affords us uses of some of them completely distinct from anything in their predecessors, though certain general comparisons may be made. *Daimon* expresses a wide range of meanings, from a specified god clearly known and described to an unknown, unspecified, depersonalized, divine power of great potency.

¹⁴ Εὐδαιμών: Herakleitos B 4 (I. 151.9); Gorgias B.10 (II. 287.24); Εὐδαιμονικός: Anaxarchos B1 (II. 239.21).

II

In the second part of this paper, it remains for us to consider whatever occurrences remain to us of the word δαιμόν and its derivatives in the Greek Elegiac, Lyric, and Iambic poets and also in Pindar. We shall begin by investigating the texts of the Lyric poets as contained in the three lovely fascicles of the Teubner Library (1949-1952), *Anthologia Lyrica Graeca*.¹⁵

An examination of the three fascicles of the *Anthologia Lyrica Graeca* reveals the very limited frequency of δαιμόν in what we have in the writers of poetry of this period. The poet who makes the most frequent use of δαιμόν is Theognis and his use varies.

The first occurrence of δαιμόν is in *Iamboi* 24 (36-37) 11. 4-5 [Solon]

μήτηρ μεγίστη δαιμόνων Ὄλυμπίων
ἄριστα Γῆ μέλαινα

Here Earth is called the very great mother of the Olympians.

Phokylides in one instance only uses the word δαιμονες to indicate that there are various undefined powers among men which save men from impending disaster. There are good and bad δαιμονες:

16 (15) ἀλλ' ἄρα δαιμονες εἰσι ἐπ' ἀνδράσιν ἄλλοτε ἄλλοι
οἱ μὲν ἐπερχομένου κακοῦ ἀνέρας ἐκλύσασθαι

In the so-called *Epigrammata* of Plato, 32 (16) we notice a use of the word δυσδαιμόνων:

ἢ γὰρ ἔγωγε
δυσδαιμόνων ἔς ἐμήν ῦβριν ἐκαρποφόρουν.

In Theognis, in Elegy I, we come upon a more fruitful field for δαιμόν. There are eight occurrences of the word in Theognis, more than in any other poet contained in Ernst Diehl's edition of *Anthologia Lyrica Graeca*. The first occurrence in ll. 149-50 refers to δαιμόν in the sense of a powerful Divine Power which distributes gifts to mankind: the δαιμόν gives material possessions to the wicked, but the gifts of ἀρετή come only a few:

Χρήματα μὲν δαιμόνων καὶ παγκάκω ἀνδρὶ δίδωσιν,
Κύρν· ἀρετῆς δ' ὀλίγης ἀνδράσι μοῖρ' ἔπεται.

In lines 165-66, Theognis tells us that no man is without a δαιμόν whether he be rich or poor, bad or good. Here we see δαιμόν as man's

¹⁵The third edition edited by Ernst Diehl.

presiding deity, so to speak, his lot or destiny:

οὐδὲνς ἀνθρώπων οὗτ' ὅλβιος οὗτ' πενιχρὸς
οὗτε κακός νόσφιν δαίμονος οὗτ' ἀγαθός.

In lines 381-82 of the same elegy of Theognis we have δαίμων in the sense of Fortune or Luck. Theognis has just addressed Zeus in marvel at his great honor and power. Zeus knows the heart and mind of every man alive. Zeus' power is very great (σὸν δὲ κράτος πάντων ἔσθ' ὑπατὸν βασιλεῦ). Theognis cannot see how Zeus could possibly consider the just and the wicked in the same light. Then comes the section with δαίμων:

οὐδέ τι κεκριμένον πρὸς δαίμονος ἐστι βροτοῖσιν
οὐδ' ὅδον ἥντιν' ἵων ἀθανάτοισιν ἀδοι.

Fortune is not responsible and yet the wicked prosper.

Lines 401-06 warn that one should not be overeager in anything; due measure is best in all human works; often a man hastens after ἀρετή in his pursuit of profit, only to be led astray into some great wrongdoing by Good Fortune (δαίμων) which easily makes what is evil seem good, and what is good evil:

Μηδὲν ἄγαν σπεύδειν· καιρὸς δ' ἐπὶ πᾶσιν ἄριστος
ἔργμασιν ἀνθρώπων· πολλάκι δ' εἰς ἀρετὴν
σπεύδει δ' ἀνήρ κέρδος διζήμενος, ὅντινα δαίμων
πρόφρων εἰς μεγάλην ἀμπλακίην παράγει,
καὶ οἱ ἔθηκεν δοκεῖν, ἢ κακά, ταῦτ' ἀγαθ' εἶναι
εὐμαρέως, ἢ δ' ἂν ἢ χρήσιμα, ταῦτα κακά.

Theognis personifies Hope and Risk in ll. 637-38, saying that they are similar, both difficult δαίμονες. There are good and bad δαίμονες. One has to be careful to distinguish between them. The line of demarcation is not always clear:

Ἐλπὶς καὶ κίνδυνος ἐν ἀνθρώποισιν δύμοῖοι·
οὗτοι γὰρ χαλεποὶ δαίμονες ἀμφότεροι.

We now take a look at the first occurrence of the derivative εὐδαίμων in Theognis. Εὐδαίμων is here closely associated with the gods (θεοῖς). The only ἀρετή that Theognis desires is to be beloved of the immortal gods. If he can achieve this, he would be εὐδαίμων ("happy"):

Εὐδαίμων εἴην καὶ θεοῖς φίλος ἀθανάτοισιν,
Κύρν· ἀρετῆς δ' ἀλλης οὐδεμιῆς ἔραμαι.

In the next instance of εὐδαίμων Theognis explains what he means by saying that he is blessed and happy and fortunate who goes down into the

black house of Hades troubleless and before he has cowered before his enemy and transgressed by necessity or tested the loyalty of his friends. Εύδαιμων τε καὶ δλβιος are paired. We saw this pairing occurring first in Hesiod's *Works and Days* (826) (ll. 1013-16— Theognis: Elegy I):

“Α μάκαρ εύδαιμων τε καὶ δλβιος, δστις ἄπειρος
ἀθλων εἰς Ἀιδέω δῶμα μέλαν κατέβη
πρὶν τ’ ἔχθρους πτῆξαι καὶ ὑπερβῆναι περ’ ἀνάγκη
ἔξετάσαι τε φίλους δντιν’ ἔχουσι νόνον.

In one very specific reference, δαιμων is used by Theognis to indicate Ganymede's position among the Olympians. Here Theognis praises pederasty and cites Zeus' love for Ganymede, who seized Ganymede, brought him to Mount Olympos, and made him a δαιμων.

Thus, Theognis justifies his own actions and feelings to Simonides (ll. 1345-50):

Παιδοφιλεῖν δέ τι τερπνόν, ἐπεί ποτε καὶ Γανυμήδους
ῆρατο καὶ Κρονίδης, ἀθανάτων βασιλεύς,
ἀρπάξας δ’ ἐς “Ολυμπον ἀνήγαγε καὶ μιν ἔθηκεν
δαιμονα παιδείης ἄνθος ἔχοντ’ ἐρατόν.
ούτω μὴ θαύμαζε, Σιμωνίδη, ούνεκα κάγω
ἔξεδάην καλοῦ παιδὸς ἔρωτι δαιμεῖς.

This last example exhausts the occurrences of δαιμων in Theognis.

In Archilochos, the word δαιμων occurs only once and in a very specific context. It is in the fragment that refers to the Lelantine War between Chalkis and Eretria (c. B.C. 790) in which they agreed not to use missile weapons. Δαιμονες is used in connection with the “masters of Euboia” who are masters in this type of warfare. Δαιμονες here apparently = δαιμονες [3 (3)]:

Οὐ τοι πόλλ’ ἐπὶ τόξα τανύσσεται οὐδὲ θαμειαὶ
σφενδόναι, εὐτ’ ἀν δὴ μῶλον “Αρης συνάγῃ
ἐν πεδίῳ ξίφεων δὲ πολύστονον ἔσσεται ἔργον
ταύτης γάρ κεῖνοι δαιμονες εἰσι μάχης
δεσπόται Εύβοιης δουρικλυτοί.

There are a few more instances of δαιμων contained in Diehl's edition, such as *Ιαμβοί—Τρίμετρα* 45 (95) τίς ἄρα δαιμων καὶ τεοῦ χολούμενος . . .;

Here δαιμων seems to indicate a θεός of some kind. The *Μελίαμβοι* contain the word twice.¹⁶

¹⁶In Ernst Diehl's third edition δαιμονες (p.143) and δαιμων (p. 144). I mention here also the occurrences in the *Χρυσά ἔπη* of Pseudo-Pythagoras in Diehl: p. 82, 1.3; p. 84, 1.17; p. 89, 1.62; p. 99, 1.101 for record's sake.

When discussing Pindar,¹⁷ we are treading on more firm and more extensively preserved ground. Pindar makes extensive use of δαιμών and its derivatives. He uses the word in a variety of senses. Three primary senses may be distinguished: (1) with reference to a particular god or an unnamed god; (2) in reference to a Divine Power (*numen*) governing human affairs, now favorably, now unfavorably; and consequently, (3) now takes on the meaning of fate, lot or fortune, good or bad.

The adjectival form δαιμόνιος is used in the meaning of “pertaining to a god or given by a god; consequently, singular or extraordinary.” In *Nemean* IX. 27, Pindar speaks of the mighty power of Zeus and his submission of Amphiaraos. “For when the terror cometh out of heaven, then flee even the sons of the gods.” ἐν γὰρ δαιμονίοισι φόβοις φεύγοντι καὶ παῖδες θεῶν.

Here δαιμόνιος indicates the heavenly source of the fear. In *Olympian* IX. 110, Pindar says that the receipt of the prize should be assigned to divine help because it was through the divine that this man was born with dexterous hand, nimble limbs, with the light of valor in his eyes, and that now victorious, he was crowned at the feast at Oilean Aias’ altar:

ὅρθιον ὕρυσαι
θαρσέων τόνδ' ἀνέρα διαιμόνια γέγαμεν
εὐχειρα: ἀντὶ τοῦ θείᾳ μοίρᾳ γεγονέναι.

There is a great abundance of δαιμών in Pindar and therefore it will be necessary to select a few examples to illustrate the categories illustrated above. The treatment of Pindar does not purport to be exhaustive, but rather suggestive. In *Olympian* VI. 46: we have αὐτὸν δαιμόνων βουλαῖσιν ἔθρεψαντο δράκοντες.

We are told of the birth of Iamnos from Euadne and the god Apollo. When Iamnos was born, through the counsel of the gods (δαιμόνων βουλαῖσιν) two bright-eyed serpents nursed and fed him with the harmless venom (i.e. honey) of the bee. Here the δαιμονες are clearly θεοί but unnamed. An example of a god who is named and is called δαιμών is found in *Olympian* VII. 39: φαυσίμβροτος δαιμών ‘Υπεριονίδας. He is Hyperion, ‘Υπεριονίδας, the god that giveth light to men.

In Pindar, a δαιμών may be the Divine Power governing or determining human affairs howsoever it will. Cf. *Pythian* X. 10: γλυκὺ δ' ἀνθρώπων τέλος ἀρχά τε δαιμονος ὀρνύντος αὔξεται. In *Olympian* IX. 28, Divine Power assigns valor and wisdom to men: ἀγαθοὶ δὲ καὶ σοφοὶ κατὰ δαιμόν' ἄνδρες ἔγενοντι.

In *Pythian* III, Pindar concludes: “Small will I be among the small,

¹⁷It is interesting to note that a widely used book like John H. Finley, Jr.’s *Pindar and Aeschylus* (Cambridge, 1955) contains no discussion of *daimon* in Pindar or in Aischylos.

and great among the great. Whatever δαίμων follow me, I will work therewith, and wield it as my power shall suffice. If God should offer me wealth and ease, I hope that I should first have won high honor to be in the times afar off" (ll. 107-11).

σμικρὸς ἐν σμικροῖς, μέγας ἐν μεγάλοις
ἔσσομαι. τὸν δ' ἀμφέποντ' αἰεὶ φασὶν
δαίμον' ἀσκήσω κατ' ἐμὰν θεραπεύων μαχανάν.
εἰ δέ μοι πλοῦτον θεός ἀβρὸν δρέξαι,
ἔλπιδ' ἔχω κλέος εὐρέσθαι κὲν ὑψηλὸν πρόσω.

Here δαίμων appears almost in the sense of one's "guardian angel." It has divine origin, and is powerful.

It is the lot of all to die, says Pindar in *Isthmian VI* (VII), although our δαίμονες may be different. "If any lift up his eye to look upon things afar off, yet is he too weak to attain unto the bronze-paved dwelling of the gods." Here Pindar again reminds us not to strive to be gods; it is not our destiny (ll. 40-45):

δ τι τερπνὸν ἐπάμερον διώκων
ἔκαλος ἔπειμι γῆρας ἐς τε τὸν μόρσιμον
αἰῶνα. θνάσκομεν γὰρ δύως ἀπαντες
δαίμων δ' ἀϊσος τὰ μακρὰ δ' εἴ τις
παπταίνει, βραχὺς ἔξικέσθαι χαλκόπεδον θεῶν.
ἔδραν

In *Pythian III*, Koronis, though she had slept with the god Apollo and had his seed within her, dared to sleep with a stranger from Arkadia also. When Apollo got wind of the affair, he was terribly angry and contrived to destroy her. She perished and so did many of her neighbors, though Apollo saved the child from her. Pindar used δαίμων here in the sense of doom, bad luck, that came upon Koronis and others (ll. 34-36): δαίμων δ' ἔτερος/εἰς κακὸν τρέψαις ἐδαμάσσατό νιν, καὶ γειτόνων/πολλοὶ ἔπαῦνον, ἀμᾶ δ' ἔφθαρεν. In *Olympian XIII.* 105 we have an example of δαίμων in the sense of luck, fortune, destiny (ll. 104-07):

εὶ δὲ δαίμων γενέθλιος ἔρποι,
Δὶ τούτ' Ἐνυαλίῳ τ' ἐκδώσομεν
πράσσειν.

So much for δαίμων in Pindar. Εὐδαιμονία and εὐδαιμῶν present no spectacular problems. They generally correspond to the Latin *felicitas* and *felix* respectively.

III

The dramatists, Aischylos, Sophokles, and Euripides, probably make more extensive use of δαιμόνων and its derivatives than any other body of classical literature.¹⁸ That this should be the case is not strange in view of the nature of the tragic drama. In contrast to the relatively limited occurrence of *daimon* in the literature of the previous centuries (with the possible exception of Homer), the appearance of *daimon* in the tragedians is at first overwhelming. Nevertheless, though no exhaustively complete picture will be attempted, the general outlines of the main uses can be made out and supported by selected illustrations.

Three main senses may be distinguished in the first great tragedian, Aischylos. They are: (1) θεοί and δαιμόνες may be used interchangeably or δαιμόνες may indicate inferiority of position to the θεοί. No less frequent is the word employed to signify either specific gods or all the gods in general or simply the gods; (2) in the plural, it may be used of all or several of the gods; (3) very frequently, it refers to the Divine Power (*numen*) upon whose will the lot or destiny of human beings depends, whether it be a good or an evil one.

In the *Seven Against Thebes*, we have an example in which Ares is specifically referred to as a *daimon*. This occurs in the first chorus of the play in which the chorus appeals to Ares to oversee and protect his own land (ll. 104-07):

—κτύπον δέδοικα πάταγος οὐχ ἔνδος δορός.
 —τί ῥέξεις; προδώσεις παλαιγχθων
 "Αρης, τὰν τέαν;
 —ὦ χρυσοπήληξ δαιμόν, ἔπιδε ἔπιδε πόλιν
 —ὦ ποτ' εὐφιλήταν θθού.

Thus here δαιμόνων simply equals θεός.

In the *Xοηφόροι* in Elektra's dialogue with the chorus, in pouring libations at her father's tomb, she is instructed as to the procedure to be followed. The chorus tells her to name herself first and all that hate Aegisthos, then to remember poor Orestes. Next she is to remember the authors of her father's destruction. In reply to Elektra's question as to what she should do next, the chorus instructs her to pray that some god or man may come to avenge them for Agamemnon's death (ll. 118-21):

¹⁸ There have been many excellent books published on Greek drama over the past thirty years. One that has been recently reissued is Hugh Lloyd-Jones, *The Justice of Zeus* (Rev. ed. Berkeley, Los Angeles, and London, 1983). *Daimon* in Herodotus is mentioned on pp. 64, 84, and 150; in Aischylos on no page; in Sophokles on p. 162; and in Euripides on p. 149. My own study of *daimon* should be considered preliminary and tentative but already begins to give some idea of the magnitude and the importance of the subject for ancient Greek literature and religion.

‘Ηλ. τί φῶ; διδάσκ’ ἄπειρον ἐξηγουμένη.
 Χο. ἔλθεῖν τιν αὐτοῖς δαίμον’ ἢ βροτῶν τινα—
 ‘Ηλ. πότερα δικαστὴν ἢ δικηφόρον λέγεις;
 Χο. ἀπλωστὶ φράζουσ’, δστις ἀνταποκτενεῖ.

Here again some god is referred to; he is called indefinitely a δαίμων but is quite clearly a θεός. In the *Persians* of Aischylos, the ghost of Darius who was powerful in life is powerful in death, and consequently must be heeded. The Persians pay their respects to Darius, powerful though dead, by pouring libations and through worship. Aischylos uses the word to describe Darius in this situation. Atossa who has seen the ghost of Darius, appeals to the Persians to make the proper chants and libations to the dead, and summon forth the δαίμων of Darius while she makes offerings to the nether gods (11. 619.22):

ἀλλ’ ὁ φίλοι, χοαῖσι ταῖσδε νερτέρων
 ὅμνους ἐπευφημεῖτε, τόν τε δαίμονα
 Δαρεῖον ἀνακαλεῖσθε, γαπότους δ’ ἔγῳ
 τιμὰς προπέμψω τάσδε νερτέροις θεοῖς.

The chorus bids Atossa to pour the libations to the earth, while they in solemn chant implore the graciousness of the conductors of the dead beneath the earth. The gods below the earth are called δαίμονες as Darius is called a δαίμων (11. 628-46).

ἀλλά, χθόνιοι δαίμονες ἀγνοί,
 Γῆ τε καὶ Ἐρμῆ, βασιλεὺς τ’ ἐνέρων
 πέμψατ’ ἔνερθεν ψυχὴν ἐς φῶς
 εἴ γάρ τι κακῶν ἄκος οἴδε πλέον,
 μόνος δὲ θρήνων περας εἴποι.

στρ.α

ἢ δ ἀιεὶ μου μακαρίτας
 ἰσοδαίμων βασιλεὺς βάρ’
 βαρα σαφηνῆ
 ιέντος τὰ παναίολ’ αἰανῆ δύσθροα βάγματα;
 παντάλαν’ ἄχη
 διαβοάσω;
 νέρθεν ἄρα κλύει μου;
 ἀλλὰ σύ μοι, Γᾶ τε καὶ ἄλλοι
 χθονίων ἀγεμόνες, δαί-
 μονα μεγαυχῆ
 ιόντ’ αἰνεσάτ’ ἐκ δόμων, Περσᾶν Σουσιγενῆ θεόν;
 πέμπετε δ’ ἄνω
 οίον οὕπω
 Περσὶς αἱ ἐκάλυψεν.

Here δαίμονες are divinities below the earth and Darius who is also below the earth also gets called a δαίμων.

We have stated above that δαίμονες may be used in the plural of several gods. An instance of this is found in line 85 of the *Prometheus Vinctus* where Kratos taunts Prometheus with his etymology (ll. 85-87).

ψευδωνύμως σε δαίμονες Προμηθέα
καλοῦσιν αὐτὸν γάρ σε δεῖ προμηθέως
ὅτῳ τρόπῳ τῆσδ' ἐκκυλισθήσῃ τέχνης.
δαίμονες = θεοί

Aischylos' third category of δαίμων uses the term with reference to the numen upon whose will the lot or destiny of human beings depends, be it good or evil. In this category occur the following selected instances. *Agamemnon* 1569: δαίμονι τῷ Πλεισθενιδῶν δρκους θεμένη. Of good fortune: *Persians* 158: εἴ τι μὴ δαίμων παλαιός νῦν μεθέστηκε στρατῷ. Of the author of evils: *Seven* 705: δαίμων λῆματος ἐν τροπαίᾳ χρονίᾳ μεταλλακτός. *Persians* 345: ὁδε δαίμων τις κατέφθειρε στρατόν. *Persians* 354: φανεὶς ἀλάστωρ ἡ κακὸς δαίμων ποθέν. *Agamemnon* 1660: δαίμονες χηλῇ βαρείᾳ δυστυχῶς πεπληγένοι. The vocative occurs most conveniently for poetry: *Persians* 472: ὁ στυγνὲ δαῖμον; *Agamemnon* 1469: δαῖμον, δς ἐμπίτνεις δώμασι.

The words δαιμονάω, δαιμόνιος and εὐδαίμων also appear in Aischylos. The verb δαιμονάω is found in the *Seven* 1001: ιώ ιώ, δαιμονῶντ' ἐν ἄτῃ and in the *Choephoroi* 566: δαιμονῷ δόμος κακοῖς in which δαίμων is the controlling element. The verb would then mean “to be held by an evil *daimon*.” Δαιμόνιος indicates something sent by a *daimon*. *Seven* 892: αἰαῖ δαιμόνιοι, αἰαῖ δ' ἀντιφόνων (ἐκ) θανάτων ἀραι. *Persians* 581: δαίμονι ἄχη. Εὐδαίμων means “happy” in Aischylos. Cf. *Persians* 768: Κῦρος, εὐδαίμων ἀνήρ; *Agamemnon* 530: ἄναξ Ἀτρείδης πρέσβυς εὐδαίμων ἀνήρ.

So much for our general survey of *daimon* in Aischylos. Let us now proceed to the most classical of the classical tragedians, Sophokles.

Sophokles employs δαίμων and its derivative forms profusely. An entire book could be written on the subtleties of the word *daimon* in the tragedies of Sophokles alone. Here only certain general classifications can be indicated. Again, the general categories become clear: (1) δαίμων in Sophokles may be used of any god or of a certain god; in the plural it may be used of the gods generally; (2) *daimon* also has the meaning of *numen*—powerful in determining the fortunes of men. This *numen* may be good or bad; (3) finally, it may be equivalent to τὸ θεῖον.

Let us take a quick glance at some examples that would illustrate the preceding categories. At one point in the *Oidipous at Kolonos*, the chorus extols the greatness of Athens and refers to the various gifts bestowed upon the city. Among other things, the chorus expresses its pride in the might of the horse and the might of the sea for which it thanks Poseidon (ll. 707-15):

ἄλλον δ' αἰνον ἔχω ματροπόλει τῷδε κράτιστον,
δῶρον τοῦ μεγάλου δαίμονος, εἰπεῖν, χθονὸς αὐχημα μέγιστον,
εὐπίπον, εὐπωλον, εὐθάλασσον.
ώ παῖ Κρόνου, σὺ γάρ νιν εἰς
τόδ' εἴσας αὐχημ', ἀναξ Ποσειδάν,
ἴπποισιν τὸν ἀκεστῆρα χαλινὸν
πρώταισι ταῖσδε κτίσας ἀγνιαῖς.

In the *Philotetes*, in Philoktetes' last remarks is contained the notice that his voyage be speeded to the land where he was borne by great Moira and the god at whose decree all was commanded and (were, would be) brought to pass (ll. 1464-68):

χαῖρ', ω Λήμνου πέδον ἀμφίαλον,
καὶ μ' εὐπλοίᾳ πέμψον ἀμέμπτως,
ἔνθ' ἡ μεγάλη Μοῖρα κομίζει
γνώμη τε φίλων χώ πανδαμάτωρ
δαίμων, δς ταῦτ' ἐπέκρανεν.

The use of the plural of δαιμῶν with reference to the gods generally is clearly seen in the *Oidipous Tyrannos* when Jocasta prepared to visit the shrines of the gods. She says (ll. 911-13):

χώρας ἀνακτεῖς, δόξα μοι παρεστάθη
ναοὺς ἱκέσθαι δαιμόνων, τάδ' ἐν χεροῖν
στέφη λαβούσῃ κάπι θυμιάματα.

In the same play, Oidipous bewails his situation after the revelation and his self-blinding. No sights can now ever bring him joy (ll. 1377-83):

οὐ δῆτα τοῖς γ' ἐμοῖσιν ὀφθαλμοῖς πότε·
οὐδ' ἀστυ γ' οὐδὲ πύργος οὐδὲ δαιμόνων
ἀγάλματα ἱερά, τῶν δ παντλήμων ἐγώ
κάλλιστ' ἀνήρ εἰς ἔν γε ταῖς Θήβαις τραφεῖς
ἀπεστέρησ' ἐμαυτόν, αὐτὸς ἐννέπων
ώθειν ἀπαντες τὸν ἀσεβῆ, τὸν ἐκ θεῶν
φανέντ' ἀναγνον καὶ γένους τοῦ Λαίου.

Here again, the statues of the gods (δαιμόνων) refers to θεοί.

The second Sophoclean category employs δαιμόνων to indicate a powerful Divine Agency which determines the good or bad fortunes of men. In his final speech in the *Oidipous Tyrannos*, Oidipous addresses Kreon and softens because his daughters have been brought to him in one of the tenderest scenes in all Greek literature. Oidipous wishes Kreon well and that δαιμόνων, Divine Providence, may deal with him kindlier than it has dealt with him (ll.1478-79):

ἀλλ' εύτυχοίης, καί σε τῆσδε τῆς ὁδοῦ
δαιμόνων ἄμεινον ή 'με φρουρήσας τύχοι.

In the *Elektra* of Sophokles, Chrysothemis tells her sister of the discovery of a lock of Orestes' hair at the paternal tomb. She concludes that it was Orestes himself who made the offering, and bids her sister to take courage for never does δαιμόνων run one unbroken course: l. 917: τοῖς αὐτοῖσι τοι / οὐχ αὐτὸς αἰεὶ δαιμόνων παραστατεῖ. Two examples may be cited briefly in which the *daimon* is clearly unfavorable: (1) *Oidipous Tyrannos* 828: ἀπ' ὥμοῦ δαιμόνος. Oidipous gives a biographical sketch of himself in a long speech (ll. 771-833) before the terrible evidence is to be brought before him. If these terrible things are true about him, Oidipous says that this is the handiwork of some inhuman power (ἀπ' ὥμοῦ δαιμόνος); (2) *Elektra* 1156-67: ὁ δυστυχῆς δαιμόνων δ σός τε κάμός. Orestes (unknown to Elektra as such) brings his "ashes" to Elektra who laments over his loss and refers to her δαιμόνων as well as his as being a δυστυχῆς δαιμόνων.

The last Sophoclean category in which δαιμόνων equals to θεῖον may be illustrated very briefly by a citation from the *Oidipous at Kolonos* 1370: τοίγαρ σ' ὁ δαιμόνων εἰσορῷ μὲν οὐ τι πω ὡς αὐτίκα.

As ἀπαξ λεγόμενον occurs in Sophokles with δαιμόνων as its root and that is εὐδαιμόνων in the *Antigone*: ή τυραννίς πολλὰ τ' ἀλλ' εὐδαιμονεῖ (l. 506). It means "is happy," "fortunate." Εὐδαιμονίζω and εὐδαιμόνων occur with "happy" as the basic element in their meaning.

Euripides uses *daimon* liberally, but he poses a special problem because of his peculiar reaction toward the gods and his (at times) severe criticism of them. Euripides' plays are in a real sense a "discussion club."

Euripides himself reflects an intellectual revolution and *daimon* is included in that process. The various categories that have been noted in the other tragedians and poets will occur in Euripides also. There will be no attempt to repeat these outlines here, but perhaps the most frequent meaning in Euripides is that Luck or Fortune, good or bad:

Trojan Women 103: πλεῖ κατὰ πορθμόν, πλεῖ κατὰ δαιμόνα
Alkestis 561: πῶς οὖν ἔκρυπτες τὸν παρόντα δαιμόνα;
Alkestis 931: φίλοι, γυναικὸς δαιμόνου εὐτυχέστερον τούμοιον νομίζω, καίπερ οὐ δοκοῦνθ' δημως.

The *daimon* in Euripides may refer to one's lot. In *Hippolytos* 99 (as in *Iliad* III) it refers to a specific goddess, Aphrodite: πῶς οὖν σὺ σεμνὴν δαιμόνον' οὐ προσεννέπεις. It may be used to refer to one's "shades" or manes as in the *Alkestis* of Alkestis (l. 1003): καὶ τίς δοχμίαν κέλευθον ἐμβαίνων, τόδ' ἐρεῖ, Αὕτα ποτε προῦθαν' ἀνδρός, νῦν δ' ἔστι μάκαιρα δαιμών.

The familiar Euripidean rendering of the end of a play offers us an example of δαιμόνιος in the sense of "works of Divinity" which are closely associated with θεοί:

πολλαὶ μορφαὶ τῶν δαιμονίων,
 πολλὰ δ' ἀέλπτως κραίνουσι θεοὶ¹
 καὶ τὰ δοκηθέντ' οὐκ ἐτελέσθη,
 τῶν δ' ἀδοκήτων πόρεν ηὗρε θεός,
 τοιόνδ' ἀπέβη τόδε πρᾶγμα.

IV

The use of δαιμόνων in the historians, Herodotus and Thukydides, reflects somewhat the standards of their respective historical methods. Herodotus would not hesitate to assign a divine cause to an historical or non-historical event; Thukydides' strict interpretation of the philosophy of history would not even think of the idea. Thukydides' mention of the word *daimon* is rare; not so of Herodotus.

The Herodotean usage falls into three main headings: (1) It may refer simply to the divinity or a deity as in VI. 12: τίνα δαιμόνων παραβάντος; I. 86: εἴ τις μιν δαιμόνων ὁύσεται; III. 119: εἰ δαιμόνων ἔθέλοι. So also, it may be used of a goddess, ή δαιμόνων as it is used in II. 40 to refer to Isis: τὴν μεγίστην δαιμόνων ἥγηνται. (2) it may be employed to signify a hero as in IX. 76: οὗτε δαιμόνων οὗτε θεῶν δπιν ἔχειν; (3) or it may indicate fortune or chance: I. 111: τότε κως κατὰ δαιμόνων τίκτει.

Εὐδαιμόνων clearly means "rich" or "prosperous" in Herodotus. Cf. V. 31 νήσῳ μεγάλῃ καὶ εὐδαιμονὶ and VIII. 3 αἱ Ἀθῆναι μεγάλαι τε καὶ εὐδαιμονες.

The adjectival δαιμόνιος is used mostly of address, expressing either respect or reproach. Cf. VII. 48, IV. 126, VIII. 84. But δαιμονίη τις δρμή refers to a divine impulse (VII. 18).

Thukydides is definitely more restricted and more sparing in his use

of the term δαιμών and its derivatives. Δαιμόνια is found in one of the most significant parts of the whole of Thoukydides' work, that is, following the *Funeral Oration*, in Book 2, chapter 64, in Perikles' speech on the naval greatness of Athens: "But you must not be seduced by citizens like these or angry with me: who, if I voted for war, only did as you did yourselves—in spite of the enemy having invaded your country and done what you could be certain that he would do, if you refused to comply with his demands; and although besides what we counted for, the plague has come upon us—the only point indeed at which our calculation has been at fault. It is this, I know, that has had a large share in making me (more) unpopular than I should—otherwise have been—quite undeservedly, unless you are also prepared to give me the credit of any success with which change may present you. Besides the hand of heaven must be borne with resignation, that of the enemy with fortitude (Φέρειν δὲ χρὴ τά τε δαιμόνια ἀναγκαῖως τά τε ἀπὸ τῶν πολεμίων ἀνδρείως.)." Thoukydides puts this in the mouth of Perikles. The Athenians must endure the things that cannot be averted, matters which are beyond their human control, which are of such as nature as must be tolerated (δαιμόνια) necessarily; the enemy can be resisted with bravery.

In Book IV, chapter 97, δαιμών is used in the plural with reference to Apollo and the deities: ὥστε ὑπέρ τε τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ ἑαυτῶν Βοιωτούς, ἐπικαλούμενος τοὺς δμωχέτας δαιμόνας καὶ τὸν Ἀπόλλω, προαγορεύειν αὐτοὺς ἐκ τοῦ ἱεροῦ ἀπιόντας ἀποφέρεσθαι τὰ σφέτερα αὐτῶν.

Thus, strictly speaking, δαιμών occurs only once as such in the whole of Thoukydides, and is there equivalent to θεοί. This is very noteworthy. We may now indicate the limited use of εὐδαιμών and its forms in Thoukydides: (1) εὐδαιμονήσαντες—VIII. 24. Χίοι γὰρ μόνοι μετὰ Λακεδαιμονίους ὃν ἐγὼ ἡσθόμην εὐδαιμονήσαντές τε ὅμα καὶ ἐσωφρόνησαν, καὶ δσῳ ἐπεδίδου ἡ πόλις αὐτοῖς ἐπὶ τὸ μεῖζον, τόσῳ δὲ καὶ ἐκοσμοῦντο ἔχυρωτερον. In dealing with the recovery of Lesbos and the defeat of the Chians, Thoukydides pays the Chians a compliment for knowing how to be wise in prosperity and ordering their city the more securely the greater it grew. (2) Εὐδαιμονία III. 39. This word is used to indicate physical prosperity. Prosperity was not enough to dissuade them from affronting danger: καὶ κακοπραγίαν ὡς εἰπεῖν ῥῆσον ἀπωθοῦνται ἡ εὐδαιμονίαν διασώζονται. (3) Εὐδαιμονία occurs once more only in Thoukydides, denoting general prosperity. Book II. 97: τῶν γὰρ ἐν τῇ Εὐρώπῃ δσαι μεταξὺ τοῦ Ἰονίου κόλπου καὶ τοῦ Εὐξείνου πόντου μεγίστῃ ἐγένετο χρημάτων προσόδῳ καὶ τῇ ἀλλῃ εὐδαιμονίᾳ. (4) In the Periklean Funeral Oration, Book II, chapter 43, τὸ εὐδαιμών is equated to τὸ ἐλεύθερον and this can be brought about

by the crushing of the enemy: οὓς νῦν ὑμεῖς ζηλώσαντες καὶ τὸ εὑδαιμον τὸ ἔλεύθερον τὸ εὑψυχὸν κρίναντες μὴ περιορᾶσθε τοὺς πολεμικοὺς κινδύνους. (5) Chapter 53, Book II, included in the description of the plague, tells us how those who previously had nothing, succeeded suddenly to the property of the prosperous: Τhe εὐδαιμονες: ὅπον γάρ ἐτόλμα τις ἀ πρότερον ἀπεκρύπτετο μὴ καθ' ἡδονὴν ποιεῖν ἀγχίστροφον τὴν μεταβολὴν ὅρῶντες τῶν τε εὐδαιμόνων καὶ αἰφνιδίως θνησκόντων καὶ τῶν οὐδὲν πρότερον κεκτημένων, εὐθὺς δὲ τάκεινων ἔχόντων. (6) Finally, in Book I, chapter 6 we have actually the first occurrence of εὐδαιμόνων in the so-called ἀρχαιολογία where we encounter the meaning, “the rich,” “the materially prosperous”: καὶ οἱ πρεσβύτεροι αὐτοῖς τῶν εὐδαιμόνων διὰ τὸ ἀβροδίαιτον οὐ πολὺς χρόνος ἐπειδὴ χιτῶνάς τε λινοὺς ἐπαύσαντο φοροῦντες . . .

Thus, we see the remarkable rarity of the word δαιμον in Thoukydides and that εὐδαιμον, when used in a few cases, involves the idea of material prosperity.

V

This general survey of δαιμον should serve to indicate rather roughly and swiftly the tremendous range and scope of the topic under discussion. This survey demonstrates the power and fluidity of the word δαιμον, its specific reference to a specific god or goddess (θεός); to an unspecified, unnamed Divine Power; to one's individual destiny or lot, good or bad, with many variations and mergings. The frequency, use, meaning, and importance of the word δαιμον in the authors mentioned above were meant to be indicated in this survey. It is characteristic of the modern conceptual mind to categorize and classify meanings. Undoubtedly, to the Greek mind, the word and the idea had a fluidity and range greater than possibly can be understood by the modern age, and certainly the Greeks did not stop to categorize, whenever they made use of the word, at least not consciously.



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is further contributed with author-title and subject indexes, which increase the value of this study.

This guide is well organized and is indispensable for every student of religion. In today's pluralistic society where Eastern and Western religious communities live side by side, the scholarly study of religion has as goals the enhancement of human life and increased understanding for emotional and intellectual fulfillment.

The book covers the religions of the world including Christianity, Roman Catholicism, and Protestantism not, however, Orthodox Christianity. By ignoring a large part of Christianity that is Orthodox, I think scholars do great harm to their readers because they leave an important void in the education of students and their understanding of an important religious tradition which is predominant in Eastern Europe, the Balkans, the Middle East, and is becoming an important force in the West. This is a critical deficiency in the present volume.

In spite of this important omission, this is a valuable volume for everyone interested in religious studies. I especially recommend this work for students of religion as a guide to the best resources in the field of world religions.

George C. Papademetriou
Hellenic College/Holy Cross

Εισαγωγὴ στὴν ἐπιστῆμα τῆς Θεολογίας [Introduction to the Science of Theology]. By Constantine D. Frangos. Thessalonike: Melissa Press, 1984. Pp. 87.

Professor Frangos authored this small book to introduce beginners and non-professional theologians to the discipline of theology. In the prologue the author states that this book is a product of his long experience as a theology faculty member and is a practical guide for beginning students in the study of theology. In addition, it is intended for all those who would want a brief introduction into the theological field regardless of their area of studies. It also could be useful to any intellectual who would want a brief introduction to theology, and is useful to anyone who is self-taught.

I congratulate Professor Frangos for his accomplishment. In such a small volume, he succeeded in his task: to introduce the student to theology. He begins with an outline of the topics necessary for the study of theology and gives an extensive bibliography on the introduction to the study of this field. In the bibliography he includes titles in Greek, English, French, and German. The bibliography is of great importance giving the student a direction for further studies in theology.

The author gives a historical interpretation and the use of the terms “introduction to theology” and the “encyclopedia of theology.” Both terms have as a goal to initiate one into theology. The author analyzes the historical use of the encyclopedia or introduction into theology. He gives a linguistic historical use of introduction and encyclopedia of theology. He points out that Saint John Chrysostom, in his last two chapters of his treatise *On the Priesthood*, gives the first serious patristic introduction to theology. Saint Augustine’s *De Doctrina Christiana*, as a compedium on Christian doctrine, is also an introduction to theology. Though in medieval times many works were written that have the character of an introduction to theology, it was not until Schleiermacher in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century that we have a modern work on the subject. Frangos points out Schleiermacher’s impact in the use of methodology of the introduction to theology. He gives the Roman Catholic and Protestant contributions in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries to the examples of introductions of theology, and he also gives the Orthodox contributions. He names Eugenios Boulgaris (Greek), Archbishop Makarios (Russian), and the nineteenth-century professor at the University of Athens, Nicholas Damalas. In addition he names several other contemporary Orthodox theologians who wrote encyclopedias of theology for university introductory courses. The systematic way of presenting this introduction to theology would be very useful for the beginner in the understanding of theology, its method, and goal. At the end Frangos gives the goal of the introduction to theology having three components closely interrelating to each other: that is, first, theology as a system of knowledge and method in research and especially that which is beyond both knowledge and methods, that is, theology as “mystery.” Second is that which concerns the origin of theology and its relation to other sciences, while the third includes the relation of theology to Church and world as a living, concrete, and experiential reality. In short, the introduction to theology must contain a logical, historical, and existential way of presentation and understanding of the goal of theology.

The present work is valuable to students and those who seek to be introduced into theology. It is well documented and systematically presented for beginners in theology. It is an excellent introduction to the study of theology. It is well written in contemporary Greek that could be understood by the present-day Greek-speaking people. It is very useful to all who would be interested in having a better understanding of theology and its goal of study.

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John Bright and others. Jensen admits that there are some uncertainties concerning historiography. This particular discussion is significant because it shows how presuppositions dictate certain conclusions. These conclusions include: a) an assigned accession date for Hezekiah; b) a date of Isaiah's call; c) the "two campaigns" theory concerning Sennacherib's invasion.

Jensen does give the opinion of scholars who disagree with him on particular issues. His discussion on the purpose of the call narrative and the theological bias of 36-39 is especially interesting. This commentary will aid serious students and ministers who seek to understand and proclaim God's Word.

Kenneth M. Craig, Jr.
The Southern Baptist Theological Seminary

Ezekiel. By Aelred Cody, O.S.B. Old Testament Message 11. Wilmington: Michael Glazier, Inc., 1984. Pp. 270. \$12.95, cloth; \$9.95, paper.

Aelred Cody's commentary on Ezekiel supports the editor's claim in the preface. The editors state that the authors of this series rely upon the tools of modern scholarship to uncover the people and places of the past while also refocusing these insights in language that is clear for this generation of interested readers. The brief introduction to the book is followed by pericope translations and commentary. The author divides the prophet's book into four major divisions: chapters 1-24, 25-32, 33-39, 40-45.

Cody admits that these divisions are only a rough indication of the sections of the book. He hopes that the reader will recognize that the divisions are not as well defined as his outline suggests. The narratives and oracles flow smoothly only on occasion. There are many sections of the prophet's book that seem to be "explanatory notes" and "supplementary material." The author's continual emphasis on the stages of literary development may disappoint those who are attempting to read and interpret the books of the Bible as single, literary units.

Although criticism aimed at an author's methodological base should always be carefully given, this reviewer could not avoid being distracted by Cody's frequent attempts to delineate the stages of writing. In the first chapter, Cody dismisses "the confusion of vv. 15-21" (p. 26) as secondary material, something which does not come from the same imaginative mind. Later, in his discussion of chapter 24, Cody describes vv. 25-27 as an insertion made "editorially to forge" (p. 119) two

sections of the book. And in the final division of the book, Cody suggests that 40.1-2, 43.4-7a, and perhaps 47.1-12 are the original nucleus of the visionary passages. Scholars who belong to the new literary approach to biblical texts have suggested that subjectivity is one of the weaknesses of isolating individual units within the text, and Cody's descriptions confirm their suspicions.

While there is evidence that this book was written by a scholar, the author never writes in such a way as to distract from a meaningful presentation for students and lay teachers. For example, he carefully explains that the English words "wind" and "spirit" are derived from the same Hebrew root. And English translation is thus destined to lose the Hebrew word's "pregnant ambivalence" (p. 25).

These careful and meaningful explanations suggest that those who are seeking the *obvious* footprints of a scholar will be disappointed. After the translation of Ezekiel 2.1-3.15, Cody neglects to discuss what some will consider significant terms for Ezekiel: "son of man" and "River Chebar." There are other places where one might wish for more material, but Cody's objective is primarily to allow his readers to hear the Word of God more forcefully. The commentator does succeed here. This is seen most clearly in a statement concerning the literary pattern of chapter 4. After hinting that there are some problems with vv. 7-8, Cody candidly admits that "there is no point in quibbling about small points like this" (p. 36).

The author is to be commended for using inclusive language. The commentary would be practical for priests, ministers, students, and lay persons who are interested in Ezekiel and who are seeking a better understanding of this extraordinary Hebrew prophet.

Kenneth M. Craig, Jr.
The Southern Baptist Theological Seminary

The Future of the Methodist Theological Traditions. Ed. M. Douglas Meeks. Nashville: Abingdon Press, 1985. Pp. 224. \$9.95.

Scholars of history and patristics will know well the names of Geoffrey Wainwright and Albert Outler, authors of two of the four major essays in this volume. However, the entire series provides a very useful discussion of the largest ecumenically oriented Protestant body in the United States at this turn in its theological history. The essay by Wainwright on the ecumenical place of United Methodism is very significant in relating Methodism to the Catholic/Orthodox vision of the ecumenical movement. Methodism, with its roots in Anglicanism, has



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theological resources for a deep sacramental life, and an appreciation of tradition along with Scripture, reason, and experience as sources for reclaiming the heritage of the great church. The solid scholarship of Wesleyan studies by Dr. Outler and his ecumenical hopes for rooting Wesley in the wider tradition, likewise disclose a side of Methodist scholarship not often available in the ecumenical dialogue.

While the Methodist spiritual tradition often appears quite activist and American to the Orthodox and Catholic spiritual writer, Ariarajah's discussions of evangelism and Fowler's thoughts on Wesley's spiritual and faith development point to resources that all American Christians can appreciate, in developing a liturgical and biblical spirituality in this context.

Liberation theology has been a peculiarly Roman Catholic development to most observers. However, United Methodism is the largest communion in Latin America to have developed important scholarship in this area. Elsa Tamez' essay on "Wesley as Read by the Poor" gives good insight into this Protestant reflection on Third World concerns in the social order. For the entire ecumenical movement, and for those who would understand the responsible theological developments within Protestantism, Meeks' introductory essay on the future of Methodist theology and the reports of the working group at this Oxford conference provide very helpful resources.

If the hopes for Christian understanding are to be grounded on a firm foundation in the apostolic faith, reflection by all Christians seeking to root themselves in a theological basis for ecumenism is most important. While the categories of Protestant thought, and particularly American thought, often seem removed from the great tradition, essays of the sort included in this volume are helpful to begin to bridge the gap in understanding. This book is a useful introduction for the theologically trained scholar as well as a welcome ecumenical contribution in understanding faith among separated Christians.

Brother Jeffrey Gros, F.S.C.
Director, Commission on Faith and Order

Gathered for Life. Official Report, VI Assembly, World Council of Churches, Vancouver, Canada 24 July—10 August 1983. Ed. David Gill. Geneva: The World Council of Churches; Grand Rapids: William B. Eerdmans, 1983. Pp. viii, 355. Illustrated.

Besides David Gill of the United Church of Australia, other persons served as editors (in other languages, such as French, German, and Spanish) of the Sixth Assembly of the World Council of Churches.

After a preface by Philip Potter, the General Secretary of the W.C.C., and a short message from the Sixth Assembly, the story of the assembly is presented. Approximately 4,500 persons were present while the meetings were in progress. There were thirty-two delegated observers from the Roman Catholic Church and one hundred twenty-five Orthodox delegates. For the first time Greek was added as one of the working languages. On the Feast of the Transfiguration of the Lord (August 6), Archbishop Iakovos of the Ecumenical Patriarchate presided over the Eucharist, using the Liturgy of Saint John Chrysostom.

The second section of the report centered around the theme of the conference: "Jesus Christ—the Life of the World." Professor Theodore Stylianopoulos of the Ecumenical Patriarchate was one of the two speakers on the main theme. Metropolitan Chrysostom of Myra of the Ecumenical Patriarchate led the plenary session in prayer with an Eastern Orthodox liturgical blessing and distribution of bread.

The third section of the report contains studies on urgent issues arising from the progress carried out by the W.C.C. Among these issues were five that were specifically addressed by the Orthodox. Bassam Tabshouri of the Greek Orthodox Patriarchate of Antioch presented remarks on "Witnessing in a Divided World." The second issue group studied "Taking Steps Towards Unity" and was moderated by Metropolitan John of Helsinki (the Orthodox Church of Finland). Comments by Metropolitan Chrysostom of Myra (the Ecumenical Patriarchate) are noteworthy. Mother Euphrasia (Orthodox Church of Romania) was one of the speakers on the third issue, "Moving Towards Participation." Professor Vitaly Borovoy (The Russian Orthodox Church) spoke on "Healing and Sharing Life in Community." Orthodox response on "Learning in Community" was given by Frieda Haddad (the Greek Orthodox Patriarchate of Antioch), Alexandros Papaderos (the Ecumenical Patriarchate), and Metropolitan Chrysostom of Peristerion (the Church of Greece). Other issues included "Confronting Threats to Peace and Survival," "Struggling for Justice and Human Dignity," and "Communicating Credibly."

The fourth section of the report is entitled "Reviewing the Past: Charting the Future." Two reports were given: the first by the Most Rev. Edward Scott, Moderator of the Central Committee; the second by Dr. Philip Potter, General Secretary of the W.C.C.; Metropolitan Chrysostom of Myra (the Ecumenical Patriarchate), Moderator of Policy Reference Committee I, presented a part of that committee's report. Orthodox participation in the life of the W.C.C. was discussed. Other issues discussed were "Relations with the Roman Catholic Church," "Christian World Communions," and "Programme Guidelines and Finance."

Elections were held. Ignatios IV of Antioch became one of the seven presidents of the World Council of Churches, and Metropolitan Chrysostom of Myra of the Ecumenical Patriarchate became the Vice-Moderator of the W.C.C. Central Committee.

The concluding section of the report discusses world affairs in ecumenical perspective.

Vasil T. Istavrides
Chalke, Turkey

Nairobi to Vancouver, 1975-1983. Report of the Central Committee to the Sixth Assembly of the World Council of Churches. Geneva: The World Council of Churches, 1983. Pp. xv, 238.

The present volume deals with the history and life of the World Council of Churches in the period between the Fifth and Sixth General Assemblies (Nairobi, 1975 and Vancouver, 1983). The different parts have been written either by the responsible persons or the committees of the various departments. A foreword is provided by the Moderator of the Central Committee, Edward W. Scott, and an introduction by Philip Potter, General Secretary, who mentions, among other things, the contribution of Orthodox theology in the period under study.

Commenting on the pre-assembly visits by special teams of persons to the Orthodox and other churches, the report states that "the contributions of Orthodox churches to ecumenical programmes have become more dynamic, valuable, and creative." Efforts to increase Orthodox participation in the governing bodies of the World Council are discussed. The Orthodox Task Force in Geneva reports that eleven consultations on relevant ecumenical-ecclesiastical themes were held by the Orthodox. In 1982 the Orthodox Church of Finland became a member of the council.

With regard to the Ecumenical Institute at Bossey, the appointment of a Roman Catholic tutor is recommended. Efforts should be made to enroll Roman Catholic students, as well as Orthodox students. The importance of the yearly seminar on Orthodox theology and spirituality is noted.

Unit 1 on Faith and Witness includes reports of the sub-units. The Commission on Faith and Order stated that the Fifth World Conference on Faith and Order will tentatively be held in 1987, on the 1200th anniversary of the Seventh Ecumenical Synod of Nikaia. The Commission on World Mission and Evangelism discussed the substantial contribution of the Orthodox Church to the World Missionary Conference "Your Kingdom Come" held in Melbourne, Australia in 1980. The



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Hermitic, Cenobitic, and Secular Ideals in Byzantine Hagiography of the Ninth Centuries

ALEXANDER KAZHDAN

IN THE ENIGMATIC *Life* of Saint Theodore of Edessa, written probably around A.D. 900, we read that the saint came across many neatly built pillars in the vicinity of his city. He asked what this meant. The local priests explained to him that these pillars had been erected in the days of the pious emperor Maurice (582-602). Formerly many stylites had dwelt on these pillars, but by the time of Theodore, only one *kionites*, who had been standing on the column ninety-five years, remained; the priests considered him to be a fool.¹ The information may be legendary, as are many facts related in this *Life*—but the perception of the hagiographer remains crucial regardless of the possible factual invalidity of his story: our author of about A.D. 900 saw in the “columnists” an institution, albeit prestigious, that belonged to the past, even though the hundred-year-old monk was not an ordinary fool, but a holy *salos*, a fool for the sake of Christ, a spiritual brother of Saint Andrew and Saint Basil the Younger.

The devastation of the stylites’ colony at Edessa, whether real or imaginary, does not mean that the institution of pillar-dwellers vanished for good. Time and again we meet them on the pages of hagiographical works of the ninth and tenth centuries: Anthony the Younger lived in a cell built beneath the *stylos* on which dwelt “the holy father Eustathios the Styliste” ordained as priest “in the Holy City itself”;² Symeon the Styliste plays a spectacular part in the *Life* of three brothers from Lesbos. A local administrator referring to the *prostaxis* of Leo V (813-820) had

¹ BHG 1744, ed. I. Pomjalovskij (1892), p. 52f. See A. Vasiliev, “The Life of St. Theodore of Edessa,” *Byzantium* 16 (1944) 180f.

² BHG 142, ed. A. Papadopoulos-Kerameus (1907), p. 202.14-15, 30-31.

ordered that Symeon be burned alive, but at the last instant, cancelled the execution.³ Eventually the Iconoclast metropolitan of Lesbos complained that Symeon and not he was the real episcopal power within the bishopric.⁴ Euthymios the Younger climbed a column in imitation of the great sixth-century stylite Symeon.⁵ There are other examples. Nevertheless, the evidence of the *Life* of Theodore of Edessa cannot be discounted, for it reveals a certain change of attitude, a social and psychological shift that has been taking place by the end of the ninth century.

Let us place this evidence within a larger framework.

It is well known that hagiography, in its first stage of existence, dealt predominantly with the lives of hermits. With the *Life* of Anthony the Great the genre begins, and innumerable stories of the desert fathers follow suit. Even in later centuries the hermitic ideal was not expunged: the saints continued to live in caves or on rocky crags, in isolation from society. Nevertheless, a different image of holiness steadily evolved and conquered this genre.

A most striking feature of the shift is the evolution of feminine sanctity. Certain elements of this change have already been noticed. E. Patlagean emphasized that the theme of the holy woman in disguise, so typical of the Protopyzantine period, disappeared after the ninth century from the lives of female saints, or as she put it, from "hagiographie féminine."⁶ As a matter of fact, cases of transvestitism can be discovered in a couple of later *Lives*, but these cases, by virtue of their insignificance, only underscore the correctness of Patlagean's observation. Lazaros Galesiotes met a disguised woman who joined a company of pilgrims in the eleventh century,⁷ and a certain monk, Jacob, brought his sick niece to be cured by Elias the Speleotes, but since it was improper for a woman to come to venerate the tomb of the saint, Jacob put a red coat and man's *kolobion* on the girl and let her sleep near the tomb. Elias appeared to her in a vision and cured her.⁸

Patlagean also draws attention to another phenomenon closely connected with the disappearance of the woman in disguise from hagiography: the image of the married pious woman, which began to displace the female solitary.⁹ To the examples upon which she drew,

³ BHG 494, ed. I. van den Gheyn (1899), p. 228.7-30.

⁴ Ibid. p. 230.30-31.

⁵ BHG 655, ed. L. Petit (1903), p. 188.10-11, 202.22.

⁶ E. Patlagean, *Structure sociale, famille, chrétienté à Byzance* (London, 1981), part XI, p. 603f. To Patlagean's list the legend of Saint Martinianos can be added in which a girl in male apparel played an important part (BHG 1177, ed. P. Rabbow [1895], p. 291f.).

⁷ BHG 979, ed. AASS Nov. 3, col. 538AC.

⁸ BHG 581, ed. AASS Sept. 3, col. 881C-882D.

⁹ Patlagean, *Structure sociale*, pp. 620-22.

Athanasia of Aegina, Maria the Younger and Thomais of Lesbos—all of them, probably, ninth or tenth-century—I would like to add an enigmatic story told by a Russian pilgrim of the fifteenth century, Zosima the Deacon. Zosima says that he saw in Constantinople a convent which he named Povasil'jas. The name is unknown from other sources and does not seem to allow a reasonable etymology. In this convent reposed the relics of Saint Kalia the laywoman, who had distributed her husband's fortune and was killed by him.¹⁰ The story is reminiscent of—*mutatis mutandis*—the *Life* of Maria the Younger, similarly generous, who also was beaten to death by her husband. If we take into consideration that Kalomaria is a normal variant of Maria (like Kaloioannes or Kalopetros) and if we assume that Povasil'jas is a Russian distortion of the Greek ἀπὸ Βιζύης, from Vize, we can surmise that Zosima's story reflects the legend of Maria the Younger. If this hypothesis does not prove valid, then we acquire a complementary story of a holy laywoman, the victim of an unhappy marriage.

There is another change in the image of the hagiographical heroine which has not so far received proper attention. Among the early female saints we encounter great prostitutes, such as Saint Maria of Egypt and Saint Pelagia. Later the harlot moved to the less honorable position of the saint's mother—Theodore of Sykeon was the son of a country whore,¹¹ and a group of legends about Constantine the Great, produced approximately in the ninth century, present his mother Helena as a prostitute.¹² The tenth century, with its emphasis on the holy matron, became prudish, and did not accept the lecherous past of the saint. A striking example is the *Life* of Theoktiste of Lesbos, written by Niketas the Magistros in the first half of the tenth century, whose heroine is modelled on the basis of the holy harlot and hermit Maria. Niketas meticulously suppressed, however, the impure past so important in the development of the prototype: Theoktiste was made a nun who miraculously escaped Arab captivity.¹³ If we meet prostitutes in later *Lives* they are no longer women who will dedicate themselves to God with the same wild eagerness that they dedicated themselves to sin; they are now ordinary vehicles of temptation, stumbling blocks on the way to (other people's) salvation.

What happened to the image of the male saint during this same

¹⁰G. Majeska, *Russian Travelers to Constantinople* (Washington, D.C., 1984), p. 189.

¹¹BHG 1748, ed. A. J. Festugière, *Vie de Théodore de Sykéon*, 1 (Brussels, 1970), p. 3.1-14; see H. Magoulias, "Bathhouse, Inn, Tavern, Prostitution and the Stage as Seen in the Lives of the Saints of the Sixth and Seventh Centuries," EEBS 38 (1971) 242.

¹²Especially in the *Vita of Eusignios*—BHG 639, ed. P. Devos, "Une recension nouvelle de la Passion grecque BHG 639 de S. Eusignios," AB 100 (1982) 218.

¹³On this, A. Kazhdan, "Hagiographical Notes," BZ 78 (1985) 49f.

period? D. Papachryssanthou demonstrated that the old view, according to which cenobitic organization replaced the primitive hermitage, is too simplistic, and that eremitic cells of various form existed side by side by *koinobia*.¹⁴ This is unquestionably true; nonetheless there are some features of the hagiographical attitude toward eremitism that encourage us to question whether the solution was as poised and balanced as it has been delineated by the French scholar.

First of all, Papachryssanthou knows better than anyone else that it is precisely in the tenth century that Mount Athos became an arena of severe struggle between the hermits and the cenobitic organization, incarnated especially in the person of Athanasios of Athos. I do not intend to rewrite the history of this struggle—the sources have been collected and interpreted by Papachryssanthou in her introduction to the charters of the Protaton, in a charter that to my astonishment is entitled “Des groupes anachorétiques aux grands couvents.”¹⁵

Secondly, hagiography of the period under consideration stresses the close interrelation between the hermitage and the *koinobion*: the status of hermit was provisional, a testing of sort—after his novitiate, and having acquired a solid reputation for piety, the young monk exercised his body and soul in a solitary site, lived in a cave, wandered across uninhabited areas, and eventually founded his own monastery. Moreover, the holy man could dwell in seclusion, but usually close by to the monastery, sometimes directing it from his alleged hermitage. Two biographies of the greatest saints of this time reveal the close interconnection between the solitary life and “proper” monasticism: Athanasios of Athos tried for a long time to escape earthly fame and to find for himself a place in the “desert,” i.e. solitude—he ended up, however, as the founder of the Lavra on Mount Athos. Lazaros Galesiotes, the eleventh-century holy man, one of the last stylites in the Byzantine empire, administered with an iron hand the monasteries built around his column. When his health deteriorated and his imminent death became evident, his monks badly wanted to receive from Lazaros the typikon, but he stubbornly refused to do this favor for the monasteries. It was only after his death, when his corpse was brought into the monastic church and briefly resurrected, that he acquiesced and signed the typikon, deftly prepared by one of his disciples.¹⁶

The story of Stephen the Younger is very typical of this combination

¹⁴D. Papachryssanthou, “La vie monastique dans les campagnes byzantines du VIIIe au XIe siècle,” *Byzantion* 43 (1973/4) 158-80.

¹⁵*Actes de Prôtaton* (Paris, 1975), pp. 61-93.

¹⁶BHG 979 (see n. 7), col. 586F-87B. This episode is related in detail also in an unpublished *Vita* of the saint (not listed in BHG)—the MS of Moscow, State Museum of History (GIM) 369/353, fol. 220-220v.

of eremitical and cenobitic life. Stephen began his spiritual deeds in seclusion, but soon became famed wide and far, and twelve brethren gathered around him. They formed an extremely pious *koinobion* named in honor of Saint Auxentios, and they built there a cemetery and other necessary facilities. The link with the eremitic past was not severed, however—Stephen is said to have taught from a natural cave, “created by God.” As soon as the number of monks reached twenty, Stephen appointed an *oikonomos* and left the community.¹⁷ He stayed at Mount Auxentios, being closely connected both with surrounding monasteries and convents and with the capital, so that pious inhabitants of Constantinople often visited him.¹⁸ He was even accused—falsely, according to his hagiographer—of sexual intercourse with his spiritual daughter, the nun Anna.¹⁹

Even more evocative is information from the *Life of Paul of Latros*, a hegoumenos who started his spiritual career on a column not far from the Lavra of the Savior, on the mountain of Latros.²⁰ When he founded his monastery Paul divided the monks into two groups: those who lived “by themselves” and the “gregarious ones,” who formed a virtual community. The regular monks had a common abode and a common table, and the monastery furnished them with clothes. The hermits had to provide individually for their food and garb, but they were not permitted to do or to possess anything (including a plain needle) without the knowledge of the “father.”²¹

Eremitism of these centuries was an external form of life rather than a way of life, an individualism without independence, a superficial separation from community but not from its supervision and mighty hand.

The idea was developed that asceticism was available within the monastic community no less than in genuine solitude. The *Barlaam and Joasaph* contains a long discourse on monastic life as opposed to life in the world. The author speculates that pious people, who found it difficult to pursue a virtuous life in the world, were leaving everything they possessed—relatives, wealth, comfort—and fleeing to the desert, to the mountains, to caves and fissures in the earth (this formula is a *topos*).²² The author distinguishes three groups of monks: some of them were perfect anchorites, others pitched their tents in isolation,

¹⁷BHG 1666, ed. PG 100.1097D-1101A.

¹⁸Ibid. 100.1104D.

¹⁹Ibid. 100.1125B-D.

²⁰BHG 1474, ed. H. Delehaye (1892), p. 42.11-14.

²¹Ibid. p. 52.2-16.

²²See, for instance, the *Life of Theodora of Thessalonike*—BHG 1737, ed. Bishop Arsenij (1899), p. 35.5-6.

assembling on Sundays in a single church and together communicating the Holy Mysteries. The third category formed cenobitic communities gathering in flocks under one taxiarch and leader.²³ There is no hierarchy of monastic exploits in the *Barlaam*—the division is only spatial, not that of dignity.

Certainly, the contemporaries of Theodore of Stoudios could find authoritative judgments of church fathers in support of cenobitic organization, and so they did. Euthymios the Younger, for one, is said to have often mentioned to his monks the *koinobion*, the advantages of which John the Klimax revealed so clearly and in which all kinds of virtues could be found in their archetypical form.²⁴ But *koinobion* was for them least of all an antiquarian institution of which to read and to admire—it was an ideal and a reality for which they fought against the Iconoclasts and which they kept building up after the final defeat of Iconoclasm. Accordingly many *Lives* represent holy men and women whose spiritual exercises flourished within the monastic circuit. The *Life* of Evaristos is one among many that lists the points of monastic asceticism: fasting, sleeping on the ground, vigils, rejection of washing, shedding tears, constant moaning, unceasing singing of psalms, and so on up to the cleanness of the soul and the body.²⁵ The same points are included in the biography of the Constantinopolitan abbess Irene of Chrysobalantos: fasting, vigils, constant genuflection, and “dry” sleeping on the ground.²⁶ Mortification of the flesh could be reached within the monastery, opening the way—as the *Life* of Theophylaktos of Nikomedeia emphasizes²⁷—for “other virtues,” such as humility, love, mildness, chastity, and purity.

Moreover, the anchorite had close ties not only with the monastery but even with secular society. A drastic example is Luke the Styliste, considered by his hagiographer to be the fifth in the series of famous stylites—like the biblical Job who was the fifth from Abraham.²⁸ Providence directed him to the imperial city, and there, after having visited all the renowned temples, he settled on a column in Chalcedon. The crowd streamed to Luke in floods²⁹—those who were frustrated, or weak, or endangered, or in distress, or looking for penitence, or

²³BHG 224, ed. G. R. Woodward and H. Mattingly (repr. 1967), pp. 172-78.

²⁴BHG 655 (see n. 4), p. 199.24-27.

²⁵BHG 2153, ed. Ch. Van de Vorst (1923), pp. 311-14.

²⁶BHG 952, ed. AASS July 6, col. 611B.

²⁷BHG 2451, ed. A. Vogt (1932), p. 74.1-4.

²⁸BHG 2239, ed. H. Delehaye (1923), p. 198.9-14.

²⁹Ibid. p. 231.30-31.

suffering from injustice, or needing protection, or in search of healing.³⁰ This formulaic statement is vague, but one episode of the *Life* reveals a quite secular connection between the stylite and the inhabitants of Constantinople: fishermen who every day were returning empty-handed came to Luke to improve their catch, and the saint concluded a contract with their *proteuon*—Luke gave them a jar with blessed water and a piece of tissue woven by his holy hands, and instructed them to pour the sacred water on their fishing nets and to bind the rag at the end. As compensation for his service Luke required a tenth (ἀποδεκάτωσις) of the future catch³¹—a precious detail of Constantinopolitan economy of the tenth century. But now we are not dealing with the forms of exploitation of small owners by their spiritual counsellors. What now matters is the striking contradiction between his internal asceticism (Luke's confinement on the pillar for forty-five years), and his secular practice, approved by the hagiographer.

The *Life* of Luke the Styliste preserves the traditional hierarchy of the ways of salvation. There are people, so states the hagiographer, who remain “within the worldly din,” who are like fragrant roses among thorns. On the next rung of the ladder stand monks who gathered in *koinobia* like spiritual flocks. Then follow hermits who dwell in deserts, on mountains and in caves. But, he concludes, the upper level is reached by the very few, by the stylites, who quit the lowly and earthly abode for towerlike pillars and who in flesh enter the angelic community; they are *isangeloi*, “equal with angels.”³² But this evaluation was not shared by all hagiographers.

Saint David, one of the brothers from Lesbos, lived for thirty years as hermit on Mount Ida. After this long and painful exercise he had a vision of a shrine, full of monks and “virgins,” to which not a single layman was allowed to enter. To David's astonishment, he also was turned down. An angel appeared and explained to David that he would not receive blessing until he donned the monastic garb.³³ There was nothing for him to do but enter the cenobitic status.³⁴ The traditional scheme is reversed: the cenobitic status, ἡ τοῦ κονοβίου σύστασις, is announced to be superior to hermitism. So far we have dealt with a vision, an esthetic image. The *Life* of Nikon Metanoeite presents a straightforward formulation: Nikon, relates his biographer, achieved in the *koinobion* more virtue than in an eremitic

³⁰Ibid. p. 231f.

³¹Ibid. p. 212f.

³²Ibid. pp. 196.27-197.14.

³³BHG 494 (see n. 3), p. 215f.

³⁴Ibid. p. 217.23.

and anchorite community.³⁵ May I add that Nikon, a very active propagator of piety, traveled much across Greece and founded his own monastery close to the city market?

The *Life* of Luke the Younger (or *Steiriotes*) reflects the same attitude toward hermitism: the hegoumenos of the monastery in which Luke dwelt reproached the young monk for his desire to become an anchorite. What matters is not the reproach itself but the form in which it was couched. “How long,” said the hegoumenos, “will you still boorishly (ἀγροκικῶς) insist [on your request] and display this preference for the desert above the ecclesiastical community (σύναξις)?”³⁶ The eremitic inclination was considered by this hegoumenos to be a boorish trend. Finally, they found a balanced solution—Luke settled in a private “tent” but remained under the administration of the monastery, a type of monastic structure that we have already discussed.

Accordingly, Byzantine society acquired a certain distaste for excessive asceticism. The Greek, South Italian saint Nilos of Rossano demonstrated, to the satisfaction of his hagiographer, a moderate way of behavior, and by so doing he escaped seduction, since excessive actions are “the works of demons”; even in good actions, he says, the extreme reveals the cunningness of demons.³⁷ In other *Lives* the conflict between genuine monasticism and excessive ascetic hermitism acquires more dramatic features. In the *Life* of Gregory Dekapolites, the hero predicts the imminent death of a stylite, or as the hagiographer calls him, a monk “who restricted his body by a pillar.”³⁸ This stylite was by no means a paragon of virtue, and Gregory caught his disciple fornicating with a woman. The contrast reaches its peak when Gregory is called an “unswerving pillar.”³⁹ The idea of pillar, *stylos*, obtains special connotation in hagiographical terminology: the pillar, as stressed in the *Life* of Gregory, is not a symbol of self-severing from mundane immorality—one could limit one’s space by the pillar’s summit and remain alienated from true piety; it symbolizes the stability of a genuine monk in his struggle for the triumph of monasticism. It is not by chance that Gregory’s older contemporary Theodore of Stoudios—like Gregory, a courageous defender of icon veneration—was called the pillar of

³⁵ BHG 1366, ed. O. Lampsides, *Ho ek Pontou hosios Nikon ho Metanoeite* (Athens, 1982), p. 24.19-22 and 167.7-9.

³⁶ BHG 994, ed. E. Martini (1894), p. 91.33-34, G. P. Kremos (1874), p. 32.

³⁷ BHG 1370, ed. AASS Sept. 7, col. 271BC.

³⁸ BHG 711, ed. F. Dvornik (1926), p. 60.8-9, see also p. 67.1.

³⁹ Ibid. p. 68.22-23.

orthodoxy.⁴⁰ Again, in the milieu of icon vengers we meet the word *stylos* in a meaning divergent from the strict traditional usage. The monk Athanasios, as we read in the *Life* of Paul of Latros, lived in Constantinople in the reign of Michael II (820-829), the emperor who was possessed by the Iconoclastic madness. Athanasios left the capital, came to Latros, and climbed there a *stylos* "not-made-by-hands"—that is, a high rock that rose up to the clouds and had at its top a cave.⁴¹ The spectacular sight of a stylite standing on the top of a column is replaced by an anchorite who escaped the danger of the Iconoclastic regime and settled down in a natural abode.

The struggle against the Iconoclasts required resistance, not escapism. After the battle was won, the icon vengers produced a multitude of *Lives* praising those who were exiled and tortured for the sake of Christ. Sober and often avoiding wonder-working, these biographies are strongly politically tinged, and sometimes the hagiographers question the steadfastness of those who stood aside at the time of trial and persecution. Peter, the hagiographer of Saint Ioannikios, felt himself obliged to justify the saint's flight to the mountain Alsos. Nobody, he emphasizes, is to suspect that Ioannikios had been frightened by the tyrant (Peter meant Leo V), nor was he afraid of death—he fled simply from the pleasantries of the world.⁴² The flight from earthly pleasures appeared to be separated from mere cowardly escapism by a border that was imaginary rather than real: the monk was required to meet the threat, not to retreat.

The same Ioannikios who retreated to a mountain also separated himself from fake hermits. Peter relates the story of a certain Gourias, a charlatan and magician who falsely accepted the eremitic way of life and pretended to be extremely pious. Gourias hated Ioannikios and chased "the glory of loftiest fame" that he expected to gain from people for being a full anchorite—the hagiographer uses a rare word μονερημίτης that is used also by John of Damascus.⁴³ Moreover, Peter defines Gourias not only as jealous of Ioannikios' genuine glory but, within a more general framework, as μισομόναχος, a hater of monks.⁴⁴ The story is briefly reported by Sabas,⁴⁵ and Sabas, like Peter, underscores the activity of the evil force in support of Gourias.

⁴⁰BHG 1755d, ed. V. Latyšev (1914), p. 283.5.

⁴¹BHG 1474 (see n. 20), p. 43.3-9.

⁴²BHG 936, ed. AASS Nov. 2.1, col. 394C. The passage is omitted by another hagiographer, Sabas (BHG 935)—ed. *ibid.*, col. 350C.

⁴³PG 96.1068B.

⁴⁴PG 96.395A-96B.

⁴⁵PG 96.350C-51A.

The cosmic nature of the conflict between good and evil is, however, brought close to earth in the late tenth-century version of the *Life* written by Symeon Metaphrastes: in Metaphrastes, Gourias is not an imposter but a real ascetic and virtuous man who desired to surpass everyone in monastic exercises—but as he saw the glory shifting from him to Ioannikios he pursued Ioannikios with envy.⁴⁶ Does Metaphrastes' alteration mean that the passions of the post-Iconoclastic epoch subsided and the role of the hermitage was accepted within the community? It may be too dangerous to draw conclusions from such an insignificant amount of data.

We are on more solid ground as far as the changes of the twelfth century are concerned. Balsamon stressed the looseness of links within the cenobitic monastery of his time,⁴⁷ whereas the nunnery retained its previous cenobitic features.⁴⁸ The looseness of the twelfth-century *koinobion* did not mean, however, a revival of the individualistic celliote system: not only did the term *koinobion* remain popular, and many monastic rules prescribed a cenobitic way of life,⁴⁹ but we meet in the typikon of the Heliou Bomon (a. 1162) a direct prohibition of a celliote system with an injunction to change it for cenobitism.⁵⁰ Even though celliote monks were tolerated in certain monasteries,⁵¹ the authors of typika required their submission to the hegoumenos.⁵²

In the twelfth century, the paramount contrast was not that of the *koinobion* and the atomized eremitic cell, but that of monastic and secular piety, and secular writers attacked excessive asceticism. It was P. Magdalino who first demonstrated that Byzantine intellectuals of the period became very critical of it.⁵³ An antihermitic tendency can be traced also in hagiographical works.

The hagiography of the twelfth century is scanty: besides refurbished stories about saints of yore, we possess only a handful of descriptions of contemporary holy men. The most famous of them is the *Life* of

⁴⁶PG 116.56AB.

⁴⁷PG 138.176CD.

⁴⁸A. M. Talbot, "A Comparison of the Monastic Experience of Byzantine Men and Women," in *Byzantine Saints and Monasteries* (Brookline, Mass., 1985), p. 17.

⁴⁹E.g., S. Eustratiades, "Typikon tes en Konstantinoupoli mones tou megalomartyros Mamantos," *Hellenika* 1 (1928) 281.9-14.

⁵⁰A. Dmitrievskij, *Typika* (Kiev, 1895), p. 742.26-30.

⁵¹P. Gautier, "Le typikon du Christ Sauveur Pantocrator," REB 32 (1974), p. 71.698-99.

⁵²See examples, A. Kazhdan, "Vizantijskij monastyr' XI-XII vv. kak social'naja gruppa," *VizVrem* 31 (1971) 53f.

⁵³P. Magdalino, "The Byzantine Holy Man in the Twelfth Century," in *The Byzantine Saint* (London, 1981), p. 51-66.

Meletios of Myoupolis, which has survived in two versions signed by two renowned literati—Theodore Prodromos and Nicholas of Methone. In both versions Meletios is opposed to those who claimed excessive asceticism. Nicholas tells us of two men, Stephen and Theodosios, who longed for human repute and therefore pretended to live τὸν ἀσκητικὸν βίον; moreover, Theodosios evidently connected the increase of his own glory with the decrease of Meletios' reputation. Their arrogance did not remain unpunished—Theodosios died like a dog possessed by rabies, and Stephen suffered from a grave disease.⁵⁴ Prodromos tells a different and an even more eloquent story: the son of a certain Noah came to Meletios; this man despised monks and mocked their way of life as a children's game; in other words, he considered monastic practice as completely insufficient. So he left the monastery and decided to cut up his belly, since it was "the treasure of gluttony," and also to amputate his genitals, the tool of fornication.⁵⁵ Certainly, Prodromos' story sounds exaggerated, and his attention to the pudenda may originate with his general naturalistic trend, but the core of his message is obvious—Meletios was building a monastic community, and the excessive ascetic inclination formed only a barrier for regular monasticism.

Some intellectuals of the twelfth century went even further. Not only was excessive asceticism ridiculed and rejected, but the sacrosanct institution of Byzantine society, monasticism, was questioned. It is well known that Eustathios of Thessalonike, the great antiquarian and writer, produced a vitriolic pamphlet on monastic life. Eustathios also mocked a hypocritical hermit in his treatise *On Hypocrisy*—a satire so brilliant that the classicists who deny any originality to Byzantine literature were eager to find an ancient prototype of this medieval "compilation." They did not succeed. Moreover, Eustathios knew how to use ancient texts to criticize contemporary monasticism. In his commentary on the Homeric epic he time and again returns to monastic themes: mockingly he presents unexpected etymologies of the most salient concepts of monastic life—*asketes* is derived from *askos*, the wineskin; *lavra* is connected with a word that means whore, and the idea of sleeping on the ground, an important element of ascetic practice, is systematically applied to pigs.⁵⁶ His position is expressed even more obviously in his commentary on the passage of the *Odyssey* dedicated to the Cyclopes. The Cyclopes who, "trusting in the immortal God (Eustathios consciously changes the Homeric plural, 'gods,' to singular) plant nothing and dwell in hollow caves," are plainly

⁵⁴BHG 1247, ed. V. Vasil'evskij (1886), p. 15.14-32, 16.22.

⁵⁵BHG 1248, ed. *ibid.*, p. 62f.

⁵⁶A. Kazhdan, "Looking Back to Antiquity," GRBS 24 (1984) 377f.

identified with the “anchorites of our own time,”⁵⁷ who seek to flee from cities and to dwell on mountain tops, and who neither plant nor toil in any other way, but receive goods without sowing and ploughing. We will see below that Eustathios also applied his principles to hagiography.

Athanasiros of Alexandria, the great father of the fourth century, in his letter to a certain monk Amoun⁵⁸ formulated a thesis that was crucial for Byzantine ethics: There are two ways of life; one, the married life, which is mundane and simple—the other, the celibate, which is angelic and supreme. One should not be blamed if one chooses the secular way—it also can be rewarded. The other way is difficult, but holy and superior, and brings fruit not thirty, but a hundred times, more abundant. George Hamartolos⁵⁹ accepts and strengthens Athanasiros’ tenets: the first way is mundane and earthly, the second one—heavenly, angelic and apostolic.

A scene in the *Life* of Luke the Younger illustrates this general statement. A certain spatharios Philip visited his brother the monk Theodosios in the monastery where the latter dwelt. After supper, the monks went to bed, but very soon Luke summoned them to a *synaxis*. Theodosios, however, let his brother sleep, since he was unaccustomed to monastic toils and vigils. Philip stayed in his cot, but felt uncomfortable. Then he had a vision; two youths whose beauty was beyond description and unbearable for human eyes (i.e. angels) addressed him and said: “Why are you upset? Why are you inventing unreasonable reasons? Look upward, and you will perceive the honor that befalls unto Luke.” And Philip saw Luke surrounded with heavenly light.⁶⁰ Monastic toils and vigils in this life were to be rewarded by the glory inaccessible to a pious layman.

When in the tenth century the ideal of the married holy woman was introduced, it conflicted with this traditional approach. The author of the *Life* of Maria the Younger had to defend his heroine: yes, she was not a nun, but she was nevertheless a saint—miracles at her tomb were invoked to prove her sanctity.⁶¹

In the twelfth century the topic of the lay saint becomes more acceptable. Nicholas Kataskepenos, the author of the *Life* of Cyril Philotes, who wrote in the first half of the twelfth century, was still undecided: his hero, a sailor on the Danube and the head of a small family,

⁵⁷ *Commentary on Homer*, 1618-31.

⁵⁸ PG 26.1173BC.

⁵⁹ Ed. C. de Boor 1:335.17-22, 342.3-4.

⁶⁰ BHG 994 (see n. 36), ed. PG 111.472AD, G. P. Kremos, p. 51f.

⁶¹ BHG 1164, ed. AASS Nov. 4, col. 699E.

divided his life between the worldly and monastic manner: he performed his ascetic exploits during sixty years—partly at home and partly in a monastery⁶² that he founded together with his brother. In his exploits he tried to keep the middle way: thus, after the birth of his child, Cyril limited his sexual intercourse with his wife, but did not accept consistent celibacy; when Cyril came to Constantinople and reported his asceticism to an experienced monk Hilarion, his adviser approved of everything save the iron chains Cyril had put on—this excessive asceticism, said Hilarion, may produce vainglory.⁶³ And like his contemporaries, Prodromos and Nicholas of Methone, Kataskepenos conjures up the image of a monk who rejected the saint's admonitions, strove to excessive deeds and eventually became fatigued and even stopped observing the fast.⁶⁴ Especially indicative for the author's oscillating position is the story about Cyril's seclusion: three years the saint lived in silence, and at the same time he questioned the correctness of his behavior. Cyril reproached himself, comments the hagiographer, for his solitary life, μόνωσις. He asked himself: Whom will I wash? Whom will I tend? With whom can I sympathize since I severed from society, κοινωνία? Kataskepenos indicates other faults of the solitary life—if one falls into the trap of idleness, there is nobody to pull him out; the hermit is unable to demonstrate his humbleness since he is in no contact with other people; he cannot make manifest the greatness of his soul since nobody resists his desires.⁶⁵ Kataskepenos' arguments are traditional, partly derived from Basil the Great—what is individual and rare in Byzantine hagiography is Cyril's indecision and quest for the right way. Unlike Symeon the Theologian,⁶⁶ Kataskepenos emphasizes the social aspects of human behavior—he praises *philia* and recommends charity.

Eustathios of Thessalonike overcame the state of uncertainty and took a consistently secular stand. He reversed Athanasios' thesis that monastic life is preferable, and composed a *Life* that was polemical in its gist; he postulated that the pious lay man is morally more valuable than his eremitic counterpart. Philotheos of Opsikion, whose *Life* Eustathios wrote, is a shadowy figure—he is not mentioned in any other source, and Eustathios does not provide us with any historical coordinates of Philotheos' days and works. It is impossible to prove but,

⁶²BHG 468, ed. E. Sargologos, *La vie de saint Cyrille le Philéote moine byzantin* (Brussels, 1964), par. 53:1, p. 249.6-7.

⁶³Ibid. par. 16:2, p. 88f.

⁶⁴Ibid. par. 52.6, p. 248.24-27.

⁶⁵Ibid. par. 23.3, p. 110f.

⁶⁶On social views of Symeon, A. Kazhdan, "Das System der Bilder und Metaphern in den Werken Symeons des 'Neuen' Theologen," in *Unser ganzes Leben Christus unserem Gott überantworten* (Göttingen, 1982), pp. 221-39.

on the other hand, it is tempting to suggest that Philotheos was a sheer creation of his biographer.

In Philotheos' *Life* Eustathios develops the ideas which are already tangible in *Kataskepenos*: the hermit, says Eustathios, cares only about himself: he therefore seeks places in solitude, hides in caves and in fissures in the ground, so as to escape the throng of the marketplace. We remember that caves and fissures in the ground are crucial elements of eremitic environment—in traditional hagiography—now the enlightened prelate uses this image with a derogatory tinge. Eustathios admits that it is indeed admirable to fight the tribe of demons in solitude, when God the King is one's only spectator and umpire, ἀγωνοθέτης—again, the term is plucked from the traditional vocabulary of hagiographical literature. But, continues Eustathios, those who fight the foe in the full glare of public attention should feel no shame by comparison: their deeds surpass those of the hermit. The hermit runs along a smooth track, with no real obstacles, while the public contestants vie on a battlefield strewn with stones and spikes. The harder the struggle, the greater their honor. The sun doubtless continues to be beautiful as it passes unseen beneath the earth, but it is infinitely more brilliant when it rises and makes its beauty manifest to all.⁶⁷

Accordingly, Philotheos did not emaciate his flesh. Unlike misers, he did not hoard superficial treasures to the detriment of his real spiritual wealth. Quite the contrary: what wealth he had, he used; he gathered the various riches of the earth, allowing “the excess burden” to be taken by the poor, and thus he walked the divine (*θεῖα*), the truly straight (*εὐθεῖα*) path.⁶⁸

Moreover, Eustathios relates that his hero loved *anchoresis*, the solitary way of life, and the *askesis* far from the earthly mire, but after having weighed “on precise scales” the eremitic state and life in society⁶⁹ he took another road: he scrutinized thousands of panegyrics of marriage and he decided, in imitation of his parents, to leave in the world progeny, his blessed seed. Philotheos shared his idea with his father and mother and they gladly accepted it; they even were ashamed that they did not foresee their son's desire. So they arranged a wedding. And soon Philotheos' house became full of children.⁷⁰

There is no need to stress that Philotheos' marriage was happy, that his house flourished, and that our secular saint employed hired hands

⁶⁷BHG 1535, ed. T. Tafel (1832), p. 148.37-87.

⁶⁸Ibid. p. 147.76-89.

⁶⁹Ibid. p. 148.93-97.

⁷⁰Ibid. p. 149.4-25.

but also he, himself, worked the soil.⁷¹ Unlike the biblical Job with whom Eustathios—rather clumsily—aligns him, Philotheos lived free from tragical tension, and his peaceful death crowned his life of mundane achievements.

To sum up, let us try to place these naive stories into the broader framework of Byzantine culture. Byzantium in general and Byzantine hagiography in particular have been traditionally considered as uniform and subject to political monotony and religious orthodoxy. I am afraid that one must drive through the pitfalls of totalitarian propaganda in order to distinguish different voices under the unified surface. I believe—and hope that I have demonstrated this thesis properly—that the Byzantine saint was far from being an abstract sign and an embodiment of abstract moral virtues. The ideal of the anchorite, of the member of a monastic community, and of the man of the world, were opposed to each other in different hagiographers. It seems, as well, that different epochs were fecund for different types of sanctity: the images of the hermit or stylite were not very welcome in the ninth century when the *Lives* were populated with efficient leaders of clergy and monks in their struggle for monastic independence. Orthodoxy won the day, but strangely enough the *koinobion* lost the battle—again anchorites and stylites came to the fore. By the twelfth century, consistent cenobitism was more typical for nunneries than for male monasteries. But twelfth-century monasticism experienced another blow which was, perhaps, more threatening: the ideal of virtuous life in the world contrasted with the call for seclusion and extreme self-sacrifice.

⁷¹Ibid. p. 149.86-90.



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art and he himself continued the tradition of that art in an excellent way through his own work and that of his students throughout Greece and elsewhere. Kontoglou knew Western art and thinking as well, so that he can make comparisons that are based on his own artistic, educational, and theological experience; but Kontoglou, like Cavarnos, has a definite Orthodox point of view rooted in the Byzantine Orthodox religious tradition. It is impossible to resist quoting Kontoglou when he says that "The most profound kind of painting is religious painting, and the most profound kind of religious painting is Byzantine, because it is more spiritual, because it has truer roots, the Gospels" (p. 95). He also declares that "Byzantine iconography has universal significance. This is why, instead of growing old with the passage of time and losing its significance, on the contrary it becomes increasingly new. Byzantine iconography is eternal, like the Gospels, in which it has its source" (p. 99).

This exuberance, this absolute firmness of belief in the validity and claims of Byzantine sacred art as the fundamental Christian art, this clarity of vision on the part of Kontoglou, permeates the whole book, as presented by Dr. Cavarnos. It gives an absolutely clear and unequivocal view of the theological and religious underpinnings of Byzantine sacred art that must be taken seriously.

Byzantine Sacred Art is not an art handbook that tries to explain this particular art from an aesthetic point of view; it is a profoundly religious book that attempts and succeeds in putting forth the Byzantine spiritual point of view as it applies to art. It is an essential book for those who would seek to understand the Byzantine mind and the Orthodox Christian tradition. It is no wonder, then, that the first edition of this very favorably reviewed volume was exhausted. We are thankful that an even richer one has replaced it.

—John E. Rexine

ARCHIMANDRITE VASILEIOS OF STAVRONIKITA. *Hymn of Entry: Liturgy and Life in the Orthodox Church*. Contemporary Greek Theologians Number One. Translated from the Greek by Elizabeth Briere with a Foreword by Bishop Kallistos of Diokleia. Crestwood, New York: St Vladimir's Seminary Press, 1984. Pp. 138. Paperbound.

Originally published in Greek under the title *Eisodikon* in 1974, *Hymn of Entry* appeared in a second edition in 1978 (on which

the English translation is based), and in a third in 1982, authored by the Abbot of the Monastery of Stavronikita on Mount Athos, who very much represents the renewal of Orthodox monastic life on the Holy Mount. In his Foreword, Bishop Kallistos states that "The quality that characterizes this remarkable book is above all a sense of organic wholeness, such as may be found in St Maximus the Confessor. The unity of the divine and the human in the incarnate Christ, the unity of heaven and earth in the Divine Liturgy, the unity between theology and spirituality, between theology and life—such are the author's master themes" (p. 9). The essence of Father Vasileios's theology is liturgical and the study of the liturgy leads additionally to an examination of the liturgical meaning of iconography and the theological value of church music. Father Vasileios himself says that his book is "not put forward as a solution to the problem of Church unity, but as small beginnings and ways of ascent which may help some people to enter more consciously into the Church where 'that dread mystery of the unity beyond reason and speech is enacted'" (p. 13). For Father Vasileios there can be no separation between theology and spirituality. The Orthodox faith, he proclaims, is living theology and the Holy Church is itself an icon of God. For Vasileios, liturgical theology is the incarnation of theology which is clearly seen in the celebration of the Eucharist. Even the icon expresses the unifying power of the Liturgy and the sanctifying grace of the Spirit.

In its six compact chapters entitled "Theology as a Liturgy of the Church"; "The Structure of the Church as an Initiation into the Mystery of the Trinity"; "The Divine Liturgy as a Theological Rite"; "The Icon as Liturgical Analogy"; "Spirituality as 'Bondage' to Freedom"; and "Dying and Behold We Live," we can see how liturgy initiates through celebration into that mystery of theology by which that knowledge is obtained which is eternal life. To quote Father Vasileios again, "In the Divine Liturgy, the Lord is to be found truly as God-man. And the faithful, who have been baptized and have participated in the Liturgy, are truly to be found in Him" (p. 78); and "When the believer is within the Divine Liturgy, he has gone beyond the world of corruption. He lives and dances for you, extended beyond the threat of time, outside the prison of space. Although time and space exist, man is mystically nourished by the 'hidden manna,' by another reality, a reality earlier than time and above space" (p. 79). The ultimate freedom is the release from one's own will and the yielding to the freedom of the Paraclete, to receive the grace of the Holy Spirit in humility, with purity of heart, and with love.

Hymn of Entry stresses that theology is not a philosophy or a system but an expression of the mystical life of the Church which is by its very essence liturgical. Through liturgical participation there can be renewal of theology and Christian life.

—John E. Rexine

WILLIAM C. SPOHN, *What Are They Saying About Scripture and Ethics?* Paulist Press, New York, 1984. 148 pp.

Despite the pervasiveness of 'secularism' in modern Western culture, the past two decades have witnessed an extraordinary revival of interest in Holy Scripture. One of the most positive results of this revival, particularly prominent in Roman Catholic circles, is the concern to ground ethical reflection and activity in the Biblical witness.

Typically, Christian theologians have produced two kinds of books that draw together ethics and Scripture: interpretations of the ethical dimension of Biblical theology, and polemical treatises that seek to justify a particular ethical stance by demonstrating—usually in violation of legitimate hermeneutic principles—that such a stance has Biblical support. The former, of course, is essential to an overall presentation of scriptural themes (K. H. Schelkle, for example, appropriately devotes the third volume of his *Theology of the New Testament* to the issue of 'Morality'). As an all too common example of 'proof-texting,' the latter (typified by any number of 'position papers' put out by today's 'Moral Majority') more often than not distorts the apostolic witness beyond recognition.

A third approach, that the Jesuit theologian William Spohn treats in this excellently written survey, is concerned less with ethics in Scripture than with *Scripture in ethics*. In keeping with this highly popular Paulist Press series, his purpose is to offer the reader a critical overview of the way theologians use Scripture to ground and direct the process of ethical decision-making.

Spohn adopts a hermeneutic perspective that permits a sound and yet critical analysis of the various ethical approaches he deals with: "The Christian belief that the same Spirit that inspired the authors of Scripture still inspires the use of Scripture in the Church today gives us hope of a faithful continuity with those early believers" (p. 4). It is this conviction that enables him to discern within the multiple 'forms' that express the message of Scripture (recitals, sayings, parables, proclamations, catechetical elements, liturgical



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Fedwick has contributed an original and thorough study on the charismatic character of Saint Basil, as well as a splendid interpretation of Saint Basil's charismatic theology. Contrary to the generally accepted theory that Basil was the most practical of the Cappadocians, the author argues that Basil lacked, in reality, "practical judgment" (p. 131) and that his "idealistic portrayal and vision" of a Christian community did not materialize in a universal unity, but found its imperfect application in the religious-monastic communities of both the East and the West (p. 132). Fedwick also believes that prayers and not the eucharistic service were, according to Saint Basil, the organ of fellowship (p. 121). We may argue here that Saint Basil's concept of *henosis* (union, and not unity as Fedwick translates) stands precisely on the solid eucharistic grounds. If he appears to lack "practical judgment," as in the case of the election of his friend Saint Gregory the Theologian to the episcopal see of Sasima, he did it because he believed in the essential presence of the bishop as the center and the axis of the eucharistic community. The presence of an orthodox bishop secured the eucharistic fellowship and doctrinal unity. That the Second Ecumenical Synod (Constantinople, A.D. 381) approved his trinitarian theology is proof of his lasting influence among his fellow bishops and on the catholic Church *ad continuum*. The author feels uneasy about the "squabble" for jurisdictional supremacy and the title "New Rome" for the imperial city. Had Saint Basil been alive and present at the Second Ecumenical Synod he would not have objected because the charisma of leadership is a common gift to all local churches.

Apart from these comments, there is no doubt that Fedwick offers us an excellent contribution to the study of Saint Basil's life and thought, and we may add, also, that Fedwick's love and care with his sources made this book a most valuable accomplishment in the proper comprehension of the brilliant patristic spirit of the fourth Christian century.

George S. Bebis
Holy Cross School of Theology

In Defense of the Faith: The Theology of Patriarch Nikephoros of Constantinople. By John Travis. Brookline, Massachusetts: Holy Cross Orthodox Press, 1984. Pp. xviii + 182. Clothbound, \$19.95. Paperbound, \$12.95.

The iconoclastic controversy of ninth-century Byzantium is known both for the intensity of the theological battles waged over the veneration of images and for the emergence of individual ecclesiastical personalities, whose position at the forefront of these battles marked an

era of maturation in the doctrinal development of the Church. One such outstanding but (until recently) overlooked personality is the subject of a study by Father John Travis, Professor of Church History at Holy Cross Greek Orthodox Theological School in Brookline, Massachusetts. *In Defense of the Faith* is an extensively researched monograph documenting the depth and heretofore unrecognized breadth of the theological thinking of Patriarch Nikephoros of Constantinople (A.D. 758-828), who, in his unrelenting defense of the Church against iconoclasm, created a wealth of theological writings both polemical in function and dogmatically orthodox in content. Travis' book draws heavily from his Th.D. dissertation: "The Role of Patriarch Nicephorus (A.D. 758-828), Archbishop of Constantinople, in the Iconoclastic Controversy" (1977), and to a lesser degree from his study: "The Art Object: An Image in Plato's Philosophy" (1981). He is thoroughly acquainted as well with the works of scholars whose efforts have preceded his, notably Paul J. Alexander's *The Patriarch Nicephorus of Constantinople* (1958), to which he refers repeatedly, Patrick O'Connell's *The Ecclesiology of St. Nicephorus*, and others. In the present work, he has sought to go beyond the scope of earlier efforts, to scrutinize all Nikephoros' available writings, and present him to us as a theologian and highly capable polemicist in more than one theological arena. While the issue of religious images is certainly Nikephoros' main concern, Travis points out that:

... to our knowledge, there is no monograph on the theology of Nikephoros which includes his teachings on issues other than the veneration of icons. This work attempts to fill this need by working from Nikephoros' own texts (p. 2).

The arrangement of theological topics invites perusal. Travis begins the book with a brief biographical essay on the life of Patriarch Nikephoros as layman, as patriarch, and as martyr in exile (the third being the period of his literary proliferation). The following chapters elucidate Nikephoros' world view in a general progression from the more "cosmic" topics: "God" (his trinitarian theology), "World: Creation and Creator," and "Angels," to the more scientifically soteriological: "Christ" (his Christology), "Church" (his ecclesiology), and "Individual" (the individual as a member of the Church). A concluding chapter reiterates the difficulties involved in assessing the patriarch's contributions to his own period, but proffers the following:

After centuries of literary oblivion, it is only now, in our generation, that we can begin to appreciate his contribution to the theology of the period. If the patriarch's generation commended him as the

confessor and martyr in exile, ours must recognize him as a father of the Church (p. 173).

While his intended audience is clearly *not* the average lay person, the author's clarity and sensitive style are attractive enough to maintain interest even for those who shrink at the prospect of reading "theology." Travis has made an effort to use difficult theological terms only when unavoidable, and then to offer definitions in simpler terms when possible. The abundance of Greek terms (from the classical philosophers, the church fathers, and the patriarch's own writings) which bear upon the theological discussion, are presented in English phonetics (although footnotes cite foreign titles in the original languages). One can read and apprehend the book's content, then, without knowledge of Greek. Plentiful footnotes offer those with advanced interests much referential direction, and a general index is a welcome convenience.

The result of Travis' meticulous study is a compendium of theological discourses, which originated in the mind and spirit of the patriarch, and were brought to light by a modern scholar of Byzantine Church History. The issues presented include some of the most troublesome the Church has faced to our own day: trinitarian theology, the incarnation, veneration of images, and eschatology to name but few. Travis' contribution does not end with the systematic presentation of the patriarch's teachings. He weaves into the discussion his own pastoral understanding of the issues, reflecting as well upon the tradition and doctrine of the Church. This reinforcement of the orthodoxy of the patriarch's teachings, reiterates in yet another way for the reader that while Nikephoros' major accomplishment was to reestablish the theological basis for the veneration of icons, his was a total and ongoing involvement with the overall well-being of the Church, which led him, while making a defense of images, to a defense of the faith.

George Diamant
Holy Cross Greek Orthodox School of Theology

Nicholas of Methone. Refutation of Proclus' Elements of Theology.
By Athanasios D. Angelou. Athens and Leiden, 1984. Pp. lxxxii + 204.

This is the first volume in the Series *Philosophi Byzantini* of the *Corpus Philosophorum Medii Aevi*, published by the Academy of Athens under the auspices of the International Union of Academies. The project is supervised by an international committee composed of L. Benakis, R. Browning, H. Hunger, C. A. Trypanis, G. Verbeke, and D. Zakythinos. The present volume is an excellent beginning to



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Introduction

GENNADIOS LIMOURIS

THE MEETING WHICH TOOK PLACE from 11—18 June 1985 at Hellenic College/Holy Cross Greek Orthodox School of Theology in Brookline, MA, USA was an historical event of great importance for the ecumenical movement and for the Orthodox Churches, too. More than forty-five hierarchs and theologians¹ from Eastern Orthodox and Oriental Orthodox Churches from all over the world gathered together for an Inter-Orthodox Symposium on “Baptism, Eucharist and Ministry,” the so-called Lima document.

The hosts of this historical gathering were the Greek Orthodox Archdiocese of North and South America and Hellenic College/Holy Cross Greek Orthodox School of Theology. It was prepared and organized by the Orthodox Task Force of the World Council of Churches and the Faith and Order Commission which made possible such a widely representative meeting.

The Symposium and its History

It is well known in the ecumenical world that the World Council and its member churches are in the midst of a process of discussing and responding to the significant theological convergence document on “Baptism, Eucharist and Ministry” (BEM), the so-called “reception process.” This document was discerned and elaborated by the Faith and Order Commission in collaboration with eminent and expert theologians of different confessions.

After many years of hard work and many human sacrifices, it was adopted by the January 1982 meeting of the Plenary Commission on Faith and Order in Lima, Peru (2—16 January). The Sixth Assembly

¹ See list of participants

of the World Council at Vancouver in 1983 recommended the following timetable to the member churches for responding to this great and important ecumenical document:

By 31 December 1984 the churches should send in a short report on how the process of the official response is pursued; the deadline for the official response is 31 December 1985.²

Following discussions on the preparations of responses to BEM at the Orthodox meeting during the Central Committee of the World Council in July 1984, it was suggested and approved that the Orthodox Task Force of the World Council and the Faith and Order Commission will jointly undertake the organization and preparation of such an Inter-Orthodox Symposium. The main goal of the Symposium was to facilitate, help and clarify a number of questions which might arise, in particular to the Orthodox Churches, when they consider their response to the Lima document. Therefore, the theme of the Symposium was "The Reception of BEM from an Orthodox Perspective."

During a year of preparation and close collaboration the Orthodox Task Force and Faith and Order worked together to the successful realization of this inter-Orthodox gathering in friendly relationship with the Dean of the Holy Cross Greek Orthodox School of Theology, Rev Dr A. Calivas.

The Symposium

On 11 June, the Symposium started with Vespers celebrated in the Holy Cross Chapel, presided by His Grace Methodios, Bishop of Boston, and sung by students of Holy Cross School of Theology.

Bishop Methodios and Dean Calivas welcomed the participants who had arrived from all over the world.

On behalf of the participants His Eminence Metropolitan Chrysostomos of Myra, one of the Vice-Moderators of the WCC Central Committee who also chaired the meeting, thanked the host School and the Bishop, and concluded by saying that ". . . may God bless us during these days of important work that has to be done . . . "

The next day, 12 June, the solemn opening session took place in the auditorium of the Maliotis Cultural Center with the presence of the host of the Symposium, Archbishop Iakovos, Primate of the Greek Orthodox Archdiocese of North and South America, and eminent guests and representatives of different denominations in the Boston area, such

² VI Assembly of the World Council of Churches Official Report. Vancouver, Canada, 24 July—10 August, 1983, *Gathered for Life*, ed David Gill, WCC, Geneva, 1983, p 47

as Bishop Alfred Hughes (representing Cardinal Law), Rector of St. John's Roman Catholic Seminary; Rev James Nash, Executive Director, Massachusetts Council of Churches; Rev David Carlson (representing Bishop Harold Wimmer), New England Synod, Lutheran Church in America; Dr Lorine Getz, Executive Director, Boston Theological Institute; Bishop Methodios, Greek Orthodox Diocese of Boston; the Rt Rev Job, OCA Bishop of Hartford; Fr Damon Geiger, Rector of St. Gregory's Seminary; Dr Jane Smith, Associate Dean, Harvard Divinity School; Rev Dr Richard J. Clifford, SJ, Dean, Weston School of Theology; Fr Thomas FitzGerald, President of the Orthodox Theological Society of America; Dr David Covel, Jr, Executive Director of the Massachusetts Bible Society; and professors of the Holy Cross Greek Orthodox School of Theology.

Metropolitan Chrysostomos opened the session with doxological Trinitarian invocation and prayer:

In the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Spirit. It is a privilege and honor for me to declare the opening of this inter-Orthodox Symposium on the Lima text. May the name of our triune God be blessed. This morning's first plenary will be dedicated to the presentation of greetings of several distinguished church personalities who honor our meeting with their presence, and above all His Eminence Archbishop Iakovos to whom we all are grateful for being present at this opening session.

Before giving the floor to the various speakers, I wish to express, from this chair, our cordial thanks to the Holy Cross Greek Orthodox School of Theology and its faculty and staff for the generous hospitality they are offering to us during these days.

Dean Calivas called on the guests and church representatives to deliver their messages and expectations for this unique occasion and also on the Director of the Secretariat of the Faith and Order Commission, Rev Dr Gunther Gassmann, who particularly thanked Archbishop Iakovos for the generous hospitality and the good fellowship at such a great and important meeting; he expressed his hope for concrete results which would be useful not only for the Orthodox Churches, but also for the ecumenical movement. Archbishop Iakovos, as host of this meeting, then gave his message to the participants. The Primate of the Greek Orthodox Archdiocese of North and South America, this great spiritual and pastoral personality, has for more than twenty-five years assumed the Greek Orthodox leadership in America; he is a former president of the World Council and one of "the foremost ecumenists of our time." The lifetime of Archbishop Iakovos spans over the

creative years of ecumenical development in the twentieth century. The ecumenical and interreligious achievements of the Archbishop have to be seen against the general background of the time and place in which we live. His work in Orthodox ecumenism, as he used to say, is a study in the *praxis* of ecumenism.³ Once he affirmed that "the ecumenical problem is for us the problem of the *disunity* of Christendom and the necessity of the recovery of the biblical patristic synthesis of faith which is constitutive of the one Church."⁴

Archbishop Iakovos, through his own thoughts, emphasized the importance of the Symposium:

I am certain that this gathering is not one of the many that are held from time to time so that the interest in the ecumenical movement might be rekindled. It is high time that we give additional strength to it and help it to rediscover its proper theological direction lest we be caught offering only lip service to it. . . . I personally believe that only a united Christianity will be able to arrest the cataclysmic forces of negation and self-righteousness that menace with drowning the hopes of the world for a better future.⁵

On behalf of the participants, Metropolitan Chrysostomos replied to Archbishop Iakovos and thanked him for the very kind words and the generous hospitality offered by the Greek Orthodox Archdiocese and Holy Cross; he concluded by saying that ". . . Our Churches are awaiting from this Consultation fruitful and constructive results that will provide the needed theological material for a response from the Orthodox Churches to the BEM text, and further clarification on what "reception" means for us Orthodox, . . . "⁶ and he closed the official opening session. A reception followed at the Salle of the Center, which offered a good opportunity for an exchange of opinion, talks and discussions with Archbishop Iakovos and an official photograph was taken. This was the first day of this historical event.

On the same afternoon we had the great pleasure of having with us—even if only for a few hours—the General Secretary of the World Council of Churches, Rev Dr Emilio Castro, travelling officially in the States; he participated in a dinner, offered by His Grace Bishop Methodios.

The next morning the General Secretary participated in the plenary

³ Robert Stephanopoulos, *Archbishop Iakovos as Ecumenist*, in *History of the Greek Orthodox Church in America*, ed Dr M B Efthimiou and George A Christopoulos, Greek Orthodox Archdiocese of North and South America, New York, 1984, p 353

⁴ *Ibid* , p 362

⁵ See Archbishop Iakovos' message

⁶ See Metropolitan Chrysostomos' response to Archbishop Iakovos' message

session and was welcomed by Metropolitan Chrysostomos of Myra who thanked him for his kindness for attending and greeting the assembly. The metropolitan described Dr Castro's qualifications and added: "Among them I want to underline his remarkable positive disposition in favor of Orthodoxy and of the Orthodox presence and participation in the life and activities of the WCC . . . "⁷ In replying to the chairman's message, Dr Castro expressed his warm thanks "Since I have come to Geneva in this new position, I have often been asked what differences I find between the Church in Latin America and in Geneva. I respond again and again: Orthodoxy. In Orthodox liturgy, in Orthodox spirituality, in Orthodox theology—the rich gifts of Orthodoxy are unmistakable at the World Council. In particular, I treasure the theological perspective you bring. After all, the WCC is not "their" Council, it is "your" Council. . . . I noticed that many of you seemed to be responding to BEM in a fashion reminiscent of Symeon: "My eyes have seen salvation!"⁸

After this warm exchange of words, and in the same spirit of hope for unity of our churches, Metropolitan Chrysostomos offered Dr Castro, on behalf of the Dean and the professors, the Cross of the Holy Cross as a sign of fellowship and recognition and remembrance of his passage at this historical place and meeting. Pictures and an exchange of greetings followed.

In general the Symposium was characterized by a very good spirit of fellowship and collaboration between the participants. The Spirit of God was present among us and guided us during our stay at Holy Cross.

Metropolitan Chrysostomos of Myra had assumed the important task of leadership. With his broad theological education from the University of Rome to the University of Strasbourg, with his long experience not only as Professor of Dogmatics at the Patriarchal School of Theology in Halki/Constantinople, this eminent theologian has been well-known in the ecumenical movement for more than thirty years; at present he is Vice-Moderator of the WCC Central Committee and a former member of the Faith and Order Commission and a member of the Holy Synod of the Ecumenical Patriarchate. He is also author of various articles. His presence at our gathering left a real mark.

In this difficult task of leadership he was ably assisted by the Moderator of the Orthodox Task Force, Rev Prof Ion Bria; the Representative of the Ecumenical Patriarchate in the World Council, the V Rev G. Tsetsis; and the Faith and Order Secretariat, Rev Dr G. Gassmann and Rev Dr G. Limouris.

⁷ See message of Metropolitan Chrysostomos of Myra to the Rev Dr Emilio Castro

⁸ See response by Rev Dr Emilio Castro

The plenary sessions were also moderated by a number of participants, and the drafting committee was under the responsibility of not only an old friend of the Faith and Order Commission, but my professor, Prof N. Lossky from the Orthodox Institute of St. Sergius, Paris, France.

The Report

“It appears to us that we, as Orthodox, should welcome the Lima document as an experience of a new stage in the history of the ecumenical movement. After centuries of estrangements, hostility and mutual ignorance, divided Christians are seeking to speak together on essential aspects of ecclesial life, namely baptism, eucharist and ministry. This process is unique in terms of the wide attention which the Lima document is receiving in all the churches. We rejoice in the fact that Orthodox theologians have played a significant part in the formulation of this document.”⁹

This paragraph comes from the report which was elaborated by the participants and shows the results of this important gathering. Therefore the participants express appreciation for the Lima document and they see in it “a remarkable ecumenical document of doctrinal convergence. It is, therefore, to be highly commended for its serious attempt to bring to light and express today ‘the faith of the Church throughout the ages.’ ”¹⁰ “In many sections, this faith of the Church is clearly expressed . . . ” They ask the Orthodox Churches “to facilitate the use of the BEM document for study and discussion on different levels of the Church’s life” and to be “open to reading BEM and to responding to it in a spirit of critical self-examination . . . ”

The report also lists a number of examples of “issues which we believe need further clarification and elaboration” or which are not addressed in BEM. Among such examples are the relationship between the unity of the Church and baptismal unity, the relationship of the eucharist to ecclesiology, the distinction between the priesthood of the entire people of God and the ordained priesthood. The report concludes with suggestions and perspectives for future Faith and Order work.

Papers were presented by Metropolitan Chrysostomos of Myra (Ecumenical Patriarchate); Metropolitan Anthony of Transylvania (Romanian Orthodox Church); Archbishop Kirill of Smolensk (Russian Orthodox Church); Bishop Nerses Bozabalian (Armenian Apostolic Church); and by Rev Professors K. M. George (Orthodox Syrian Church of the East), Thomas Hopko (Orthodox Church in America),

⁹ See Report of the Inter-Orthodox Symposium

¹⁰ Preface to BEM, p. x

Nikos Nissiotis (University of Athens), and Theodore Stylianopoulos (Holy Cross Greek Orthodox School of Theology); Rev Dr G. Gassmann and Rev Dr G. Limouris from the Faith and Order Secretariat presented introductory papers.

Conclusion of the Meeting

In the course of the Symposium the participants were hosted at dinners sponsored by His Grace Bishop Methodios of Boston, by the Council of Eastern Orthodox Churches of Central Massachusetts, and by the Pan-Orthodox Clergy Fellowship of Boston.

After a week of fruitful and successful deliberations the Symposium ended its work on 17 June. On behalf of all participants, Metropolitan Chrysostomos expressed thanks to the Dean, professors and collaborators of the Holy Cross Greek Orthodox School of Theology for their moral and material support:

I would like to take this opportunity to extend my sincere gratitude and thanks to a number of individuals and groups who have extended us hospitality and provided services to this Inter-Orthodox Symposium:

—to the Holy Cross Greek Orthodox School of Theology, especially to the President, Dr Thomas C. Lelon; the Dean, Fr Alkiviadis Calivas; to the professors and their collaborators for their significant contributions to our comfortable stay as well as to our reflections on this most important issue facing all the churches today;

—to the Orthodox Task Force of the World Council of Churches and its former Moderator, Fr George Tsetsis, and the actual Moderator, Fr Ion Bria, and the other members of the group in Geneva for their continual attention to the concerns of Orthodoxy in the life and work of the Council;

—to the Faith and Order Commission, under the leadership of Rev Dr Gunther Gassmann, and to staff members, especially Rev Dr Gennadios Limouris, for their historical perspectives on the work of the Commission and the development of the BEM text and for their guidance in our work here this week;

—to His Grace, Bishop Methodios of Boston, for his spiritual support of the work of all the Orthodox Churches gathered together in this place;

—to the chairmen and the secretaries of the groups for their very inspired work, and to the drafting committee, which under the intelligent and creative leadership of Professor Lossky, gave us one of the best report papers;

—to Mrs Artemis Gyftopoulos, Director of the Maliotis Cultural

Center, and to William Gushes, without whose assistance this Symposium would not have proceeded as smoothly as it has; —to Carol Thysell of the National Council Faith and Order staff, for her secretarial assistance; —and to the students and stewards of Hellenic College and Holy Cross Greek Orthodox School of Theology who have attempted to make our stay pleasant.

As we leave this place, let us pray that the Holy Spirit will guide us in our *diakonia* in our Churches.”

A Doxology took place in the Chapel, where the Dean of Holy Cross, accompanied by the professors, offered His Eminence Metropolitan Chrysostomos the Great Cross of the School as a *martyria* for his leadership and as a sign of recognition from the School of Theology to this eminent figure of the Great Church of Constantinople. Rev Prof I. Bria and Rev Dr G. Gassmann were also favored with awards.

The New York Event

The generous hospitality of Archbishop Iakovos extended even to New York where on 20 June a representative group of participants, personally invited by the Primate, were received at the Greek Orthodox Archdiocese. A program was prepared and organized by the Greek Orthodox Archdiocese which was in the hands of Presbytera Niki Stephanopoulos, Director of the Office of News and Information of the Archdiocese.

At 15:00 hours a press conference took place with representatives from the written press, TV and radio broadcast, in New York City. Archbishop Iakovos opened the press conference and introduced the Orthodox participants and explained the purpose of the Boston meeting. The journalists raised questions concerning the ecumenical significance of the BEM document; Metropolitan Chrysostomos and Metropolitan Anthony replied on behalf of the group to the various questions, especially the importance of the “reception of the BEM document” in the Orthodox Church and the involvement of the Orthodox Church in the ecumenical movement in general.

Rev Dr G. Gassmann concluded, expressing gratitude to Archbishop Iakovos for the ecumenical event of Boston. A very friendly reception followed in the Salle of feast of the Archdiocese. Many friends of Archbishop Iakovos, church leaders of different denominations were present such as: Metropolitan Theodosius of the Orthodox Church in America; the Armenian Bishop of New York; Dr Arie Brouwer, General Secretary of the National Council of Churches; Brother Jeffrey Gros

of the NCCC/Faith and Order Department in New York; Dr William Rusch, Lutheran Church in America; Metropolitan Silas of New Jersey; His Grace Anthimos of Denver; His Grace Philotheos; Bishop Methodios of Boston; V Rev George J. Bacopoulos, Chancellor; Rev Dr N. Michael Vaporis, Dean of Hellenic College.

Metropolitan Chrysostomos thanked Archbishop Iakovos for this friendly atmosphere and generous hospitality offered by the Primate and wished him to have many more years in his diakonia and concluded: “We have to look forward to the future under the guidance of the Holy Spirit for the profit of our Churches.”

The Archbishop presented the guests and offered presents to all participants. On behalf of the Faith and Order Commission, the Director, Rev Dr Gunther Gassmann, offered a Genevese engraving to the Archbishop as a sign of gratitude for his pastoral interest in this ecumenical and historical event.

Conclusion

It is our task and obligation to express our deep gratitude and respects to the Greek Orthodox Archdiocese of North and South America and its Primate, Archbishop Iakovos for hosting the Symposium. May God bless him and give him many years “Εἰς πολλὰ ἔτι Δεέπτοτα” for his diakonia in the United States. Many thanks from our hearts for the friendly hospitality of Hellenic College/Holy Cross Greek Orthodox School of Theology; its President, Dr Thomas Lelon; and its Rector, Rev Dr Alkiviadis Calivas, who untiringly cared for us together with co-workers, particularly Fr Ilia Katre, Mrs Ketches, Fr Thomas FitzGerald, and Savas Zembillas, for their excellent contribution, always in a spirit of fellowship and friendship.

Our thanks go also to the director of the Maliotis Cultural Center, who hosted the Symposium, Mrs Artemis Gyftopoulos and her assistant William Gushes who served us for the best.

We also wish to thank the Director of the Faith and Order Office of the National Council of Churches, Brother Jeffrey Gros, for kindly making available Ms Carol Thysell for secretarial assistance and we appreciate her hard work.

Last, but not least, we express our gratitude to Bishop Methodios of Boston and his assistants for their kindness to host the participants. Finally, the Dean of Hellenic College and editor of *The Greek Orthodox Theological Review*, Rev Dr N. Michael Vaporis, who kindly agreed to publish the acts of the Symposium in the *Review*.

Further thanks are due to the professors and students of Holy Cross as well as to all those who have sent greetings: Rt Rev John B. Coburn, Bishop of the Episcopal Diocese of Massachusetts; Most Rev Joseph

Tawil, Archbishop of the Melkite Diocese of Newton; Rev Alfred E. Williams, Minister and President of the Massachusetts Conference of the United Church of Christ; and Dr Robert Kittrell, Executive Director of the National Conference of Christians and Jews.

The deliberations at the Symposium, under the wise and highly encouraging leadership of Metropolitan Chrysostomos of Myra, have lead to very important insights and results. We express our deep gratitude and respectful recognition; *multos annos* for serving the Orthodox Church and his involvement in the ecumenical movement.

We would also like to say a word of thanks to the two administrative assistants in the Faith and Order Secretariat in Geneva, Mrs Eileen Chapman and Mrs Renate Sbeghen, for their continued assistance in preparing and organizing this meeting.

Rev Dr Gunther Gassmann and Rev Dr Gennadios Limouris also visited Boston and Harvard Universities as well as St. Vladimir's Theological Seminary in New York, and had many contacts with professors and fellows of the Boston and New York areas.

We give thanks to God that his Spirit guided us for the love of his Son.



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in God"). Such love can exist for human beings only to the extent that they are the beloved creatures of God who is Love.

A Metaphysics of Love is not an easy book to read, and there is much in it that needs detailed exegesis. Simply put, "because God is Love, he is also Truth" is its principle message, but the complex and complicated reasoning that highlights Florensky's principle of dynamic identity (his central philosophical discovery) serves to show how a brilliant Russian Orthodox theologian could use that principle as the cornerstone of his personalist, homoousion philosophy, the consubstantiality of all creatures being only a result of the fact of dynamic reality. It is a philosophy which reaffirms the Creation as a unified, organic, integrated expression of God's Wisdom and Love—a sublime manifestation of God's Love. Florensky reminds us that "there is truth because there is Truth; he immediately adds, however, that there can be Truth only if there is Love. Love is thus the very condition of the possibility of Truth" (p. 234).

Father Slesinski has done an admirable job in presenting to the English-speaking public some of the most important aspects of the religious thinking of one of twentieth-century Russia's most fertile theological minds. Despite some awkward English terminology and expression, Dr. Slesinski has managed to give us an ordered view of an Orthodox theologian whom all Orthodox readers must come to know, appreciate, and digest, even if they cannot always agree with all of his ideas and methods. Non-Orthodox critics also will no doubt be impressed by the range and power of this amazing Orthodox thinker.

John Rexine
Colgate University

Isaiah 1-39. By Joseph Jensen, O.S.B. Old Testament Message 8. Wilmington: Michael Glazier, Inc., 1984. Pp. 311. n.p.

Joseph Jensen's commentary on *Isaiah 1-39* follows neatly in the tradition already established by other writers in this series. Critical discussions are never substituted for an elucidation of the text itself; the author has successfully used critical information to enhance the text. It is likely that more commentaries will be produced in the 1980s than in any other single decade, and it is refreshing to discover this commentary which does not contain an inordinate amount of critical baggage.

With these comments as background, it should also be noted that this is more than a "popular" treatment. A careful reading of the

commentary shows that Jensen is a scholar. This is seen in various places. For example, in the introduction he offers a brief and helpful sketch of text criticism. Then later in the commentary he uses a German word, *Denkschrift*, and immediately states that it is simply the term which scholars use to refer to "Memoirs." These are only two of numerous examples. These careful descriptions will aid most readers.

Jensen divides the first thirty-nine chapters of Isaiah's book into five sections. These divisions provide the framework of the commentary: a) chapters 1-12 contain oracles concerning Judah and Jerusalem; b) chapters 13-23 consist of oracles against the nations; c) chapters 24-27 contain the Apocalypse of the prophet; d) chapters 28-33 are classified as later oracles of Isaiah; e) chapters 34-35 are viewed as the vindication of Zion; and f) chapters 36-39 parallel 2 Kings 18-20 and serve as a historical appendix.

The author does not provide a verse by verse explanation. Instead text pericopes, averaging 10 to 12 verses, are followed by lucid comments. This reviewer found that all of the discussions were coherent and for the most part provided helpful discussions on the material.

Jensen does invest many words explaining how the smaller units came together, but little discussion can be found which explains the impact of the body of literature. For example, an extended discussion is provided concerning the possible explanation for the history behind the Isaiah "Memoirs." The author, in his constant endeavor to separate the material, fails to discuss the meaning behind the larger units.

This weakness is also noted in his attempt to demonstrate that some of the material in Isaiah 1-39 does not come from the eighth century. He concludes that some was not written by Isaiah. He points out that this does not mean that this non-Isaiahic material is of less value as part of the canon or that it is not God's inspired Word. His final point is that this means that serious students and teachers must be able to recognize the true Isaiahic material so that we can "restrict ourselves to those oracles which really came from him" (p. 17). There is a major weakness associated with this kind of litmus test. Why should we restrict ourselves? If one of our primary goals is to distinguish the material which came from Isaiah from that which did not, then this must serve some purpose. But what is that purpose? Does this kind of separation not invite some comment regarding levels of inspiration? Jensen fails to indicate that there are advantages in destroying this kind of wall which has persistently been built by scholars of the historical traditional school.

The strengths of the book outweigh these weaknesses. In his discussion of the prophet and his times, Jensen follows conclusions reached by W. F. Albright and defended by D. N. Freedman, E. F. Campbell,

John Bright and others. Jensen admits that there are some uncertainties concerning historiography. This particular discussion is significant because it shows how presuppositions dictate certain conclusions. These conclusions include: a) an assigned accession date for Hezekiah; b) a date of Isaiah's call; c) the "two campaigns" theory concerning Sennacherib's invasion.

Jensen does give the opinion of scholars who disagree with him on particular issues. His discussion on the purpose of the call narrative and the theological bias of 36-39 is especially interesting. This commentary will aid serious students and ministers who seek to understand and proclaim God's Word.

Kenneth M. Craig, Jr.
The Southern Baptist Theological Seminary

Ezekiel. By Aelred Cody, O.S.B. Old Testament Message 11. Wilmington: Michael Glazier, Inc., 1984. Pp. 270. \$12.95, cloth; \$9.95, paper.

Aelred Cody's commentary on Ezekiel supports the editor's claim in the preface. The editors state that the authors of this series rely upon the tools of modern scholarship to uncover the people and places of the past while also refocusing these insights in language that is clear for this generation of interested readers. The brief introduction to the book is followed by pericope translations and commentary. The author divides the prophet's book into four major divisions: chapters 1-24, 25-32, 33-39, 40-45.

Cody admits that these divisions are only a rough indication of the sections of the book. He hopes that the reader will recognize that the divisions are not as well defined as his outline suggests. The narratives and oracles flow smoothly only on occasion. There are many sections of the prophet's book that seem to be "explanatory notes" and "supplementary material." The author's continual emphasis on the stages of literary development may disappoint those who are attempting to read and interpret the books of the Bible as single, literary units.

Although criticism aimed at an author's methodological base should always be carefully given, this reviewer could not avoid being distracted by Cody's frequent attempts to delineate the stages of writing. In the first chapter, Cody dismisses "the confusion of vv. 15-21" (p. 26) as secondary material, something which does not come from the same imaginative mind. Later, in his discussion of chapter 24, Cody describes vv. 25-27 as an insertion made "editorially to forge" (p. 119) two



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additional material or non-Judaic sources of the Christian faith, Christianity becomes a Jewish sect. It is evident that in the early embryonic stage of church history there were Jewish sects that were rejected by both Judaism and Christianity. One case is that of the Ebionites who accepted the supposed "Jewish" Jesus, but were not themselves accepted as normative. The Gospel need not be "dehellenized" but rather understood in its fullness as the message of salvation "to the Jew first and to the Greek."

In spite of this hesitation I find the book to be most helpful in promoting a genuine and honest, open dialogue between the two great religions that could find their ultimate fellowship in God the Father. I would recommend this book as a required reading for all Christians and Jews involved in dialogue in order to understand the similarities and differences in their faith commitment. In addition I would recommend this book to all Christians and Jews as a *must* reading to understand each other. Christians have a vague understanding of Jews through the reading of the Old Testament, but Jews seldom if ever have any knowledge of Christian doctrines. The opportunity is given to all, through this book, to acquire a greater knowledge of Judaism and Christianity. Clergy and educators especially must read this book in order to acquire a genuine knowledge by abandoning the "myths" and "rumors" and accusations that both Christians and Jews level against each other. This book is a classic that offers a lasting contribution to the dialogue between Christians and Jews. The end of the book includes a "glossary" and a brief bibliography that will be extremely useful to the reader.

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Jewish Monotheism and Christian Trinitarian Doctrine. A Dialogue
by Pinchas Lapides and Jurgen Moltmann. Trans. Leonard Swidler.
Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1981. Pp. 93.

Our age is known as the "age of dialogue." The dialogue method of conversation between equals was not known until the twentieth century. The contemporary definition of "dialogue" is that which occurs when two partners engage in discourse on equal grounds. The present state of dialogue especially between Christians and non-Christians and between different types of Christians has become commonplace. In the past, dialogue presupposed conversion from one idealism or religious affirmation by one partner of the dialogue who usually had the advantage

of social or political superiority. This is not the case in our understanding of dialogue.

The present work is a true, live dialogue that took place in a parish in Germany between an Orthodox Jewish scholar, Pinchas Lapides, and a Protestant theologian, Jurgen Moltmann. The book includes two forewords, one by the prominent Roman Catholic scholar, Leonard Swidler, who gives a historical account of the meaning of dialogue, and the other by my revered professor, Jacob B. Agus, a contemporary Jewish philosopher, who analyzes the Jewish and Christian common points of agreement and the possibility for dialogue between Jews and Christians.

The dialogue begins with a historico-theologico-philosophical presentation of the Jewish position on the understanding of God and the objection to pagan polytheism. Lapides is extremely sympathetic to the Christian faith and the Christian experience of God. Though there were "triadic" expressions in the Old Testament, such as the theophany at Mamre (Gen 18) and others, the Jewish soul remained adamant and loyal to "monotheism." He regrets the "Hellenization" of the Christian religion that alienates the Jewish soul from the Christian understanding of Christianity. Lapides is right in his insistence "that no picture language of the Bible can grasp God's essence . . ." (p. 42). For him the God of Israel remains one and indivisible forever.

Moltmann responds to Lapides with a historical, theological, and philosophical sensitivity, pointing out that the Christian Trinity is not the Platonic or the Plotinian "triadic" speculation nor a cultural expression of Greek philosophical categories. The Christian doctrine of the Trinity is Hebraic and is in harmony with the Jewish experience of God. He articulates it in this way: "The doctrine of the Trinity is the theological short summary of the story of the passion of Christ" (p. 47). Moltmann makes a distinction among the three different experiences and knowledges of God, that of the Jewish, the Jewish Christian, and the Gentile Christian. All converge in a common and unifying suffering of God and have one hope in God (p. 56).

Following the presentations an exchange of views and clarifications are offered by both scholars. It is of great significance that an Orthodox Jewish theologian has publicly stated his acceptance of the resurrection of Christ as a historical event. He says: "I accept the resurrection of Easter Sunday not as an invention of the community of disciples, but as a historical event" (p. 59). This is indeed an important concession by an Orthodox Jew who is fully committed to historical Judaism. Lapides claims that the qualities of the Messiah were understood in the Hebrew Bible (Old Testament) "as a priest (Lev 6.15ff.), as a prophet (1 Sam 2.35), or as a king (2 Sam 19.22)." This is close to the Christian view of the offices of Christ as "priest, prophet, and king."

Lapides and Moltmann make "A Common Declaration" at the end of the dialogue. The following is stated as a common goal for Christians and Jews: "We should live in this concord as an example to our splintered, self-torn world, for only then will our confession of the God of the Bible be accepted as true" (p. 92). This dialogue is a delight to read and an opportunity to meditate on important issues and to learn about our own faith commitment and our loyalty to the triune God of our Fathers.

It is time for us Orthodox Christians to take steps to correct some of our liturgical texts that are offensive and detrimental to the Jewish people. This was recommended by the late Professor Hamilkar Alivizatos in an article in Greek entitled "The Need for the Correction of the Liturgical Texts" (*Orthodoxos Skepsis* [1960] 5-8). Alivizatos recommended a commission be appointed by the Ecumenical Patriarchate to expurgate the offensive language in the hymns of the Orthodox Church (see my study, *GOTR*, 21 [1976] 102).

This book is highly recommended as a guide to true understanding of both Christians and Jews and the authentic claim of each. Each must grant the right to the other to state the position of the heart of his religious faith commitment and to attain the pure experience of love (agape) in God.

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Sign of Reconciliation and Conversion: The Sacrament of Penance for Our Times. Message of the Sacraments Series No. 4. By Monika K. Hellwig. Wilmington: Michael Glazier, Inc., 1982. Pp. 157. \$6.95, paper; \$12.95, cloth.

The post-Vatican II Roman Catholic theology has opened new authentic creative community participation in the shaping of the Catholic Church's future life and order. This volume discusses the ritual practices and understanding of the sacrament of penance. It is intended to be useful to the professional theologian, the priest, the seminarian and the educated lay person.

Dr. Hellwig, who is Professor of Theology at Georgetown University, with great skill presents the rite, theology, and issues as well as problems of this important sacrament of reconciliation for the contemporary believer who seeks answers and direction in response to today's questions. In the introduction, the author discusses "questions we have today."



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Lives of Saints, Ethical Teachings, and Social Realities in Tenth-Century Byzantine Peloponnesos

DEMETRIOS J. CONSTANTELOS

THE PURPOSE OF THIS STUDY is to examine three *Lives of Saints*, namely Petros,¹ bishop of Argos, Athanasios,² bishop of Methone, and Nikon,³ an itinerant preacher of Lacedaimon; to analyze their content from the perspective of social ethics; and to inquire whether or not they provide any authoritative information with regard to the social conscience of the Church in tenth-century Byzantine Peloponnesos. These three interesting sources are also rich in historical information, citing events, place names, natural phenomena, demography, geography, customs, and traditions.

Lives of Saints present no systematic treatment of ethics; their approach to moral issues follows an established tradition which stressed *philanthropia*, in theory and practice, as the epitome of all ethical teachings, and as the most important motive for social welfare activity. On several occasions we have had the opportunity to emphasize that *Lives of Saints* are an important witness of a long-standing but until recent years unaffirmed tradition of the Byzantine Church's concern for ethical teaching and practice.⁴

¹ Christos Papaoikonomou, ed., 'Ο Πολιούχος τοῦ Ἀργους ὁ Ἅγιος Πέτρος (Athens, 1908).

² Ibid., pp. 91-106.

³ S. Lampros, ed., "Ο βίος Νίκωνος τοῦ Μετανοεῖτε," *Νέος Έλληνομνήμων* 3, no. 2 (1906) 128-228.

⁴ Demetrios J. Constantelos, *Byzantine Philanthropy and Social Welfare* (New Brunswick, N.J., 1968), pp. 67-110; "Emperor John Vatatzes' Social Concern: Basis for Canonization," *Κληρονομία*, 4.1 (1972) 92-104; "Life and Social Welfare Activity of Patriarch Athanasios I (1289-1293, 1303-1309) of Constantinople," *Θεολογία*, 46.3 (1975) 611-25.

To be sure *Lives of Saints* are not devoid of interest to sociologists and economists, but their authors are not interested in any systematic treatment of social and economic problems. Their primary purpose is didactic and encomiastic of the hero-saint. Notwithstanding their peripherally moralistic nature, *Lives of Saints* provide a comprehensive and consistent body of ethical teachings. The evidence they present and the facts they relate provide sufficient ground to argue against the views of those who insist that the Byzantine Church was an administrative organ of the State, unresponsive to everyday social needs, and that Byzantine monasticism lacked a developed moral consciousness.⁵

The historical significance of the three *Lives* under analysis has long been recognized. And scholars who have studied them have stressed their importance for demographic, political, and military aspects of history. But features of social and public history have been neglected. For example, A. A. Vasiliev in a pioneer article acknowledged the cultural and social significance of the Life of Petros of Argos but he devoted most of his study in trying to identify the "barbarians" mentioned therein.⁶ The extent and the nature of the Slavic and Bulgarian penetration of the Greek chersonese preoccupied several scholars of Vasiliev's generation and later.

I

The three protagonists of the texts under consideration lived in the second half of the ninth and in the tenth century. All three came from socially and economically prominent families and were born in three different areas of the empire—Asia Minor, Constantinople, and Sicily. But all three spent most of their life serving Church and society in three cities of the Peloponnesos—Argos, Sparta, Methone. From an ethical perspective all appear to have been influential, earning a distinguished reputation for their efforts to improve the lot of the less fortunate members of society and to enhance its moral standards.

Petros of Argos was born in Constantinople ca. 850 to a family of three other sons and a daughter. His parents are highly praised for piety and charities. They used their wealth for the relief of the needy. Ultimately all the members joined monastic communities. But Petros became the most famous of all. He died in Argos ca. 921 and his life was written sometime after 927 by his successor to the bishopric of

⁵ Ernest Stein, "Introduction a l'Histoire et aux institutions byzantine," *Traditio*, 7 (1949-1951) 137; Hans-Georg Beck, *Theodoros Metochites die Krise des byzantinischen Welfbilden im 14. Jahrhundert* (Munich, 1952), pp. 32, 39-40.

⁶ A. Vasiliev, "The 'Life' of St. Peter of Argos and its Historical Significance," *Traditio*, 5 (1947) 162-90.

Argos.⁷ It mentions several historical events in tenth-century Peloponnesos including raids by Arab pirates from Crete, and other “barbarians” from the north such as Slavs and Bulgars. Furthermore it speaks of a famine lasting for nearly three years and alludes to a scarcity of clergy in the diocese of Argos. Above all it provides much important information about the Church’s response to social and economic needs of the victims and other indigent.

The ethical teachings of Petros’ *Vita* derive from the Christian scriptures and are illustrated by examples of persons taken from the Bible and ancient Greek history. There is a constant reference to biblical teachings but also to the historical experience of the Greeks. The author relates the remote past as an integral part of his heritage. There is no sense of discontinuity between non-Christian and Christian Hellenism. Petros underlined the need for justice, love, charity. God is just and men must imitate God’s example. God responds to the righteous and to those engaged in the practice of love. For example, God responded to the prayers of the biblical Joachim and Anna because of their good deeds. But there were god-fearing people outside of sacred history. The author cites the examples of Lykourgos, Nestor, Solon, Kleisthenes and Sokrates—these and other leading men of antiquity are described as *didaktoi theou*—taught by God.⁸ For Petros sacred and profane history converge in Christianity.

Petros’ ethical teachings about the practice of philanthropy reflect the sociopolitical context in which the protagonist and the author lived. The Arabs had captured the island of Crete in 826 and had transformed it into a nest of pirates. For nearly eighty-five years Crete was used as a base of Arab expeditions and plunder against Aegean islands and the eastern coast of the Greek chersonese including the Peloponnesos. Around 902 Arab pirates raided the seacoast of Argolis. They took booty and slaves but there is no indication that Argolis was depopulated and there is no evidence that they settled in the Peloponnesos for any period of time. Through the intervention of Bishop Petros many captives were ransomed. The need for the release of slaves was one of Petros’ ethical concerns and frequent preoccupations.⁹

Philoxenia (hospitality to strangers) and *philoptochia* (love for the poor) were Petros’ ethical admonitions and practical virtues in his

⁷ Vasiliev, *ibid.*, 174; P. Enrico Rickenbach, “Storia e scritti di s. Pietro d’Argo,” *Bessarione*, 5, no. 3 (1899) 449-69. For Petros’ years of birth and death see p. 450.

⁸ Petros, “Ἐπιτάφιος,” in Papaoikonomou, *Πολιούχος*, pp. 98-99.

⁹ Petros, *Bίος*, ed. Papaoikonomou, pp. 64-69. Cf. Kenneth M. Setton, “On the Raids of the Moslems in the Aegean in the Ninth and Tenth Centuries . . .” *American Journal of Archeology*, 58 (1954) 314, col. 2. Setton’s study is based on sources other than Petros’ *vita*.

pastoral ministry. The episcopal house was open to the disabled, the blind, the elderly, orphans, widows, and young children. In addition to generous charities the bishop had established a school where young men learned a trade for their future. Flour and wheat, mats, blankets, and coats were among the goods that Petros distributed to the needy.¹⁰

The information of demographic importance in Petros' life presents a problem. In order to emphasize the extent of the saint's intervention and philanthropic activity, the author is general and hyperbolic in his account of people taken prisoners or who were put to death by the Arabs, the Slavs, the Bulgars, and the famine. This has led to the assumption that the whole of Argolis was depopulated. The barbaric raids are described as the cause of the disappearance of populations from the villages and the countryside. But does *aphanismos* mean destruction by the sword of the raiders or the temporary abandonment of the villages and the fields during the raids? Apparently in time of raids many people from the countryside sought refuge in the cities. Reference is made to the existence of cities and villages (*poleon* and *komon*).¹¹

It is well known that the revival of urban life was one of the major developments of ninth-century Byzantium. Many cities in the Byzantine Empire in both Asia Minor and the Balkan Peninsula became centers of economic life and cultural activity. Several evolved into attractive centers of commerce and trade.

In the Greek chersonese, Thessalonike remained the leading city. But there were several important cities and towns in Thrace (Christoupolis, Philippi, Adrianople); Macedonia (Serres, Berroia, Florina, Kastoria, Zichna, Skopia, Ochrida); Epiros (Dyrrhachion, Ioannina); Thessaly (Larissa, Halmyros, Demetrias); Central Greece (Thebes, Gardiki, Athens).

In the *theme* of the Peloponnesos, Corinth was the seat of the strategos and it flourished both economically and culturally. Patras, which has been elevated into a metropolitan see probably in 806, was a prosperous city. Argos, Nauplion, Sparta, Monembasia, Kalamata, Methone, Korone, Arkadia (Kyparissia) were cities of some size. Notwithstanding occasional interruptions by piratic raids, all continued to grow throughout the tenth to the twelfth centuries. The Arab geographer Abu Abd Allah Muhammad Idrisi of Spain traveled extensively around the Mediterranean and visited many cities of the Byzantine Empire. He settled in Sicily and before his death in 1154 he wrote a geography of significant historical importance. Many of the Greek cities which he visited in the interior of Byzantine Greece were flourishing cities in the

¹⁰Petros, *Bίος*, pp. 66-67.

¹¹Ibid., p. 66.

tenth century and by the twelfth they had achieved much prosperity. Al Idrisi provides brief but characteristic comments on several of them. For example, Ochrida is a “city notable for the number of its public buildings and the importance of its trade”; Skopia is a large town surrounded by vineyards and cultivated fields; Ioannina is built on an eminence, well populated, and surrounded by water and orchards; Kastoria is “rich, well populated, surrounded by villages and hamlets”; Larissa is “surrounded by figtrees, vineyards, and arable land”; Halmyros is an entrepot; Chrysopolis is described as a city famous “for the beauty of its markets and the importance of its trade”; Philippi, built some ten miles from the sea, had “plenty of industry and trade . . . both in exports and imports”; Thessalonike, as the most important city of Medieval Greece, is “a pleasant town, well-known, and possessing a large population.”¹² No wonder that the Greek chersonese became an attractive objective of the western crusades.

Pirate raids were frequent throughout the later part of the ninth and first half of the tenth century but the raids against Argolis could not have been as destructive as Vasiliev indicates. This can be deducted from the *Vita*’s own account of Petros’ illness and death. When word went out that the bishop was ill, multitudes (*plethe*) of people from “cities and villages” went to Argos to see him, receive advice and blessings. Upon his death at the age of seventy again multitudes (*plethe*) gathered in Argos to attend the funeral service. Obviously many had survived the barbaric raids. Both Argos and Nauplion were well populated cities. When the bishop died a dispute arose as to which of the two would be his burial place. Argos prevailed because it was more populous.¹³

Petros’ life as well as his writings and teachings confirm the long standing Greek patristic tradition which had integrated the mind and ethos of ancient Hellenism in the thought and culture of Byzantine Hellenism. Petros was well read in both profane and sacred literature, and references to both abound in his life and especially his own writings. In addition to the ancient Greek personalities mentioned earlier, in his oration Petros speaks freely of Minos and Cheiron, the wise and kind old medicine-man of Greek mythology; Homer; Asklepios; Dioskouros; the humanitarian Scythian Zamolxis and Anacharsis, the disciples of Solon and Pythagoras. And Peloponnesos is of course the island of mythical Pelops.¹⁴

¹² *Geographie d’Idrisi*, 2 vols., trans. P. Jaubert (Paris, 1836-1840) 2, 288, 291, 292, 296, 297; cf. D. A. Zakythinos, *Bυζαντινή Ιστορία 324-1071* (Athens, 1972), pp. 300-04; Michael Angold, *The Byzantine Empire 1025-1204* (London and New York, 1984), pp. 248-51.

¹³ Petros, *Bίος*, pp. 71-72.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 66, 70, 98-99.

II

The information about Athanasios, the bishop of Methone who died during the last quarter of the ninth century, is very limited. Neither a life nor any writings of Athanasios have survived. The limited information we possess derives from a memorial oration delivered by Petros of Argos at the grave of the saint. Athanasios was born in Catania, Sicily but his family emigrated to the Peloponnesos during the first half of the ninth century on account of the Arabic raids against Sicily. Athanasios' family settled in Patras, the district of Achaia, where the saint grew up and pursued an ecclesiastical career. He was the abbot of a monastery there when he was elected bishop of Methone. It was because of his education and ethical standards that he was deemed worthy to become bishop of a prominent (*periphane*) and populous city.¹⁵

As bishop of Methone, he participated in the synod of 879 held in Constantinople to confirm Photios' election to the patriarchal throne. Like his eulogizer, Athanasios was a bishop who did not limit his ministry to ethical admonitions and advice but who applied his ethics in his daily ministry. Methone too was exposed to piracy, and the people there lived a precarious life. He had taken under his aegis the sick, the naked, the hungry, those in sorrow and distress, orphans and widows. Athanasios is praised more for his selfless pastoral ministry than for his education and learning.¹⁶

In addition to the information about Athanasios, Petros' oration includes interesting descriptions of Catania and its people. The city is praised for its geographical location, its size and beauty, climate and drinking water, its fauna and its plethora of fruit-bearing trees, and evergreen forests. The inhabitants of Catania are highly praised because of their concern for the elderly. When Mount Aetna erupts the young carry the elderly on their back, instead of running away to save themselves. Because of the Islamic raids, the people of the city "had been tried like the gold in the furnace" and the able among those who survived the sword and slavery were forced to emigrate.¹⁷

In Athanasios' encomium too we discern a blend of allusions to biblical and ancient Greek ethical teachings, Greek and biblical names, scriptural passages, and references to classical Greek wisdom. But above all Athanasios taught that the practice of Christian charity is the supreme virtue. He himself set an example in word and deed for his people to imitate.¹⁸ Since the eulogy was written by Petros, it is extremely

¹⁵Petros, "Ἐπιτάφιος," in Papaoikonomou, *Πολιοῦχος*, pp. 93-96.

¹⁶Ibid., p. 105.

¹⁷Ibid., p. 93-94.

¹⁸Ibid., pp. 99, 106.

difficult to say which part of his oration reflects Athanasios' thought and work and which is his own mind.

III

Unlike the preceding two lives, the life of Nikon includes many more interesting details and allusions which encourage certain assumptions and a number of conclusions. To understand Saint Nikon fully it is necessary to analyze the context of his family background and the society in which he lived. A saint like any other mortal is nurtured and conditioned by the values of his family, his immediate and broader environment, the social and economic conditions, and the tenor of his time.

Nikon was born during the first quarter of the tenth century to a wealthy and prominent family. He died in 998 and his life was written in 1142 by Gregory, the abbot of the monastery in Laconia named after Nikon.¹⁹ The identification of his birthplace presents a problem. His biographer writes that Nikon was born in the *Polemoniake chora*, in the Armeniakon theme. However, in writing about Polemoniake chora, Nikon's biographer used anachronistic terminology. The term Polemoniakos was used during the Roman period in order to designate one of eleven districts of the diocese of Pontos. But by the tenth century the diocese had been divided into several themes, under different names, such as the Chaldia theme in the far east of Pontos, the Armeniakon, Paphlagonia, and Bukellarion. The Armeniakon theme included a large part of old Polemoniakos Pontos, ancient Paphlagonia, and Bithynia. Thus the confusion and the uncertainty as to the exact birthplace of the saint.

Most likely Nikon's birthplace was a city or estate on the far western part of the Armeniakon and within ancient Paphlagonia, west of the great Halys and not far from the Parthenios rivers, which separated ancient Bithynia and Pontos. Halys is never mentioned in the *Vita* but Parthenios is. It runs almost parallel to Bilaios River, present-day Fyllos and west of the city of Amastris (Amastra). Both empty into the Black Sea. This is the closest we can come in identifying Nikon's birthplace.

Nikon's family possessed large estates in that area. Apparently his father was one of the local *dynatoi*, the powerful land magnates who had reduced many small landowners into *paroikoi* (dependent peasants). One of several children, Nikon is described as a reserved and lonely adolescent (*ephebos*), who refused to participate in the activities of his

¹⁹Lampros, ed., "Bιός," 133; for the geography of the area, see W. M. Ramsay, *The Historical Geography of Asia Minor* (Amsterdam, 1962), p. 318; W. R. Shepherd, *Shepherd's Historical Atlas* (New York, 1976), pp. 20, 59.

brothers and other young men of his age such as horse racing. He developed an aversion to materialistic and worldly values and a sensitivity toward the poor and powerless.

The turning point in Nikon's life was the day when his father sent him to supervise the peasants (*paroikoi*) and servants laboring on the family's estates. It was the pity and compassion he felt for them that prompted Nikon to renounce his family's values and seek a life of poverty, simplicity, and religious work. The conditions under which the *paroikoi* lived and the contrast their life presented to the luxuries that his family enjoyed exerted a decisive influence on Nikon. He was under twenty-one years old (a *meirakion*) when he fled from his father's home never to return. He was received by the Monastery of Chryse Petra located at the borders between the province of Pontos and Paphlogonia.²⁰

Nikon's choice of religious poverty became an alternative to dissent with his wealthy and powerful father. In an age in which religion and society were so closely interwoven, dissatisfaction with family and societal values frequently took the form of religious nonconformity. The interest of young people for monasticism indicates that sensitive members of wealthy and prominent families nurtured feelings of alienation which ultimately led them to the desert or to monastic communities. Like Saint Francis of Assisi who nearly two and a half centuries later reacted to the spirit of commercialism and rejected the values of the merchant class in Italy, Nikon rejected the values of the *dynatoi* in Byzantium. He refused to compromise and return back home. When he was informed his father was coming, after twelve years of searching for his runaway son, Nikon departed from Chryse Petra in order to avoid meeting him. He had crossed the Parthenios River when father, brothers, and servants arrived on the other side of the river which could not be crossed. Notwithstanding the pleas and outcries of his father, Nikon remained steadfast. After he showed his face to his father and bowed respectfully three times, he turned away and left.

Nikon spent twelve years at the monastery which seems to have been a center of spirituality under the guidance of a saintly abbot. There is no evidence that he was ever ordained to the priesthood.

As a monk Nikon prepared himself for a life of strenuous missionary activity and cultivated a sense of mission to travel and preach to large areas of the Byzantine Empire. He proved himself a person of great inner energy and enormous physical stamina. In addition to the twelve years of a rigorous cenobitic life, Nikon spent three years as a hermit in Paphlagonia, in the vicinity of the Parthenios River.

²⁰ Lampros, "Bιος," 134. For the Monastery of Chryse Petra, see Raymond Janin, *Les Eglises et les Monastères des Grands Centres Byzantines* (Paris, 1975), pp. 116, 117, 442n.

Nikon's ethical teachings raise an important question: Were they determined by the instruction he received from the abbot of Chryse Petra as the *Vita*'s author indicates, or did they derive from Nikon's own personal experience and observations? The abbot had advised Nikon to preach *metanoia*—repentance,²¹ and Nikon made *metanoia* the central theme of his missionary ministry. Thus his surname *ho Metanoete*.

How shall we understand Nikon's emphasis on *metanoia*? Did he do it in imitation of John the Baptist and Jesus Christ who both began their ministries with a call to repentance? The repetitive nature of his message indicates the need for an inner compensation for personal traumas and experiences—an *enantiodromia*, a reversal of values held by his father and family. For nearly twenty-one years he lived a protective life of plenty and luxury, while many of the *paroikoi* on his father's estates lived a life of labor, poverty, and want.

Metanoia means a change of mind and heart either generally or in respect to a specific sin. But it also implies that one has gone through an inner crisis and has arrived at a different view of life. *Metanoia* has also an apocalyptic and eschatological anticipation, and apocalyptic preachers are usually culturally isolated and socially despised people. Where does Nikon fit?

Nikon's emphasis on *metanoia* reflects not only his personal trauma, which led him to reject his father's values, but the social and moral conditions in tenth-century Byzantium. On the one hand he had observed the vanity of wealth and on the other the social injustice, exploitation, and want on the great estates as well as in cities where the disparity between wealth and poverty was even more pronounced. Thus he preached *metanoia* to compensate for his own profound sense of guilt as the son of a wealthy family, and as a way for the improvement of social conditions and the reform of private attitudes. In addition then to biblical imperatives, his personal experiences and social realities shaped Nikon's ethical admonitions.

The abbot of Chryse Petra had advised Nikon to avoid the company of the rich and prominent and associate with the poor and strangers.²² In his sermons Nikon condemned arrogance and egoism stressing the value of humility and service. He commended love in word but primarily in practice. "What salt is to bread love is to all other virtues." Love for God is revealed only through love for neighbor. Hospitality and practical interest for the poor, the naked, the sick are expressions of love. To be merciful to the poor, to take the side of those unjustly treated, to redeem those in the hands of the lawless, to visit

²¹Lampros, "Βίος," 143.

²²Ibid., 143.

the sick are acts highly recommended by the saint. He addressed clergymen, monks, and laymen urging all of them alike to protect orphans and support widows, to treat servants kindly, and contribute to the needs of the poor. Do not retaliate evil for evil, he taught. Nikon's ethical admonitions are direct, simple, and unsophisticated, foreign to theoretical and abstract ethics.²³

Nikon's missionary journeys covered large areas of the Byzantine Empire and his moral and social gospel was heard in Asia Minor, Crete, and Central Greece, including Euboia and the Peloponnesos. His work in Crete and Lacedaimonia is of particular significance.

Following the recovery of Crete by the Byzantines in 961, Nikon visited the island and worked for the conversion to Christianity of apostates and infidels alike. The view that the island had been totally Islamized should be rejected. Otherwise it would have been extremely difficult, if not impossible, for Nikon and his disciple Xenos to re-Christianize the island in seven years. He found much reaction to his missionary work in Crete. In order to win over former Christians and Muslims he changed his usual strategy. Instead of speaking before large crowds, Nikon sought to speak before small groups in an irenic and dialectic manner, a strategy that had great results.²⁴

In addition to the information about Nikon's missionary work in Crete, the author of his life writes about robbers and pirates who made life on the island precarious. It describes the dangers of a voyage from Crete to the Peloponnesos, the geography of islands such as Aegina and Salamis which are described as very green and Salamis as saturated (*diabrohos*) with olive tree orchards.²⁵

The people of Athens are described as very pious and zealous, attracted to his words as if they were coming from the mouth of Sirens. Their reception of Nikon was reminiscent of Paul's reception by the Lykaonians. Athens is the city of Kekrops.²⁶

After Athens, Nikon visited Euboia, what the ancients called Eupiros as a metaphor because of the violent tide there. The *Vita*'s author relates that the ancients believed that Euripos ebbed and flowed seven times a day. The people of Euboia ran in multitudes (*pamphletheis synerreon*) to hear Nikon's messages. From Euboia, Nikon carried his mission to Thebes, described by his biographer as the seven-gate Kadmeian city.²⁷ Classical metaphors abound in Nikon's life. From

²³Ibid., 150-51.

²⁴Ibid., 151.

²⁵Ibid., 155.

²⁶Ibid., 143.

²⁷Ibid., 156, 159.

Thebes he traveled to the south visiting Peloponnesos described again as the land of Pelops.

Why did Nikon choose Peloponnesos and Lacedaimonia in particular as the center of his missionary activity? There were two reasons. Peloponnesos was a populous and prosperous theme. Commerce, trade, agriculture, and even a limited form of manufacturing flourished. The presence of merchants from Aquilia in Sparta and Latin pilgrims on their way to Jerusalem there indicate that Peloponnesos was not an isolated region of the empire.

Ecclesiastically too, Peloponnesos was well organized. It possessed two metropolitan sees (Corinth and Patras), several dioceses, perhaps twelve if the twelfth-century list of Neilos Doxapatris reflects tenth-century realities,²⁸ and many monasteries belonging either to the Patriarchate of Constantinople or to local metropolises and dioceses. The commercial nature of cities like Corinth, Sparta, and Kalamata had contributed to a relaxation of morals and religious feeling. Nikon must have felt the need to stay close to such a social climate. The second reason is that Laconia still had a large number of non-Christians, native Greeks who adhered to ancient religious practices and two Slavic tribes, the Melingoi and the Ezerites, who were still pagan.²⁹ The two foreign tribes are described as rude and uncivilized, given to robbery and other acts of violence. What better place for Nikon to carry on his mission?

In the Peloponnesos, Nikon preached in Corinth, Argos, and Nauplion before moving on to Laconia. On his way to Nauplion he went through the village of Emorion inhabited by “rude” farmers. Nikon moved from city to city like a runner in Olympic games, “an Olympionikes.” The villages Elos, Plagia, Damalas, and Epidauros are mentioned. Sparta, the city of his destination, is called “the place of Doriens.”³⁰

With Sparta as his base, Nikon visited and preached in several cities, towns, and villages of Lacedaimonia and Messenia including Amyklai, Mane, Kalamata, Korone, Methone, Messine, and Arkadia, ancient and present-day Kyparissia.³¹ On his way back to Sparta he became ill and stayed in a village named Moros. He moved on to Amyklai. While there, a delegation from Sparta arrived to beg him for a speedy return to their city which suffered from a pestilence. Nikon agreed to make haste and

²⁸ Neilos Doxapatris, *Tάξις τῶν πατριαρχικῶν θρόνων*, ed. Gustavi Parthey, *Hieroclis Syncedemus et Notitiae Graecae Episcopatum* (Berlin, 1865; repr. Amsterdam, 1967), pp. 300-01.

²⁹ C. Porphyrogenitos, *De Administrando Imperio*, chs. 49-50, 3dd. Moravcsik and R. J. H. Jenkins (Budapest, 1949), pp. 228-36.

³⁰ Lampros, “Βίος,” 161.

³¹ Ibid., 160-62.

visit their city provided the Spartans expelled the Jews that lived there. This single request was Nikon's major stigma. Why did he ask for the expulsion of the Jewish population of Sparta?

Nikon's biographer indicates that the butchers and meat sellers there were Jews and did their business on Sundays, near the Church of Saint Epiphanios. Whether Nikon knew of this is difficult to say, but it is clear that the Christian population in Sparta found the Jewish practices on Sundays offensive. There was a reaction to Nikon's request led by the Spartan noble Ioannis Aratos who protested against Nikon's unjust demand. Nevertheless it seems that the Jews left the city at least as long as Nikon was there to preach. In addition to meat selling the Spartan Jews engaged in the trade of fabrics.³² The social and economic structure of the city included some who were "first" and others who were "last."³³

The life of Nikon too reveals the persistence of a cultural consciousness and a continuity with the culture of ancient Greece. The onomatology is especially revealing. As already indicated, Peloponnesos is the island of Pelops (*Pelopos nesos*) and Nikon's achievements are Herculean. The art, the paintings, the columns of the church he built in Sparta were comparable to the work of Phidias, Zeuxippus and Polygnotos. The Slavic tribe Athrikoi is called by the natives Milingoi instead of calling them Myrmidones, "bloodthirsty people given to robbery." The hands of Michael Choirosphaktes are mightier than those of Briareus the Hekatoncheir. Choirosphaktes is venturous trying to imitate Dionysios of Syracuse. Instead of proving himself a philanthropist, he became a misanthropos, like Timon. In his dispute with a local monastic community, Timon's victory was a Cadmeian victory and he became arrogant even though he did not ride a Bucephalos horse like another Alexander.³⁴

While Nikon was in Sparta two Latin merchants arrived from Aquilia. They were brothers and one was named Vitalios. When he became very sick his brother grieved and became distressed over the unexpected calamity. He complained and lamented as if his brother was another Patroklos. When the experts in the art of Asklepiades failed to heal him, it was Nikon who performed the miraculous. Nikon's biographer relates that he would have liked to continue narrating other miracles of the saint for the benefit of later generations, writing for instructive purposes like another Herodotus and Thycydides but he confined himself to only some of Nikon's

³²Ibid., 162-66.

³³Ibid., 169.

³⁴Ibid., 174-98.

accomplishments.³⁵

Were these references and allusions to the ancient Greek heritage convictions, or conventions? They were both. There were convictions because the so-called Byzantines were conscious of their continuity with the ancient Greeks. As Glanville Downey has rightly emphasized: "The Greek tradition maintained itself in an unbroken line, in its original home and in its original language . . . and the Hellenes, as the Byzantines called the [ancient] Greeks, were unbelievers, but ancestors. . . . The Greek Christian Byzantines, like their predecessors in the pagan Graeco-Roman world, looked upon the intellectual and literary achievements of Greece as the highest productions of their kind. . . ."³⁶

As in the case of other "Lives of Saints," the interaction between religious practices and the cultural heritage is very apparent in Nikon's *vita*. It, too, confirms that the relationship between religious beliefs and cultural traditions is inescapable. It affects all aspects of a people's life, from personal and community practices to external political relationships. Vilfredo Pareto's school of sociology has emphasized the "elemental and enduring qualities of social action" whether of persons or communities. It affirms the survival of "residues" which are "constants" in human behavior.³⁷ Residues of many beliefs and practices of ancient Greece were convictions and experiences in Christian Byzantium.

Nevertheless, references to *Olympionikes*, Herakles, Sirens and other historical or mythological persons and events of ancient Greece were conventions as well. For example, the image of the victorious athlete in the Olympics was one of the most powerful symbols of the triumph of *askesis* (exercise) in Byzantine monasticism. At the Greek Olympics the victor was believed to have been supported by the gods—Zeus in particular. According to ancient tradition Herakles himself started the Olympic games and victory was a sign of divine affirmation.³⁸ The concept of the monk as athlete is both real and metaphorical. A monk is a practitioner of *askesis*, the exerciser of physical and mental control, the disciplinarian of body and mind. As an athlete of virtue he becomes victorious receiving the crown of glory. Nikon is described as such a monk. After a fifteen-year period of struggles for spiritual

³⁵Ibid., 215-17.

³⁶Glanville, Downey, "The Byzantine Church and the Presentness of the Past," *Theology Today*, 15.1 (1958) 84-99, esp. 93; Idem "Julian and Justinian and the Unity of Faith and Culture," *Church History*, 28.4 (1959) 3-13, esp. 4.

³⁷See Alex Inkeles, *What is Sociology?* (Englewood Cliffs, N.J., 1964), pp. 51-52.

³⁸Colin Eisler, "The Athlete of Virtue in Ancient Thought," *Essays in Honor of Erwin Panofsky*, ed. M. Meiss (New York, 1961), p. 82.

perfection and wrestling to discipline the demands of the body and the temptations of the mind, Nikon proved victorious (*olympionikes en pros te ton agona kai ten palen*). God responded by crowning the victor with the crown deserved for those who “compete according to the rules” (2 Tim 2.5).

There were several other interesting historical events and details incorporated in Nikon’s life. The *strategos* in charge of military affairs in the district was named Gregorios. One day he was reprimanded by Nikon because while the liturgy was going on inside the church, the *strategos* was outside telling jokes loudly. In the dispute that ensued between the general and Nikon, the bishop took Nikon’s side. The general was humiliated and was obliged to apologize and ask for forgiveness. The bishop was trained not only in theology but also in medicine. The name of the pestilence that fell upon Sparta is not defined but typhoid fever and cancer are mentioned. The *Vita* speaks of hot summers, unbearable heat, and of dry creeks and rivers. Other major events are mentioned. Because of the Bulgarian incursions, Vasilius Apokaukos, an imperial *praefectus* was assigned to guard the isthmus of Corinth. He was victorious against the Bulgars.³⁹

Several prominent people (*prouchontes tes poleos*) are mentioned, including Michael Argyromytes, Ioannes Blabenterios, and Ioannes Malakenos. Malakenos was among the most illustrious and educated but he was accused of treason, and delegates from Constantinople took him to be tried before the Emperor Basil II. He was found innocent.

It is obvious that Nikon’s life is a rich mine of information pertaining to geography, demography, church life, religious practices, provincial problems, and daily life. However, in all three lives which we have examined we observe certain common characteristics. When they speak of ethical obligations they emphasize love for the poor, visitation of the sick, protection of orphans, and other acts of social charity. Is this type of language a *topos* of Byzantine hagiography or does this reflect social conditions and the social ethos of the Byzantine Church and society?

There is little doubt that much lip service was paid to ethical teachings but at the same time there is much evidence indicating that for many Byzantines ethical teachings were considered imperatives in daily life. The pastoral work of Petros of Argos, Athanasios of Methone, and Nikon the itinerant preacher of Lacedaimonia confirm beyond any doubt the ethical and social concerns of the Byzantine Church. Their *Lives* are mirrors of the ethical teachings they taught and the nature of social realities they faced.

³⁹Lampros, “Βίος,” 174-75.



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Martyrdom and Orthodoxy in the New Testament Era—The Theme of Μαρτυρία as Witness to the Truth

GEORGE DRAGAS

MUCH CRITICAL STUDY of the New Testament takes account of the deaths of the first witnesses as constituting a crisis for the Church, indicating the delay in the Parousia, and creating the need to write gospels. The martyrdom-theme is taken by Perrin to be an example of myth interpreting history.¹ This is connected with the way the stories of martyrdom are seen as being modelled on the story of the passion of Jesus. The fact that the story too is considered to have been artificially created does not seem to have been noticed, though it reduces the arguments to absurdity since there is a continuous regression to nothing, as in the famous comparison between form-criticism and peeling an onion. Such an approach leaves no real basis for the positive significance of martyrdom in the New Testament period. The origin of the myth, or even its nature is not thereby explained.

The deaths of the martyrs, however, were not mythical events and they are not interpreted in the New Testament books in relation to the delay in the Parousia. The idea that the Parousia should have come earlier, insofar as that idea existed at all, is always regarded as a mistake.² The case of the beloved disciple in John 21.23 is that of a non-death suggesting an exception to a rule. Non-death by martyrdom was what had been taken to be a surprise, not a death. If the beloved disciple had already died by the time this chapter was written then it should be taken as a correction of a false and exceptional idea that he should

¹ N. Perrin, *The New Testament: An Introduction* (New York, 1974), p. 33.

² See the independent article of C. E. B. Cranfield, "Thoughts on New Testament Eschatology," *Scottish Journal of Theology*, 35 (1982) 497-512, particularly 510f.

die at all, not that the Parousia should come soon. Indeed, that idea would have been contradicted by the idea that if the disciple were to tarry till Jesus comes he would not die, given the fact that he had already lived to a great age. In this instance the supposed delay in the Parousia would be already in mind before the disciple's death not as a result of it and there would be no idea of the nearness of the Parousia at all.³

There is no suggestion anywhere else in the New Testament that deaths should not have taken place before the Parousia (cf. also Mk 9.1). The issue of Paul's attitude to the death of Christians in his letters and their significance depends to some extent at least on views about the possible development of his theology and thinking which are difficult to prove in other respects because his letters were written in response to circumstances and not in accordance with a systematic view. References by Paul to his own death in some epistles are similar. No true martyr in any case conceives of martyrdom in advance or plans for it, even when it cannot be ruled out as a possibility (cf. Thomas à Becket in T. S. Eliot's play, *Murder in the Cathedral*). This is also true of Paul if we study the Epistle to the Philippians, for example. Martyrdom and simple physical death are of course in any case not the same. Physical death is seen sometimes by Paul as a punishment for sin (1 Cor 11.30 and cf. the case of Ananias and Sapphira in Acts 5—these are not necessarily an explanation caused by surprise at deaths in the community before the end), but is sometimes just natural.

³ J. A. T. Robinson, *Redating the New Testament* (London, 1976) (his book, *The Priority of John*, is still forthcoming at the time of writing), dates the Fourth Gospel very early and argues (see pp. 279-82) that there is therefore no question of longevity in this passage, nor is there in any case the idea that the beloved disciple had already died. Old age has in any case nothing to do with the issue when the Parousia should come. Robinson sees, however, the correction of a false expectation of an imminent Parousia in line with the viewpoint of the whole gospel. This agrees with what I had written for an as yet unpublished commentary on the Fourth Gospel for the West African Association of Theological Institutions Bible in Africa project, that "this chapter is intended to reassert what is already found in chapters 1-20, i.e. the idea that the Church goes on in history in company with its Lord despite the death of the first witnesses." I had seen this passage also as ruling out any idea of a delay in the Parousia, at a later date of writing than that argued by Robinson, and showing that an imminent coming was not expected by the Johannine community. Dated earlier this passage would contradict any expectation of an imminent coming virtually in advance. My reading of the passage agrees with Robinson except on the presumed date of writing. I can accept that there is no necessary presumption that the disciple had already died and therefore no reason, even accepting later tradition of his eventual longevity, why the gospel should not be dated earlier than usually supposed. In either case the idea of a "delay in the Parousia" in the Fourth Gospel is put in question since there would be no previous idea of an imminent Parousia in the community unless one that, on Robinson's dating, is corrected very early on. If the date of the gospel was late then there never was one at all. Robinson's arguments for an early date for the gospel should be taken seriously.

1 Corinthians 15 is not concerned with *Paul's* difficulties about the death of Christians but those of the Corinthians who did not believe in the resurrection—the same is true of the Thessalonian epistles. It was a mistake to think that death would not occur for the true Christian, otherwise why the emphasis on resurrection in the earliest texts? This is almost Paul's own argument in 1 Corinthians 15! The ideas of the chapter were not a development in response to unforeseen circumstances which was fortunate to have Christ's resurrection at hand as a way out of the difficulty! Death and resurrection are seen as being the pattern from the beginning, after the example of Christ, and the martyr is surely the best example of that pattern being maintained as an aspect of Christian life to be expected from the beginning (2 Cor 4.7f. is surely not just symbolic). It is not as widely accepted now that Jesus himself never envisaged his death, nor should the idea that death would not occur before the end still be seen as carried out still be seen as carried over into the early Church. Death is not seen in the New Testament as a disappointment of eschatological hope, but as an aspect of that hope, implying a death to sin and a new life to righteousness. This could not be envisaged sacramentally if it was not also seen as a real possibility from the beginning, particularly in martyrdom as in the case of James the son of Zebedee, the first apostle to be martyred. The nature and significance of the idea in the New Testament needs now to be examined.

The idea of the imitation of Christ is not simply a matter of stories told in imitation of Christ's passion. The gospels speak in many places of following Christ implying readiness to die. It is a fundamental concept.

The only real discussion of the theme of martyrdom in books on the theology of the New Testament that I have discovered is in the neglected *New Testament Theology* of E. Stauffer (English translation, London 1955, p. 185f., where there is a whole chapter, number 46, on 'The Martyr Church'). Stauffer acknowledges the imitation theme and says: "The desire to emulate Christ must prove itself in a readiness for an *imitation* of his passion." He gives three heads for this: doxological—the path to glory through suffering, antagonistic—the defeat of the enemy, and soteriological—the atoning value of the death. These are all true and relevant themes, but the theme of witness to the truth is missed, and it is to this that I wish to draw attention in this paper (see Jn 5.33; 18.37). This idea seems moreover closer to the origin of the use of the words *μαρτυρία/μαρτυρεῖν* as later technical terms for martyrdom, and this accounts for the use of the word martyr. I shall not be able to trace this development in detail

here⁴ but only to point to some important examples along the way in the New Testament literature.

Although he is cautious regarding the point at which the development really takes place, the article on this group of words by Strathmann in Kittel's *Theologisches Wörterbuch zum neuen Testament*, 4, p. 477f. (English translation, p. 474f.) is very useful. Strathmann demonstrates that the basic meaning of this complex of words is that of witnessing to the truth, and, in the first instance, witnessing to facts. This is at least true of *μαρτυρία*, *μάρτυς* and of *μαρτυρεῖν*. Strathmann sees no particular connection of ideas here between the Old Testament and the New, nor anything comparable in late Judaism or the inter-testamental period.⁵ He is cautious about the connection between the passive use of the verb in Hebrews 11.39 and the different use in 12.1. The two ideas of witness to facts and witness to the truth are seen particularly

⁴ The work of A. A. Trites, "Mάρτυς and Martyrdom in the Apocalypse: A Semantic Study," *Novum Testamentum* 15 (1973) 72-80, does this. See especially p. 72f. A different analysis, which requires serious attention, is that of E. Gunther, "Zeuge und Martyrer," *Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft* 74 (1956) 145-61, which disputes Strathmann's distinction between witness to the truth and witness to facts as a basis for a development and sees the two ideas of confession and martyrdom as remaining distinct beyond the New Testament period in the use of this terminology. He derives the particular idea of martyrdom in connection with this group of words from the usage of the Johannine literature and particularly Revelation. The witness idea in the martyrdom concept is then related to a distinct apocalyptic concept which in the Apocalypse is related to Christ's death. The fact that the martyrdom idea is a distinct development of this group of words is clear, but whether the usage is to be completely separated from the sense of witness generally, even while being still capable of being so, seems still at issue.

⁵ Trites' other important study, *The New Testament Concept of Witness* Monograph Series—Society of New Testament Studies, 31 (Cambridge, 1977), emphasizes from the classical Greek background the importance of both the ideas of witnessing to facts and witnessing to conviction, i.e. the truth behind the facts, and also sees considerable importance in the law-court metaphors of the Old Testament and other intertestamental Jewish literature, with Philo providing a link between the Greek and Hebrew worlds (see p. 59), for an emphasis on eyewitness testimony. This helps one to see the links between the Old and New Testament ideas of witness. He takes issue with any idea that the transition from "witness" to "martyr" is the only development of meaning, and refers to R. P. Casey, "Appended Note on *Mάρτυς*," F. J. Foakes Jackson and Kirsopp Lake (ed.), *Beginnings of Christianity*, 5, p. 31. This does not, however, deny any such development and is not at odds with the purpose of this paper, which is to show the basis in the New Testament for the later concept of martyr and to see it in the idea of witnessing to the truth, involving also witness to facts, which Trites wishes to draw particular attention to. His emphasis in fact supports my contention that the origin of the idea of martyrdom is that of testimony to the truth embodied in Jesus, his life, death and resurrection. This includes eyewitness testimony where appropriate, as probably in John 19.35. Trites' discussion of the cycle of words for witness shows that not just proclamation mattered in the earliest period, but also testimony, a fact which also supports my contention that the idea of orthodoxy is not just a later development dependent on a reorientation after a supposed "delay of the Parousia" and the deaths of the apostles as martyrs. I place more emphasis than Trites however on the fact that the testimony is also against opponents since the opposite of orthodoxy is also implied from the beginning.

in the Lukan writings.⁶ Acts 1.8 is a basic statement of this idea with regard to $\mu\acute{a}ptu\acute{c}$ and this is for Strathmann artificially linked with Paul also in Acts 22.15 (but see n. 6). This use leads to the meaning confession. The most important step in the development from witness to facts (Tatsachenzeuge) to confessor (Bekennerzeuge) comes in Acts 22.20 with reference to Stephen, though, says Strathmann, Stephen “is not called martyr because he dies, rather he dies because he is a witness to Christ.”⁷ According to Strathmann, confession here replaces witness to facts with regard to the history of Jesus. I take the evidence as saying rather that the Christological basis for confession as witness to the truth comes out clearly here in the context of martyrdom.

1 Peter 5.1 is next discussed by Strathmann,⁸ together with 4.13, as showing that the issue here is not merely that of being an eyewitness of Christ’s sufferings (though surely this cannot be ruled out altogether), but neither is it yet the later technical concept of martyr. It does show a development in that direction, however, even if Peter is still alive as the actual author of the epistle. Strathmann misses the significance of the latter part of the verse in its similarity to the case of Stephen in Acts, and to his witness to the heavenly glory of Christ. This concerns the parallel implication of witness to heavenly facts as part of the theme of witness to truth and confession of Christ. Actual martyrdom for Peter, if not positively referred to in 1 Peter 5.1, is surely not ruled out either.⁹

The Apocalypse takes us further¹⁰ with the description of Christ as $\mu\acute{a}ptu\acute{c}$ in 1.5 and 3.14. The case of Antipas in 2.13 is dealt with by Strathmann, like the case of Stephen in Acts, as basically that of a witness who, because he is a witness, is put to death. Yet there is a development here. Not everyone who dies is a witness ($\mu\acute{a}ptu\acute{c}$); there must also be witness to the truth of the gospel (not just historical facts). Yet neither is everyone who bears to the truth of the gospel a $\mu\acute{a}ptu\acute{c}$, if he does not also suffer death, according to Strathmann. The two must

⁶ Strathmann, p. 495f. (English translation, p. 492f.). Cf. Trites *New Testament Concept*, p. 128f., and, on Paul in Acts, p. 141f. An earlier study, L. E. Keck, *Mandate to Witness—Studies in the Book of Acts* (Valley Forge, 1964), p. 60, can be noted also with reference to Luke.

⁷ Strathmann, p. 498 (English, p. 494). Also, Trites, *NT Concept*, p. 66f., with reference to H. Cremer, *Biblico-Theological Lexicon of New Testament Greek*, 4th ed. (Edinburgh, 1895), p. 413; and Trites, *ibid.*, p. 132, with reference to Casey, “ $\mu\acute{a}ptu\acute{c}$,” *Beginnings of Christianity*, 5, p. 33.

⁸ Strathmann, p. 498f. (English, p. 494f.). See Trites, *NT Concept*, p. 215, for the meaning “eyewitness” in 1 Peter here.

⁹ Cf. F. W. Beare, *The First Epistle of Peter* (Oxford, 1958), p. 172.

¹⁰ Strathmann, p. 499f. (English, p. 495f.).

go together.¹¹ This is the same as in Acts 22.20. The crucified, who is the subject of the revelation, is also the pattern of the μάρτυς.

The verb μαρτυρεῖν follows the same development, according to Strathmann.¹² The Fourth Gospel related this idea of witness almost entirely to the person of Christ, not to facts about his life (with the single exception of John 19.35). The witness of the disciples is their confession (1 Jn 4.14f.).¹³

Μαρτυρία follows the same pattern, according to Strathmann, and shows, by its use in John 19.35, that there also the theme of witness is not simply historical, but involves witness to a past event which at the same time displays the saving work of Jesus and relates it to faith. The connection of the verb with 1 John 5.7 when seen in relation to John 19.35 brings in the possibility that the sacraments may be witnesses to Jesus' death.¹⁴ The phrase μαρτυρία Ἰησοῦ characterizes the Apocalypse (cf. Rev 1.2,9; 12.17; 19.10 twice; 20.4)¹⁵ and is related sometimes to the Word of God (see Rev 1.2,9); it can then mean the Christian revelation (see especially 1.9; 1.2 refers rather to the book, according to Strathmann). A relation can also be seen, as in the gospel, to Jesus' own witness.¹⁶ One must also remember, however, that in the Apocalypse, μάρτυς refers to those who witness through death and that both Antipas and Jesus himself are thereby the true witnesses. Such a connection cannot therefore be ruled out also in the expression “to have τὴν μαρτυρία Ἰησοῦ” (cf. 11.7 and also, especially, 12.11).¹⁷

According to Strathmann we have here the materials from which the early Church's martyrdom concept was put together, based on the idea of witness.¹⁸ The ideas in Stauffer's chapter, referred to earlier,

¹¹Trites, “Μάρτυς,” pp. 77-80, conceded death as part of the witness in Revelation 1.5, 3.14, and 17.6, but sees a primarily forensic meaning at 11.3, and, probably, 2.13, “though martyriological elements are present in both contexts.” It is only with regard to the dictionary definition of the word that the final step of identification between μάρτυς and martyr still eludes us here, according to Trites. My argument is not affected by this.

¹²Strathmann, p. 500f. (English, p. 496f.).

¹³Ibid., p. 505 (English, p. 500).

¹⁴Ibid., p. 503 (English, p. 498).

¹⁵Ibid., p. 506f. (English, p. 500f.).

¹⁶This is asserted for Revelation 1.2, 9 and 12.17 by Trites, “Μάρτυς,” p. 74f., with reference to Revelation 19.10.

¹⁷Trites, *NT Witness*, is consistent with the general conclusions expressed here. The μαρτυρία Ἰησοῦ (subjective genitive) is the testimony he gave in his passion (p. 159) and the faithful Christian martyrs die witnessing to this historic testimony themselves (p. 159f., 171f., and 174). See also Trites, “Μάρτυς,” p. 76f., where Trites argues that martyrdom follows the testimony and is not part of the “dictionary definition of μαρτυρία here.” He refers to both Revelation 11.7 and 12.11 in this connection as well as 20.4. Even if the semantic development came later the connection remains important for my purpose.

¹⁸Strathmann, p. 511f. (English, p. 504f.).

were developed later than the New Testament, as in the *Martyrdom of Polycarp* particularly, though they arise out of the ideas already there in principle, awaiting the actual experience of martyrdom in the Church for their concrete expression (see Mt 5.15f.; 10.17f.; 16.24f.; Acts 5.41; Col 1.24; Rev 5.3; 8.17; 1 Pet 4.13; cf. 1 Pet 2.21f.). We should add 1 Peter 5.1 and, of course, the evidence of the Apocalypse most of all. Acts 22.20 really anticipates the development, as well as Revelation 17.6. The faithful μάρτυς of Revelation is not only Antipas but Jesus himself (Rev 1.5; 3.14), and this shows us that in the New Testament, as in early post-New Testament usage, Jesus himself is the first martyr and that he is the pattern for martyrdom in the New Testament itself.

Thus witness to the truth is the connecting theme for the concept of martyrdom as it is rooted in the New Testament period, even though Trites has shown that originally the idea of witness was a separate concept in its own right. Here again, while I started at the opposite end from Trites, his conclusions reinforce my own with regard to this unifying theme, while I agree that martyrdom was not explicit in the cycle of ideas from the beginning nor the original point of connection between them.

This helps me to assert what is the contention of this paper, that the basic importance of martyrdom from the New Testament times is its association with orthodoxy, and that it is to be seen as a guarantee of orthodoxy. Strathmann's analysis has correctly shown the idea of witness to the truth of the gospel centered in Jesus Christ, and later reflected in his disciples and apostles as martyrs, to be the basis in the New Testament for the development of the theme of martyrdom, and thus this is the true positive significance of martyrdom in the New Testament itself, even if the linguistic development came, in the main, later. We can see from this why, when the concept of the apostolic foundation of the Church became clearly expressed over against heresy in the second century, the idea developed that the apostles should be martyrs and further traditions of martyrdom emerged.

The use of this cycle of words for martyrdom is therefore highly significant. This development of the tradition has nothing to do with a supposed delay of the Parousia since the idea of witness to the truth involved the possibility of death from the very beginning and was seen as being after the pattern of Christ himself. The lexicographical development identifying the cycle of words with martyrdom was only a recognition of a significance already there.

This can be illustrated from the use of the word μαρτυρίον, which becomes identified with μαρτυρία in the *Martyrdom of Polycarp* (e.g. 1.1).¹⁹ It is used in Mark 13.9, which should be seen in relation to the

¹⁹See Trites, "Μάρτυς," p. 73f. for reference and text.

preceding and following verses, although some see it as an intrusion by Mark into the tradition. For my purposes this issue does not make any difference. The same combination is clear in Matthew 10.18, to which Strathmann also refers,²⁰ though Matthew 24.14 appears to give a more positive sense than Strathmann allows (as the addition of “Gentiles” probably does in Matthew 10.18 as well). Luke 21.13 does appear to turn it around to be definitely positive in meaning, but the context of opposition remains in 21.15. The sense of μαρτύριον being directed against opponents is at least part of the usage in the gospels (e.g. Mk 1.44; 6.11; cf., correctly, Lk 9.5) and the idea of defense is not far from any of the contexts (including Lk 21.13). Opponents like the Jews, who rejected Jesus for his witness to the truth and brought about his crucifixion, and who will always persecute his followers, must be in mind. The legal background of thought is ultimately eschatological and points therefore to the last judgement,²¹ but this must be seen as possibly taking place immediately after the deaths of the witnesses, who are then witnesses too (see Lk 12.8f. and Heb 11.39 in relation to 12.1—not dealt with satisfactorily by Strathmann—which displays a parallel development of ideas, albeit with reference to Old Testament witnesses; also, if Trites is right,²² Acts 7.56). The active sense of μαρτύριον is noted by Strathmann in 1 Timothy 2.6 and 2 Timothy 1.8 and its equivalence there to the Christian message, i.e. the gospel,²³ but the context of suffering and probable death is not noted.²⁴

²⁰Strathmann, p. 509 (English, p. 503). Trites, *NT Concept*, p. 70, takes εἰς μαρτύριον αὐτοῖς to be in all cases simply a dative of indirect object, while conceding a possible dative of disadvantage for αὐτῷ in Luke 4.22. This fits with my stress on witness to the truth, if not, necessarily, the further context against opposition. But the background of hostility and persecution, for some passages at least, is acknowledged by Trites (*ibid.*, p. 22), and witness *against* them is certainly involved in the three ideas Trites takes from C. E. B. Cranfield (*Gospel According to St. Mark* [Cambridge, 1959], p. 201) as being present in μαρτύριον in Mark 6.11 (see Trites, *NT Concept*, p. 180). See also Trites, p. 184, referring to Cranfield, *ibid.*, p. 387f. where both negative and positive implications are seen are present. The μαρτύριον is a piece of evidence for the truth of the gospel but it is at least potentially incriminating at the end, if not accepted.

²¹Cf. for Mark at least, G. D. Kilpatrick, “The Gentile Mission in Mark and Mark 13.9-11,” *Studies in the Gospels*, ed. D. E. Nineham (Oxford, 1955), pp. 115-58.

²²*NT Concept*, p. 132; see also p. 185.

²³Strathmann, p. 510 (English, p. 504). This is supported by C. K. Barrett, *The Pastoral Epistles* (Oxford, 1963), p. 94 and J. N. D. Kelly, *A Commentary on the Pastoral Epistles* (London, 1963), p. 160, for 2 Timothy 1.8. Kelly sees it as the equivalent of 1 Corinthians 1.6 in the oldest attested reading. Both (Barrett, p. 52 and Kelly, p. 64) see 1 Timothy 2.6 as referring to Christ’s death and the following verse as describing Paul as an apostle of this testimony. This then virtually becomes the equivalent of the gospel. Cf. the phrase τὸ μαρτύριον τοῦ σταυροῦ in the *Epistle of Polycarp* 7.1.

²⁴But see J. L. Houlden, *The Pastoral Epistles* (London, 1976), pp. 69, 101, 111, cautiously.

We do not need the later version of the *Martyrdom of Polycarp* in the Moscow manuscript, rejected by Lightfoot, to see the theme of orthodoxy here. In the earliest period it was understood as witness to the truth over against the Jews, when the claim of Christianity to be the proper fulfillment of the Old Testament was at issue. The development of disputes within Christianity was clearly later. But that does not mean there was no idea of orthodoxy in the New Testament period itself, even if the pastoral epistles, 2 Peter, and Jude are discounted as themselves late. That very judgment, of course, begs the question and involves a circular argument since if one believes there was no idea of orthodoxy in the first century one must regard them as later. I will not go further here than to say that the fundamental idea of witness to the truth as basic to the concept of martyrdom was already there in the New Testament (and that means in the first century) and therefore that their combined importance in the second century over against heresy is already established in advance. In fact one might also argue on the basis of the Johannine literature, including Revelation, that the concept of heresy is already there too in the first century, and, if J. A. T. Robinson is right in *Redating the New Testament* (London, 1976), earlier in the first century than previously supposed. This raises the question of Gnosticism.

Scholars have two apparently contradictory ways of asserting that the Gnostic heresy, *qua* heresy, was not there in the New Testament period. They either say, with the British school of R. McL. Wilson, that it was not yet technically Gnosticism as in the second century, or that it was not yet differentiated from orthodoxy (see, for example, the famous work of W. Bauer, *Orthodoxy and Heresy in Earliest Christianity*, London, 1972). The two approaches to Gnosticism are saying the same thing in different ways. But it does not follow that there was no conception of orthodoxy earlier, but simply that the Gnostic heresy had not fully developed before the second century. Orthodoxy was there in the concept of witness to the truth, i.e. confession related to the passion and death of Jesus and his rejection by the Jews as well as the significance of this for the development of Christianity as a separate faith. It is also implied in the use of the phrase εἰς μαρτύριον αὐτοῖς.

The Johannine literature in fact correctly defines this orthodoxy and it is no accident that the one *fact* witnessed to is found there in John 19.35, which can possibly be linked with 1 John 5.6-12. Surely here the truth which joins fact to symbolic interpretation is orthodoxy. The Apocalypse, as we have seen, joins the μαρτυρία Ἰησοῦ with martyrdom. All the elements of the later second century position are there, not because the Johannine literature is second century but because we are dealing with the fundamental nature of orthodoxy as later precisely

defined against second century Gnostic heresy when the true Christian martyr witnessed by his death to the passion of Christ and thereby also to the true faith.²⁵

I must add an African illustration from this century. When the Ugandan Church stood around the empty grave of the Anglican Archbishop Janani Luwum at his funeral not long ago, the fact that there was no body was seen as a witness to the truth of the resurrection of Jesus. In the context of African religion, of course, the reality of the resurrection is important because it alone carries the Christian faith beyond traditional African belief in the world of the spirits and ancestors and the idea of reincarnation (because the transformed body identifies one with a single bodily existence).

²⁵J D G Dunn, *Unity and Diversity in the New Testament. An Enquiry into the Character of Earliest Christianity* (London, 1977), is a recent attempt to investigate seriously the whole issue of orthodoxy in the earliest period of Christianity and cannot be fully discussed here, but I would only say that the concept of orthodoxy is not contradicted by diversity, even if it is as much as some scholars claim. The phenomenon of diversity demands the proper identification of orthodoxy. That task was (and still is) a process, carried on in the midst of some diversity. It is right and proper to try to unravel what that process was in the documents at our disposal but that should not blind us to the way in which intrinsic authority, implicitly present in the texts, worked itself out within that process. This is the direction in which a new approach to the theology of the New Testament should be worked out so that a critical approach should not for instance allow one to subordinate the empty tomb narratives to the appearance narratives in the gospel accounts of the resurrection of Jesus, as in recent muddled discussions in the Anglican Church in England. The two sets of narratives correctly balance each other and are together a contradiction of the Gnostic heresy of the second century with its own gospel accounts of a purely spiritual, living Jesus. The process by which diversity was blended into an orthodox unity was through the Spirit but it was based on human witnesses to the truth in history, and this process is enshrined in the canonical scriptures.



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The Meaning of Reception in Relation to the Results of Ecumenical Dialogue on the Basis of the Faith and Order Document "Baptism, Eucharist and Ministry"

NIKOS A. NISSIOTIS

THE DOCUMENT *Baptism, Eucharist and Ministry* (hereafter referred to as BEM), represents in many respects an important phase of development within the ongoing ecumenical movement and dialogue as shaped and carried out by the fellowship of churches of the World Council of Churches (WCC). The text introduces new approaches to the debate over dogmatic differences in the three main doctrinal issues of ecclesiology. Apart from this, it attempts to formulate what the churches can confess together, using as their criterion the Scriptures and their experience in the one apostolic faith. BEM is proposing—with the agreement of the representatives of churches in the WCC plus the Roman Catholic Church which, exceptionally, is a member of the Faith and Order Commission—to be "received" by the churches, and then to be studied and commented upon by them.

One hopes that such study and comments and, eventually a critical response to the Faith and Order Secretariat, will be made on the basis of this act of "reception." This concept introduces a new factor in the ecumenical movement but also reminds us, at the same time, of one of the most crucial and significant acts of the universal Church throughout the centuries. There is a notorious difference between this ancient church tradition of "reception" and today's request in the context of the ongoing ecumenical dialogue in basic matters of the ecclesial faith. Still, this request marks the beginning of a new stage in serious and consistent church-centered ecumenism insofar as, on the one hand, it reflects the progress achieved in the ecumenical dialogue on doctrinal

issues and, on the other, because the text of BEM itself reflects the preliminary consensus reached upon these issues within the one apostolic faith.

Thus the "Lima text" of BEM, with its remarkable extent of agreed doctrinal statements, has been proposed by the governing bodies of the WCC to the churches for "reception." Though "new" to a certain extent in methodology, language and its approach to the ages-old disputed ecclesiological issues, BEM should not be regarded as exceptional or entirely new. BEM stands in consistent continuity with the fundamental principles and premises, as well as intention and scope, of the whole ecumenical movement as it has been represented and embodied by the WCC through the Faith and Order movement. At the same time it presupposes the scheme of church reunions already realized, as well as the agreements reached by contemporary bilateral or multilateral dialogues between separated church traditions and confessions.

One must study carefully the published documents from such dialogues in order to appreciate the "parenthood" of the convergences in BEM, and in the agreed statements on the same topics in the official report of the Roman Catholic/Orthodox dialogue on the mystery of the Church and the Eucharist in the light of the Holy Trinity (Munich, 1982). Based on a trinitarian, and especially a pneumatological approach, this represents an identity of opinions on the crucial issues of ecclesiology.¹ See also the extremely successful official documents on the ministry by Roman Catholic and Orthodox theologians (Chambésy, 1978).² We can mention also the agreements produced by the Old Catholic/Orthodox conversations on the doctrine of God (1975), christology (1977), and ecclesiology (1981), as well as the progressive rapprochement between European Protestants and Lutherans on delicate issues like the Word of God and the tradition of the Church, the meaning of sacraments, etc. (e.g., the most recent meeting in Kavalla, Greece, 1984), and those between the Moscow Patriarchate and the same Lutheran Church. One should refer also to other bilateral dialogues and their reports, especially to one which is very interesting for the Orthodox, i.e., the Final Report of the Anglican/Roman Catholic International Commission (ARCIC). This presents an extraordinary consensus on old controversial issues of ecclesiology, especially on the nature of the Eucharist (about which we read: "The agreement is offered as a consensus at the level of faith so that all of us might be able to say . . . This is the Christian faith of the Eucharist"), but also on ministry and ordination, on authority in the Church (including

¹ The full text in *Episkepsis*, 277 (1982), pp 12-20

² Published in *Episkepsis*, 183 (1978), pp 7-13

the delicate issue of papal authority and infallibility). The report also expresses completely new, constructive approaches on both sides and with a view to future further elaboration.³ Moreover, we can refer to the Anglican/Lutheran Conversations (Pullach Report, 1972), Lutheran/Roman Catholic Conversations (Malta, 1972; the Eucharist, 1978; Ways to Community, 1980; All Under One Christ, 1980; The Ministry in the Church, 1981, etc.), to the Reformed/Baptist Conversations (Report, 1977), to the Roman Catholic/Disciples of Christ Dialogue (Report, 1981), to the Roman Catholic/Methodist Conversations (Denver, 1971; Dublin, 1976; Honolulu Reports, 1981), to the Roman Catholic/Reformed Church Conversations (The Presence of Christ in Church and World, 1977), etc.⁴

Therefore the request of the WCC Faith and Order Commission for "reception" of BEM is addressed to the churches only and especially because this text represents the agreement already reached among the churches. Thus BEM is not an isolated text but reflects the results of ecumenical dialogues among this fellowship of churches—a "fellowship" which of course is still on the way to achieving conciliar fellowship, and has no ecclesial nature of its own. At the same time BEM is not simply another document of the WCC, such as are often sent to the churches for information and exchange of views, or for taking a common stand in current problems of church life on the church's missionary or social involvement. BEM is the fruit of long and strenuous work by Faith and Order, which right at the beginning of its existence, in Lausanne in 1927, had stated in its first conference report: "Notwithstanding the differences in doctrine amongst us we are united in a common Christian faith which is proclaimed in the Holy Scriptures and is witnessed to and safeguarded in the ecumenical creed, commonly called the Nicene, and in the apostles' creed, whose faith is continuously confirmed in the spiritual experience of the Church of Christ."⁵

Thus it is clear that Faith and Order intended not only to state that "we are united in a common Christian Faith," but to emphasize that this faith is "continuously confirmed in the spiritual experience of the Church of Christ." There is something "more" meant with these words

³ See *Towards a Church of England Response to BEM and ARCIC*, (London, 1985), pp. 65-102

⁴ For all of these conversations one may consult *Growth in Agreement: Reports and Agreed Statements of Ecumenical Conversations on a World Level*, ed. Harding Meyer and Lukas Vischer (New York, 1982), pp 1-504, as well as a kind of advanced, new joint catechism between separated churches in the West *Neues Glaubensbuch, Der gemeinsame christliche Glaube* Hrsg von J Feiner and L. Vischer Freiburg, (Zurich, 1973), pp 1-660

⁵ *A Documentary History of the Faith and Order Movement. 1927-1963*, section 4, para 28, ed. L Vischer (St Louis, 1963), p. 33

than simple theological comparative work, theological investigations, exchange of information or even church negotiations on doctrinal matters. Faith and Order envisaged, ultimately, taking account of the whole of church life and spirituality as it pursued its main goal: to help the churches to regain their visible unity. It is self-evident, therefore, that Faith and Order would eventually have to engage its member churches in profound ecclesiological study, and follow their corporate progress as they sought to redefine their apostolic faith. Consequently Faith and Order's request for "reception" is one of the signs and results of its authentic work towards an ecclesial reunion.

Furthermore one must notice an additional factor which makes the request for "reception" both necessary and consistent. This is the fact that this document has been produced by the Commission on Faith and Order *together with* the churches. Because the text had been sent to them in draft form in 1974 for their "response," BEM is a paper written with the churches, with their involvement, and with their comments and criticisms. The churches have involved themselves with this statement more than any other, and to some extent they have come to regard it as something of their own work, ecumenism and faith. It is also important that when we say "churches" we mean here all of the churches, including the Roman Catholic Church, whose theologians were involved in elaborating the text. Catholic theologians themselves refer to this exxceptional situation as giving the Lima document a special significance. Jean Tillard, O.P., has written, "Consequently BEM is more than a document of the World Council of Churches. It is—thanks to the Council and through one of its principal commissions—a document of the whole ecumenical movement. This distinction is very important."⁶

The request for "reception" signifies that "Christian churches have reached a new level of convergence."⁷ The "reception" of an important doctrinal text can be the result only of an advanced stage of ecumenical dialogue. It recalls the perspective of the church's ultimate conciliar fellowship; thus it is a kind of nostalgic remembrance of one of the fundamental characteristics of the apostolic Church in those past ages when church unity prevailed over heresies and schisms. Thus it reflects the desire of local churches for a double relationship, first to the one catholic-universal Church of which they are a part, and second to each other as church communities which are mutually renewed and strengthened by their common sharing in the apostolic tradition.

⁶ Jean M. R. Tillard, O.P., "BEM A Call for a Judgement upon the Churches and the Ecumenical Movement," *Mid-Stream*, 23, no. 3 (July, 1984) 234

⁷ Jeffrey Gros, "Baptism, Eucharist and Ministry Introduction," *Journal of Ecumenical Studies*, 21, no. 1 (Winter, 1984) 2

I. "Reception"—an ecclesiological interpretation on the basis of Scripture and Tradition

What is meant by "reception" in the Preface of the BEM document is certainly *not* identical with the term "reception" as applied to the decisions of the ancient ecumenical synods of the Church on a universal scale, before the schisms of the eleventh and sixteenth centuries. There are, however, some factors in the Bible, and in the praxis of the ancient churches which "received" the decisions of the ecumenical synods, which point to the common origins and purposes of these two different kinds of "reception."

Christian faith is principally a "receiving" event. It is centered either around the revelatory event in Christ, as God giving himself to man in order to be received by him (as is evident in the sacramental life, especially in the Eucharist, which is an act of God's offering his communion and man receiving it), or around the Word of God, which is to be "heard" and accepted by the believer. Faith is, in its nature, a receiving act, denoting a dependence of man upon the grace of God.

The Scriptures return again and again to this fundamental aspect of faith as a giving-receiving-thanksgiving, dialogical relationship between the triune God and man. John Zizioulas notes that Paul illustrates this truth by reminding his readers that they have received Jesus Christ (Col 2.6), and that he himself has first received the Gospel (1 Cor 15.1, Gal 1.9-12) and then "handed on" that which he received (especially in connection with the Eucharist, 1 Cor 11.33).⁸ This implies the obligation of *all* the faithful to "hand on" what they have received to others (2 Tim 2.2). In this process of "reception" in the biblical sense, there is neither compulsion or domination, nor a blind submission or obligation on the part either of God (the giver) or of man (the receiver). The *act* of reception is the operation of the Holy Spirit communicating, in full freedom, the grace given by Christ to all persons whom he wants to save, on the basis of their free decision. Evangelism and mission are the outcome of this free exchange, this giving and receiving without any sense of faith "imposing herself but rather offering herself to the world for reception."

In the biblical context one can further remark that "reception" is to be understood in the light of the trinitarian God as a *koinonia* of persons. Thus "reception" concerns distinctive persons among the faithful, but views them as members of the church community. It implies a personal decision to appropriate faith and grace as the *apostolic* faith, i.e., "reception" is a communal event which comes through the community of the historical Church. The Roman Catholic theologian Richard

⁸ John Zizioulas, "The Theological Problem of Reception," in *Centro Pro Unione*, 26 (Fall 1984) 4

Stewart writes: “Reception concerns our response to the Word, our making our own the Tradition, the apostolic faith.”⁹ It is, therefore, a communal event both as giving and as receiving, and it is through reception that one belongs to the divine communion and the human community of faith. It is these which give one’s life its ultimate meaning. “Reception” presupposes a communal act and leads to community.

Furthermore it empowers persons, as members of distinct communities of faith, to envisage and realize together the communion of the one Church, a communion which is experienced in local churches as they are reaffirmed by this process of giving-receiving the one faith by the one Spirit.¹⁰

It is on this basis in the Bible and the apostolic Church that “reception” became a crucial ecclesial act with a specific ecclesiological meaning: that local churches “receive” decisions on the basis of love and freedom and not of power and domination of their higher authoritative bodies, and above all of ecumenical synods speaking about the development and clarification of doctrine and of church life. “Reception,” then, appears to be a one-way traffic *from* above, from the dignitaries and the hierarchialized church structures *to* the people of God in the local church. In reality, however, “reception” in the historical life of the Church operates on the basis of this biblical-ecclesiological tradition of a *communal* origin, a communal transmission, and a communal reality of reception. It is in the light of the apostolic principle that “it pleased the Apostles and elders with the whole Church” (Acts 15.22). It intends to strengthen, develop and confirm the local church as part of the universal, catholic Church in realizing its vocation to become, through reception of the truth, the communion with and in God of all of those who believe in him by the same act of faith. That is why, speaking of communion in relationship with the operation of reception, one can observe that “evangelical koinonia is neither an unattainable ideal nor the peculiar vocation of some specific groups of baptized people. It is what all the churches have to achieve together to be honest to God.”¹¹

The important thing to notice is that “the factual reception in the ancient Church was conditioned by the fact that each local church is truly church and so can speak to the other churches and for the other churches since all live from the same Spirit who guides the decisions.”¹²

⁹ Richard Stewart, “What do the Churches do with Ecumenical Agreements?” *Centro Pro Unione*, 25 (Spring, 1894) 2.

¹⁰ John Zizioulas adds on this matter that “not any form of community is ecclesial community,” i.e., it is not “ecclesial community” if it lacks the one apostolic faith which it should both receive and transmit

¹¹ J. Tillard, “BEM,” p. 237

¹² Edward Kilmartin, *Journal of Ecumenical Studies*, 21 (1984), p. 48.

It has been said that “reception” is a relatively modern term to describe an ancient process by which a theological doctrine or decision of a council is acknowledged as valid by a local church or the Church universal.¹³ “Reception” in its classical meaning and praxis presupposes the reality of the Church universal as Catholic, and that the Church professes an interpretation of its doctrine through its representative councils. These councils mediate the operation of the Holy Spirit upon those gathered at the same place with one accord—i.e., in the Council—and those who receive conciliar decisions, i.e., the local churches as parts of the Church universal. It is precisely this presupposition, of course, which has been shaken in modern times by the schismatic church situation.

That is why in ancient times the process of reception occurred with remarkable simplicity, without requiring juridically normative bodies apart from those already functioning in a spiritual and pastoral way: the synods of bishops expressing the highest authority, which is the consciousness of the Church as catholic (i.e., both universal and local). As Liviu Stan writes, “Reception occurred, sooner or later spontaneously, not in an organized way with juridical forms of directives and by no means through a sort of general plebiscite. What is involved is rather another sort of plebiscite, which has its origin in the action of the Holy Spirit.”¹⁴

2. Reception in modern dialogical-ecumenical meaning

The term “reception,” therefore, in contemporary ecumenical language should be understood in a way which is different, but which was not entirely absent from the meaning and praxis of the ancient Church of the ecumenical councils. In ancient times also “reception” did not happen automatically, as a result of a one-way movement “from above.” Various councils were convened, but only seven were acknowledged as ecumenical. There are different types and processes of reception depending on what the local or universal church is invited to “receive”; there is a difference, for example, between receiving doctrines and “receiving” specific decisions about church life professed by canon law at a particular time. Thus we know that many canons voted by ecumenical councils were quietly modified or negated by the local churches, without this causing any trouble in the universal church community.

¹³Such wording was used by Commission members during the long process of shaping and re-shaping the Preface to BEM

¹⁴*Concerning the Church Acceptance of the Decisions of Ecumenical Synods in Councils and the Ecumenical Movement, WCC Studies, No 5, p 70.*

In reality, “receiving” is not an instant decision, but rather a long process. There is a kind of “maturation” of suggested new elements accompanied by a two-fold judgment: a “critical” one, testing whether what has been received is in harmony with the apostolic faith as this Church has received it, and a “practical” one, asking, “What should be done in and between the churches involved if they have found this faith context acceptable?”¹⁵ “Reception,” therefore, is not a once-for-all, fixed dogmatic stance demanding a blind and uncritical acceptance. “Reception” means a definite endorsement of certain basic doctrines which are self-evident parts of the one apostolic faith. But it also means exchange, for their mutual benefit, among the churches of spiritual gifts of grace which might edify them in their struggle to define further truth, and to initiate new common action in mission and service in the world or find striking new ways of interpreting the same faith and order of the one apostolic faith.

Everyone, regardless of confessional adherence, can see the recent dramatic developments in the ecumenical dialogue, and especially the growing community of churches working towards a conciliar fellowship through common prayer, diaconia, and witness. From this perspective one can observe—while recognizing the distinctive meaning and praxis of “reception” in the ancient Church and as we use the term today—that “the traditional mode of reception is not out of date. It has simply been readjusted.”¹⁶ Within the “new” koinonia of the churches, although in a schismatic situation, the word “reception” points to the fundamental common sharing in the one apostolic faith as it has been handed down to us as communities of faith, communities struggling to reinterpret their common heritage with new language, new emphases and new insights but always with a converging ethos, attitude and intention which has been acquired by their experience with the one ecumenical movement.

There are, today, different modes of understanding and practicing “reception.” This is due to the new church situation, which is neither that of the full communion and union of the ancient times (though, of course, there were local church bodies, or heretical groups, outside this communion right from the beginning of the historical life of the Church), nor that of total separation and polemic of the churches against each other. The ecumenical dialogue creates a new situation for understanding “reception” as co-edification, or mutual encouragement for the sake of the dynamic presence of the faith in a progressively de-Christianizing world, one which forces us to a common rethinking

¹⁵Richard Stewart, “Churches,” p. 5

¹⁶John Zizioulas, “The Theological Problem,” p. 6

of our one faith in Christ. This is especially true with the growing *fellowship* between the churches, as well as the formal schemes of church reunion and the bilateral dialogues as direct negotiations for re-establishing church unity.

We must be committed to remaining faithful to the Gospel and to our common apostolic tradition, to avoiding further centrifugal trends in our respective church communities, and must be open to further convergence. Given this, and applying this modern meaning of "reception," one can join in mutually receiving one another within the reality of the one apostolic faith. We do this by accepting new elements of interpretation in its expression—regardless of what particular church tradition we belong to. Concerning "new language," Richard Stewart reminds us that the essence of the act of faith for Roman Catholicism does not reside in terminology but in the essence of faith itself. He quotes Saint Thomas in his *Summa Theologiae*: "actus fidei non terminatur ad extuibile, sed ad rem." And concerning these "new insights," he quotes Vatican II, declaring that the Church must "constantly move forward towards the fullness of divine truth and with the help of the Holy Spirit . . . to a deeper realization and a clearer understanding of the unfathomable riches of Christ" (*Decr. Unitatis redintegratio*). In this connection he makes the pointed remark (as a Roman Catholic) that "we should not forget that the long period of division has not been empty or sterile."¹⁷

This long period of division amongst the churches is, indeed, not at all sterile and *only* negative for the renewal of church life and theology, especially ecclesiology. Thanks to the results of the ecumenical dialogue and of the ecumenical fellowship of churches in the WCC, we can cherish today a rich heritage of spiritual gifts of which BEM is their expression. This makes "reception" appear in a new meaning, a new form and praxis, as an ecclesial category of paramount importance for all churches struggling for the renewal of their life. Only in this way can we *benefit* from this period of simultaneous division (after the schism) and of ecumenical *dialogues*.

Thinking of "reception" on the basis of BEM and in relation to the results of ecumenical dialogue, it is remarkable how Roman Catholics view this document as a judgment upon the churches and the ecumenical movement insofar as "church communities are now confronted with new challenges . . . and a desire for profound reformation." They are "forced to look at the apostolic tradition with new eyes . . ." Because BEM is "an arrow at the crossroads pointing towards what has been discovered as the way to achieve this common faithfulness

¹⁷Richard Stewart, "Churches," p. 4

and by receiving this document the churches decide to give priority to the desire of the Spirit of God over their own fears.”¹⁸ In this sense for Roman Catholics as well as others, the suggestion of BEM for “reception” becomes a challenge to *all* churches, “inviting them to elaborate that which we can say together . . . taking into consideration the other dialogues that a church can establish or has already established with the other churches” and that “because of the complexity of the notion of reception and in order to have a real reception of an ecumenical convergence and a declaration of an ecumenical consensus, it is the heart itself of the ecclesial life which must be reached.”¹⁹

Reception, therefore, is implied by the converging elements that separated church communities can confirm together, in their ecumenical dialogue, as standing in the one apostolic faith. This kind of confirmation is not simply a scholastic-verbal one, but the concrete result of mutually-enriching emphases which are shared between the churches involved in ecumenical fellowship and dialogue. “The Baptist influence in the understanding of the theology of baptism is matched (in the BEM text) by an enriching Trinitarian pneumatological emphasis in the eucharist text contributed out of the riches of the Orthodox tradition . . . the community, which interprets church tradition is broadened so other aspects and riches of that tradition are brought into the picture, restoring balance and coherence to our understanding of our common tradition cradled in all our separated traditions.”²⁰

3. Reception as a process of receiving the experience of ecumenical dialogue

The real intention of the suggestion to present BEM for “reception” to the churches is not to have an immediate, full endorsement of the text as a kind of new common “confession” by the doctrinally-separated churches. That is why in the Preface of BEM this term “reception”—used in its modern meaning, in relation to the ongoing ecumenical dialogues—is clearly illustrated, developed and clarified by specifying, in four areas, what this “reception” means. These areas are first, whether the text makes us recognize the faith of the Church through the ages; second, the consequences of this text for inter-church relations and dialogues; third, the effect it can have in the actual life of the churches (worship-education-ethical and spiritual life and witness); and fourth, the suggestions that each church can offer for the

¹⁸J Tillard, “BEM,” pp 236-38

¹⁹E Lanne, O S B , “Le probleme de la réception par les Eglises,” *Oecumenisme*, 70 (1983) 33-34.

²⁰Mary Tanner, “BEM and the Community of Men and Women Study,” *Journal of Ecumenical Studies*, 21, no 1 (1984) 244

long-range research project "Towards the Common Expression of the Apostolic Faith."²¹

Thus it is evident that one speaks of "reception" as an act of recognition of something new that has happened, and is happening, among the churches as they converge towards the apostolic roots of their own faith. But this "recognition" means a new beginning for further growth together in the pre-suppositions and prerequisites for church unity by renewing church life, by applying the text in further ecumenical dialogues and finally by linking it with the next central topic of studies on the one apostolic faith. "Reception" here means a dynamic process of receiving and also bringing to life the spirit which is hidden behind the text, in order to advance towards unity through inner renewal, self-judgment and further commitment to the ecumenical dialogue.

By proposing "reception," the BEM text invites churches to move from their experience of ecumenical dialogue in the past, to affirm its value and importance, and to press towards new attempts in the same direction. Receiving, as a process, means that the doctrinal differences we have inherited from the past, and the differences which lead to special tensions for the Church in the contemporary world, should not be regarded as mutually exclusive for church communities engaged in different types of ecumenical dialogue. BEM appears to be both an effort to transcend the very old, violent struggles on crucial issues of ecclesiology by a maximum of common confessional statements in the areas of theory, praxis, liturgy, mission and service to the world and, at the same time, it opens a new horizon of further and more profound convergence on the way to "consensus" on matters of faith. This is "reception" as a receiving, dynamic process, a process not only of verbal confession but also, and mainly, of inner transformation and spiritual rehabilitation of church life in today's world. And this comes as a result of the growing church koinonia within the ecumenical movement.

That is why BEM has a particular significance at the present moment: it is offered to the churches for "reception" as a crystallized form of their ecumenical experience. Consequently Lucas Vischer writes: "The texts are no longer merely the common opinions of an international and ecumenical commission of theologians, but already represent the result of extended discussion with the churches. Thus the process of reception has entered a second phase."²²

²¹ *Baptism, Eucharist and Ministry*, Faith and Order Paper No. 111 (Geneva, 1982), Preface p. x.

²² Lukas Vischer, "The Process of Reception in the Ecumenical Movement," *Mid-Stream*, 23, no. 3 (July, 1984) 277.

This process is clearly indicated in the text of BEM, especially when it deals with the acute problems of radical disagreement between the churches. The results of the intense dialogues of the last six decades, and the experience of sharing in the life of the churches beyond confessional boundaries, are adequately expressed in the form of suggestions for further investigation and growth in agreement. The link between baptism and confirmation as chrismation, the dispute over baptism of children or adults, the disagreement about the real presence of Christ in the Eucharist, the episcopal and non-episcopal ministry, the sacerdotal and non-sacerdotal ministry, the individual and communal understanding of apostolic succession—all these problems are treated in a fresh way. This is the fruit of a deep and unshaken inner coherence which is deeply rooted in the consciousness of the transcending reality of the *one* tradition in the apostolic Church, a tradition which one has fully experienced as partners in an authentic ecumenical dialogue including faithfulness, loyalty and devotion both to one's own particular tradition and to the *koinonia* of the churches in the making.

By receiving in this sense, therefore, you are not forced to create "consensus" by betraying your own confessional status or abandoning your particular approach in matters of faith—thus relativizing it for the sake of a confessional syncretism. In reality you are invited to confirm the importance of belonging together with others who stand in the same apostolic tradition. However, this kind of "reception," which has to be distinguished from a simple "response," definitely signifies that one is willing and open to accept the fact that there are ways of approaching the truth and reality of faith other than one's own, and that it can be expressed in different ways. This, of course, is provided that there is no contradiction with the biblical and church tradition, no modifying of the essence and application of this truth in church life so that one no longer recognizes it as church faith and *praxis*. Certainly the demarcation line on this basic issue is not and cannot be clear; but one should not, on account of this difficulty, refrain from clearly defining the *limits* of openness to new concepts as we seek to advance in "consensus" by the method of convergence as is illustrated in BEM. Edward J. Kilmartin very appropriately remarks that "reception as an ecclesiological reality implies the formation of corporate openness which takes place through bearers of reception who may be juridical or non-juridical authorities. When a significant spiritual good is newly introduced into a global perception of the life of faith and thereby begins to affect the practice of the faith a new synthesis of understanding and practice of the faith is initiated."²³

²³Edward J. Kilmartin, *Journal of Ecumenical Studies*, 21 (1984) 37

To exemplify this approach we could refer to the most disputed item of this convergence document, i.e., the section on Ministry. From the Orthodox point of view the old disagreements with the evangelical-Protestant attitude still persist; but one does not find in the text the same old-fashioned polemical phrases, and this allows us to discover new ways of meeting each other. Thus it is not absolutely clear in the text whether the personal, ministerial priesthood differs in nature from the general priesthood of all Christians, or whether priestly ordination is clearly a sacramental enacting and representing of the priesthood of Christ or just a sacramental act of *ministerial* ordination, which comes as an “order” directly from God. The question can be raised: for transmitting the apostolic tradition of the church and the fullness of the apostolic faith, does BEM consider the episcopal, sacerdotal ministry *together with* personal succession to be essential and absolutely necessary?

On the other hand, even given this difficult problematic persisting in BEM, its “openness” for converging elements (including adopting well-known Orthodox terminology) allows us to trace promising new approaches towards a better mutual understanding in the future. This is in *addition* to the already clear consensus achieved in many areas: the ordained ministry as essential for the church, for building the body of Christ, and for celebrating sacraments; the ministry of “*épiscopé*” as needed in the Church, the ministry as it developed historically into a threefold pattern, etc. The distinction of the special ministry is approved, but not yet sufficiently defined; ministry is identified with presiding at the eucharist; it is appropriate to refer to ordained ministers as priests, because they fulfill a priestly service in imitation of Christ; episcopal succession is important for the Church to remain in the apostolic Tradition; ordination is sacramental in nature; invocation of the Spirit and laying on of hands is an important historical sign in the act of ordination and should be recovered by those churches that do not have it; ordination is unrepeatable; a genuine ministry of Christ and the charisms of the Spirit are present in the ministry of the major Christian churches today and are recognizable as such.²⁴

The reference to the most difficult issue of BEM should convince the reader that there are indeed new dialectical approaches to key issues, and the aim of advancing towards new consensus. It is hardly surprising that the text does not immediately convince the Protestant-presbyterian church communities that episcopal ministry is absolutely

²⁴I select these points from the list presented by Joseph F. Egan, S J , in his article, “Ordained Ministry in BEM. A Theological Critique,” *Mid-Stream*, 23, no 3 (July, 1984) 290-91

necessary for the Church; but BEM does urge the non-episcopal churches to "recover the sign of the episcopal succession."²⁵

It is inevitable on this basis to speak of a "revitalization" of the understanding of ministry, following the general scheme and the spirit of the text as one of convergence and for the renewal of church life as a whole. BEM makes the point: "The truth of the Gospel could only be present through prophetic and charismatic leaders . . . reforms required a special ministry" (Ministry 33).

BEM does not give "partial positions" which are defended as pro-Catholic or pro-Protestant. Reading the text one can, of course, isolate phrases and judge the whole text on this basis. But this is an inappropriate way to read it and to understand the special meaning of "reception" which is signified and requested by it. As a matter of fact, one who recognizes the insistence of BEM on ordination as a kind of sacramental act, or on episcopal ministry, or on the threefold ministry as positive elements for the unity of the Church can arrive at the conclusion that the text betrays a philo-sacramental, philo-Catholic and especially philo-Orthodox attitude. Indeed many critical voices on the side of the Protestant world would agree with this.

As Orthodox we must admit that, as Joseph F. Egan, S.J. writes, "Non-episcopal churches could rightly object that far more is being asked of them than of episcopal churches."²⁶ He defends the thesis further that the Ministry text "is convinced that the best and perhaps only basis for mutual recognition of ministry and eventual union is precisely to recover the so-called Catholic values and practices of the early undivided Church."²⁷

We should not seek here in the text a "partial position," but rather note the elements which *have been* recognized, by those whose lack of them in their church life is hindering them from contributing essentially to the maintenance of that unity of the Church which is given by the Spirit. Here what we called to "receive," as the result of the ecumenical fellowship and dialogues, is an invitation to self-criticism with regard to elements which are lacking, or distorted, or others which are exaggerated in the cause of "unity and renewal." The request of BEM for "reception" is an appeal to all of the churches to examine themselves in the light of the urgent need for reunion and renewal. One must become critical of one's own stances to ask whether they are, by their one-sided, non-dialogical attitudes, unnecessary hindrances on the road

²⁵See *Baptism, Eucharist and Ministry*, Faith and Order Paper No 111 (Geneva, 1982), Ministry 53

²⁶Joseph F. Egan, "Ordained Ministry," p. 297

²⁷Ibid , p 301

to unity. Father J. Egan again gives us an example by questioning his own Roman Catholic tradition which, of course, must have a serious objection against BEM since there is no reference to the so-called "Petrine Ministry." Indeed, without this there can be no full debate on Ministry for this tradition. Egan says that "were the Roman Catholic Church to fail to act on the consensus achieved in the bilateral dialogues and the issues raised in BEM and particularly in the Ministry text, she might find herself in the unenviable position of blocking further progress towards unity at the very time the Reformation churches are showing strong desire for unity and a willingness to move closer to the Catholic Church and thus unwittingly letting the *kairos* of this stage of the ecumenical moment pass by. It is no secret that, as Pope Paul VI so candidly said: 'The Pope, as we well know, is undoubtedly the gravest obstacle in the path of ecumenism,' so there are those today who consider the Roman Catholic Church a major obstacle to meaningful progress towards church unity despite its truly great contribution through the theological dialogues."²⁸

This kind of self-judgment, while one remains faithful to one's own church tradition, is inherent in the process of reception of BEM within the experience of the ecumenical dialogues. Of course some theologians in all of the churches will oppose "reception" in this self-critical sense of opening themselves to new ecumenical perspectives. This may be because of their strict adherence to the *grammata* of their confessional statements or juridical canonical structures and laws, or because they have not been exposed to ecumenical fellowship, dialogue or mutual spiritual edification with other Christians outside their own tradition. They will accuse BEM of being syncretistic or radically pro-Protestant, or (which is most usual today) unduly pro-Catholicizing and philo-Orthodox.

This criticism cuts across all present denominational barriers, creating a trans-confessional reactionary group motivated by completely different or even opposed theological premises, from extreme free-church Protestantism to the most rigid Orthodoxy, but all marked by the same anti-ecumenical zeal. This is either because they have been deprived of authentic ecumenical dialogues, or they have misunderstood them as betraying church tradition by attempting an amalgamation of doctrines for the sake of illegitimate "consensus." They will consequently urge their church authorities either to repudiate BEM, or to respond and comment only for the sake of defending a particular position. This may be defending the rights of the Reformation and saving it from an eventual absorption within sacramental Catholicism; or

²⁸Ibid , p 304

safeguarding the uniqueness of Roman Catholicism and saving it from revolutionary Protestant elements which would disrupt the solid, inner disposition of the Roman Catholic Church; or, finally, preserving unchanged the holy ancient tradition of Orthodoxy and saving it from the “ecumenist’s betrayal” which surrenders the purity and accuracy of the Orthodox faith, turning it into a weak liberal stance to accommodate “modernism.”

At the same time, however, there is another trans-confessional group which is growing along with texts like BEM. This group is composed of those who share in the results of ecumenical dialogues, learning to respect more seriously their own tradition, but also listening to the voices of others who are partners in the common struggle for unity, for which each works by renewing the life of their own church. They are looking forward to a continuous and progressive development of genuine efforts towards building a worldwide conciliar fellowship of the one Church, based on Word, Tradition and Sacrament and centered on the Eucharist and the kerygma, in diakonia to the world and its renewal. This Orthodox-evangelical-catholicity will keep urging all church authorities of all confessional families not only to respond and comment on, but also to “receive,” BEM as a process of growth in the one apostolic Church through honest self-examination and self-judgment.

4. *Orthodoxy facing the reception of BEM*

The Orthodox Church in particular has to “receive” BEM as the fruit of ecumenical dialogues up to this point, dialogues in which she has actively participated right from the beginning. The Lima document makes manifest, more than ever before, the positive Orthodox contribution in the realm of ecclesiology. The Orthodox involvement in the Commission of Faith and Order goes right back to 1927. In BEM, the trinitarian theology with its emphasis on pneumatology and charismatic approach to sacramental theology centered around the eucharist as the sacrament of the Church *par excellence*, a respect for apostolic tradition as it has been handed down throughout the centuries to the Church, an eschatological faith in the Risen Lord as the head of the Body—all these are evident signs of the central role that the Orthodox have played in the ecumenical dialogues within the fellowship of the churches. It would be a great pity if the majority of the Orthodox Churches decide to abdicate at this crucial moment and only respond from “a distance,” criticizing, on the basis of a one-sided scholastic dogmatic and comparative theology, what they have achieved as active and responsible partners with theologians of other churches, who have carefully listened to the Orthodox voice and given to the Orthodox contribution its appropriate prominent place.

We have to admit that, more than other church communities, the Orthodox ones suffer from a discouraging *ambivalent* ecumenical attitude. The ecumenical movement to a great extent remains for them still a rather foreign and imported "Protestant" ideology, and the "ecumenist" appears somehow to be a strange figure. The ecumenical dialogues, and even more the ecumenical fellowship, are restricted within hierarchical structures affecting only a small circle of specialists, or specially interested people, who have no access to the great masses of the Orthodox, especially in the ancient Orthodox mother Churches of the East. Under these circumstances it is certain that for most of the Orthodox Churches BEM cannot be authentically "received" in the manner described above, and that there will be no effective process of "reception" as described by the four questions of the Preface to BEM.

In this respect the situation is almost hopeless. This is because our Churches have not been really exposed to ecumenism and are not employing the appropriate channels. Furthermore, in most cases the Churches are not open to ecumenical developments and are deprived of the ecumenical ethos necessary to "receive" such a document, and to act accordingly, as consistent members of the ecumenical fellowship, allowing it to persuade the hearts and minds both of the lay faithful and of the whole of the priesthood in the parishes.²⁹

Representing the correct Orthodox approach in this respect, Alekos Papaderos, the Director of the Orthodox Academy in Crete, Greece, writes: "Even if such a universal consensus were to be achieved at the highest level of authority competent here, it would have a real chance only if it were to fill the heart and conscience of the shepherds and the faithful with the assurance that doctrinal differences of a kind which were fundamental and strong enough to separate us from the love of Christ and from communion with him and with one another no longer existed. The only way to prepare a consensus of this kind and to make the way for such an assurance is for synods, church authorities, congregations, theological colleges, church mass media, our Christian education and our daily dealings with human beings who differ from us in faith and in thought to be filled and directed by the Spirit and by the style and breadth of approach of the Lima text, i.e., by the eucharistic experience of God, of the fellow human being, and of the world."³⁰

²⁹ See for this issue the excellent article by Alekos Papaderos: "Some Thoughts on Reception Not Forgetting the People and Life," especially the section: "A Reception Which Does Not Bypass the Pleroma of the Church," *Mid-Stream*, 23, no 1 (January, 1984) 50-63

³⁰ *Ibid* , p 63.

These correct suggestions express fully the authentic Orthodox spirit or ethos, and the tradition which fights for truth in love and loves others in truth, not imprisoning itself in the *gramma* which kills the spirit, all the while being based on sound and unshaken Orthodox principles identical with those of the one undivided, holy, catholic and apostolic Church. Unfortunately these suggestions appear for many Orthodox leaders wishful thinking and a utopia, if not a heretical approach of some "ecumenists." For Father Thomas Hopko, the Orthodox are "overwhelmingly positive to BEM because they find the statement both in spirit and content to be simply a very good one, and Orthodox commentators generally believe what is said, and find the way it is said to be basically sacred and right and . . . the document presents a view of baptism, eucharist and ministry with which the Orthodox can for the most part heartily agree." But I am afraid that Father Hopko is expressing the real situation when he writes: "The greatest anxiety found among Orthodox commentators of the Lima text is that some churches will not treat it at all seriously, because they consider the issues with which it deals to be secondary and unimportant . . . and will prove themselves to be unable to respond to BEM as churches and others which may do so merely in a formal manner, but also that others may treat the whole effort with indifference, cynicism or outright contempt."³¹

This remark refers to recipient churches in general, but I am afraid that it may be valid for the majority of the Orthodox ones, and especially their authorities at this moment. This would not only be the result of their ignorance of, or indifference towards, ecumenical dialogues but comes also from a kind of introverted theology carried out by theologians who, because of their defensive non-Orthodox scholastic conservatism, become the only spokesmen of their Churches and have access to both church leadership structures and to church people, and affect both of these categories negatively on the delicate matter of ecumenical dialogue.

There is, on the one hand, a reformed liberalism, expressed by well-known theologians as individuals, not in agreement with the consciousness of their church. This results in a kind of anti-sacramental attitude, and therefore to a cynical stance towards BEM, because "it says so many and big words and things in praising sacraments, that one may think and understand that the fullness, validity and glory of the work of Christ needs the assistance of clergy in order to become effective. . . ." And further, referring to the use of the biblical verse "Great is the mystery of faith" (1 Tim 3.16) by BEM and the Lima

³¹ Thomas Hopko, "The Lima Statement and the Orthodox," *The Search for Visible Unity*, ed. Jeffrey Gros (New York, 1984), pp. 55 and 57

Liturgy (para 22), there is the comment: “It is less to Christ that this refers than to the miraculous change of bread and wine” and that the treatment of Ministry “points in a direction which does not exclude a claim of monopoly.”³²

There is, on the other hand, a false Orthodox conservatism which arrives at the same stance regarding the reception of BEM. This generalizes on the basis of an abstract notion of “Protestantism” using individual, reformed liberalism as the only criterion of “Protestant” faith and lumping all churches of the Reformation into one anti-sacramental confession—as if this represented the entire body of churches which stand over against the Orthodox as partners in the ecumenical movement.

It is not extraordinary that such an Orthodox theologian cannot advise his Church to “receive” the document. His criticism uses the ecclesiological issue to disqualify all of the non-Orthodox churches as non-churches, and all of their sacraments as having no status of ecclesial meaning and validity whatsoever, finding the use of the term “church” in BEM “irritating” and finally remarking for all of them together that “without sacerdotal ministry and apostolic succession there is no Church and consequently there is no holy Eucharist.”³³ It is evident that, on this base, the “ecumenical” suggestion to the Orthodox Church authorities regarding BEM’s reception is simply “not to reject it,” because it is “useful for the tragically-divided Protestant world” (and what has the Orthodox rejection or acceptance to do with the use or rejection of the text by the Protestants?). This attitude forgets that the text has been produced and endorsed unanimously by Roman Catholics and Orthodox and Anglican Church representatives, following the comments of their official church bodies, which are not in union and communion amongst themselves even though they do have sacraments, sacramental sacerdotal episcopé, and apostolic succession fully recognized between the first two, and partly recognized between them and the third church communion.

Certainly in both of these cases one cannot expect or even speak of “reception” of BEM as the result of ecumenical dialogues and current common ecumenical church life, work, prayer, and mission. It is a great pity that these two examples are followed by many church leaders and theologians who have ecumenical experience, but are deprived of

³² Markus Barth, “Fragen und Erwagungen zu den Lima-Papieren,” *Kirchenblatt für die reformierte Schweiz*, No. 20 (1984), p. 324.

³³ See G. Konidaris, “The Catholic Orthodox Facing the Three Texts of the World Council of Churches and of the Proposal of Lima,” *Symposium for Archbishop Seraphum*, p. 333 (in Greek).

a right evangelical or genuine Orthodox ecumenical vision. It is astonishing how these two extremes of radical liberalism and false conservatism meet together and “exploit” each other as they face the complicated affair of receiving a text like BEM resulting from present-day ecumenical dialogue. They help each other in caricaturing the use of the term “church” by BEM, and the ecumenical movement as a whole as well as its sacramental approach. For the one extreme position, the use of the term is due to an abuse of the sacrament; for the other, a false application of it. In both cases the text becomes non-receivable and, of course, “dangerous” for church life and theology. It is too “liberal” (as non-sacramental) for a rigid Orthodox-conservative, and it is too clerical-sacramentalistic for a radical Reformed. Such strangely similar attitudes can certainly not be satisfied by BEM. They are, however, bypassed by this same text of BEM, and transcended by a new attitude which invites the churches to a self-affirmation through their readiness to remain open to a new perspective in interpreting church divisions, evaluating them in new ways suggested by this text in order gradually and carefully to overcome them.

5. Reception and self-affirmation in Orthodoxy

Reflecting, therefore, on the Orthodox Churches in connection with the reception of BEM one has to suggest respectfully to them that, along with the expression of their dogmatic position they should also reflect self-critically upon their own life. It is appropriately observed by an Orthodox theologian: “How can the Orthodox demand from others for the sake of recognition what it does not demand from its own members, not only in practice but also in theory”³⁴ (with a view to Eucharist being the center of church life without however implying frequent communion, infant baptism without a firm community life and the parents’ faith, the incorrect application of functions of church authorities without lay participation, lack of collegiality within the one Priesthood, etc.)? Here one does not oppose Orthodoxy to orthopraxy, thus shifting the ecclesiological issue to ethical categories. Rather one refers to the self-identity of the Orthodox on the crucial matters of ecclesiology. This must be examined as the Orthodox exclude other churches from having the ecclesial nature and character which they profess, and from the ecumenical fellowship—that is, disqualifying the essence and life of their church as well as their mission, evangelism and devotion, their very identity as churches! This is to refuse to acknowledge their generations of believers in the past, as well as their present dynamic presence in today’s world.

³⁴Thomas Hopko, “The Lima Statement,” p. 61

It would have been, in other words, a fatal mistake and self-denial on the part of the Orthodox if they had rejected BEM, or repudiated it theologically by criticizing it in a radical destructive way, precisely at the moment when there are such critical voices on the side of radical reformed theologians, because for them the text reveals a strong catholicizing ecclesiology. Friedrich Beisser raises the question "whether (in BEM) space is left for evangelical Christendom . . ." urging "Protestant theology to see the dangers of an uncritical coincidence of God and Church."³⁵ Eilert Herms also shows "where the Lima text on ordained ministry contradicts the Lutheran tradition. . . . the center of the conflict is the Lima doctrine of ordination as sacrament which is wholly unacceptable from a Lutheran point of view."³⁶ P. Buhler, finally, remarks in the same direction : "On the sacrament and the ministries the text is characterized by its very great concern to respect tradition. It envisages reestablishing a clericalism which is rather anachronistic in view of the modern situation."³⁷

We Orthodox must reflect very carefully, reasoning theologically in a spirit of self-criticism, receiving, answering and commenting upon BEM. And in the way in which we respond to BEM we face the risk of betraying ourselves. The manner through which we shall, or shall not receive BEM, in the light of past and current ecumenical dialogues, will demonstrate where we stand as Orthodox, i.e., how consistent and serious we are about Orthodoxy being the *center* of the ecumenical movement and one of its main founders as the church of and for unity *par excellence*. In particular we will show whether we are able to discern the times and grasp our own existence as the Church catholic and apostolic in unbroken continuity, authentically rooted in her life and thought. The "reception" of BEM will be for all churches, but especially for the Orthodox, the testing ground of their own self-identity. Do we really want church reunion? Are we ready to deny our self-sufficiency and accept the risk to change what has conditioned and limited Orthodox openness and the ecumenicity of our patristic theology? Are we ready to incorporate in our thought and actions anything concrete that has occurred, any event or experience in our life as a person and as Church, during these last sixty years of ecumenical participation and dialogue?

Nicolas Lossky, dealing as an Orthodox with the Lima text in this way and trying to answer its challenge for a self-critical approach on

³⁵ Thesen zur Konvergenzerklärung über "Taufe, Eucharistie, Amt," *Kerygma und Dogma*, (1985/1), p. 32.

³⁶ "Stellungnahme zum dritten Teil des Lima-Dokumentes. Amt," *ibid*, p. 96

³⁷ "Un point de vue critique," *Etudes Théologiques et Religieuses*, 1984, p. 530

the part of the churches when receiving it, raises the question: "To which *metanoia* is the Lima text inviting the Orthodox Church?" He remarks: "This text, as does the whole of the ecumenical movement, strongly reminds the Orthodox Church of her vocation to permanent conversion to Orthodoxy, understood as the fulness of life in Christ. The *metanoia* is not a momentary act but a 'turning' which implies a permanent attitude of being impelled toward union by the submission of the human will to the divine will."³⁸

In receiving BEM, we reconfirm our own ecumenicity in theory and praxis in a consistent way in accepting that ecumenicity concerns the authenticity of Orthodoxy, that the unity of the church is our primary concern, and that Orthodox renewal today depends also upon our active sharing in ecumenical work and dialogue. Reception is a long process of church life in reconstruction together with the other church communities, and not simply a "yes" or "no" statement by institutional authorities. It is only in the consistent praxis of the churches acting together as one spiritual community in today's world that this kind of reception is going to be realized. After such long and comprehensive theological work done within the Faith and Order Commission and the ecumenical dialogue as a whole, our praxis is surely the proof of the authenticity of our ecumenicity. Jurgen Moltmann makes the right remark: "At the present time, ecumenical theology seems to be and to have developed to a point from which it can make no further headway unless there are changes in the churches' praxis."³⁹

Certainly BEM is not a perfect document and we must guard ourselves from all kinds of ecumenical triumphalism. It has many deficiencies and for the Orthodox it is subject to criticism in several of its theses, concerning for example the link between baptism and confirmation, the exact reference to the real presence of Christ in the elements of the eucharist, the full description of the sacerdotal episcopal ministry and the unreserved affirmation of the "personal" apostolic succession. All Orthodox who have accepted and appreciated it have clearly shown this by their critical but at the same time appreciative remarks. This is evident because BEM is not an Orthodox, Protestant or Catholic confession.

There are already such constructive Orthodox criticisms which appreciate the positive contribution of the Lima text as a genuine effort towards reunion. This criticism indicates that the Orthodox Churches can be appreciative of the convergence achieved by BEM. They can,

³⁸Nicholas Lossky, "A quelle 'metanoia' le texte de Lima appelle-t-il l'Eglise Orthodoxe?" *Unité des Chrétiens*, No 57, 1985, p 23

³⁹*What Kind of Unity?* Faith and Order Paper No 82 (Geneva, 1977), p 39

therefore, respond to it positively even while expressing their critical comments and envisaging a long process of "reception" in the future. We find an example of such constructive criticism in the special issue of *St. Vladimir's Theological Quarterly*, Vol. 27, No. 4, 1983. In the editorial we read: "The Orthodox impact upon the document is universally seen as very substantial, if not decisive."⁴⁰ It refers to the frequent complaint that the Orthodox participation in ecumenical debates is often reduced to useless attempts at influencing the Protestant majority" and the editorial adds: "This time the influence is there; the document contains a sacramental understanding of the Church, respect for and reference to the faith of the Church throughout the ages, a definition of the episcopate as normative for the apostolic ministry, etc."⁴¹

In this critical-appreciative attitude the reader encounters a series of positive statements like: "That many non-episcopal, less traditional, and less sacramental Christian churches seem prepared to approve much of the Lima statement appears to many from the Orthodox and Catholic tradition to be nothing short of a sensational ecumenical advance."⁴² Regarding the section on the Eucharist we read further the observation of Vladimir Berzonsky: "So much of the work represents solid Orthodox doctrine and practice, reflecting . . . input from those with such classical liturgical perspectives."⁴³ George Bebis adds, "The document is of an ecumenical nature and tries hard to achieve a common understanding, a common thinking and feeling on this sacrament of sacraments; in that connection the Lima statement is a great contribution toward a common bond of love and understanding and rapprochement."⁴⁴ Alkiviadis Calivas, in dealing with the section on Baptism, makes several critical remarks—the document is fond of using "sign" for "sacrament" or "mystery," the defeat of Satan is not clearly stated in Baptism, the question of infant baptism in connection with chrismation, etc. But as an Orthodox he praises the document because "despite its several deficiencies, it presents some exciting possibilities for an interesting dialogue both for those who share a more common belief and for those who may disagree or be further apart on one or more issues. . . . The Orthodox can adopt its outline while adapting its content, to present the essential teachings of the Church on the mysteries of baptism and chrismation. It is also an effective tool for

⁴⁰See *St. Vladimir's Theological Quarterly*, 27, No 4, 237

⁴¹Ibid , 223

⁴²James Jorgenson, "Reflections on the Lima Statement," *ibid.*, p. 249.

⁴³"BEM, A Pastor's View," *ibid* , 253

⁴⁴"The Lima Statement on the Eucharist," *ibid.*, 271.

exposing mature Orthodox Christians to the views of others.”⁴⁵ Finally, Robert Stephanopoulos in examining the section on the Ministry writes: “The statement goes far beyond the previous method of comparative ecclesiology, placing the issue of ministry in a total trinitarian, ecclesiological and sacramental setting. This certainly supports the Orthodox insistence on a proper theological, ecclesiological and eucharistic approach to the issue of ministries, as well as to the often misunderstood Orthodox firmness against inter-communion as a means rather than the end of visible unity. . . .” Further he remarks that “the ministry (for the BEM text) of the *episcopé* in particular is necessary to express and safeguard the unity of the body. This is not an unqualified endorsement of the threefold pattern of ministry, to be sure. Nevertheless, it provides a strong affirmation of the practice of the early Church as understood by the Orthodox and gives strong endorsement to the resolution of this aspect of the recognition of ministries against the polemical background of the Middle Ages. Thus papalism, presbyterianism and congregationalism as extreme positions are rejected as visible options of church order in a mutually recognized ministry.”⁴⁶

Such a critical appreciation of the document illustrates the ethos of “reception” of the BEM text. Such “reception” will express Orthodox ecclesial consciousness and Orthodox theology while bearing in mind that this document, representing the results of the ecumenical dialogues, does not pretend to be a new credal form and, therefore, does not expect “reception” in its traditional canonical meaning. Rather it is offered to the churches as reflecting their *own* converging trends in doctrine as a result of their ecumenical dialogical relationship and as an instrument toward their future consensus.

An example also in this respect can be found in the common declaration of the Orthodox and Roman Catholic Consultative Group in the United States of America, presided over by Metropolitan Silas and Bishop A. O’Neill and published in *Episkepsis*, No. 326, January 1985, pp. 11-16. Further, a remarkable constructive response can be found in the critical-appreciative remarks of the Faith and Order Advisory Group of the Anglican Church. After a long, systematic and detailed critical survey of the BEM text (very instructive also for the Orthodox!) one can read in the conclusions: “We recognize in the Lima text . . . the faith of the Church through the ages. The group is thankful for the remarkable theological convergence registered in all three texts and believes that it will be possible . . . to move further towards that consensus necessary to support the visible unity of the Church in one faith

⁴⁵“The Lima Statement on Baptism,” *ibid* , 261

⁴⁶“The Lima Statement on Ministry,” *ibid* , 277

and one eucharistic fellowship expressed in worship and common life in Christ, in order that the world might believe.”⁴⁷

6. “Reception” as a pointer to future ecumenical growth on the basis of “ecclesiality”

To clarify further the issue of “reception” of BEM it is helpful to define other terms which are closely related to “reception.” The well-known Roman Catholic theologian Yves Congar helps us in this respect by suggesting the following distinctions: “*Convergence*: this is more a matter of a dynamism towards a goal than of a substantial agreement. *Agreed statement*: agreement on a particular point, leaving more or less profound differences in others. *Consensus or Full Agreement*: a total agreement at least in context, if not in expression. *Substantial Agreement*: this relates to a basic nucleus without which the message of salvation is not transmitted in its integrity, while accepting that neither doctrinal elaboration nor practice correspond among the partner churches. The essentials are assured and there is the same shared intention of faith.”⁴⁸

Using these terms one could say that “reception” in the case of BEM is meant in the direction and spirit of the last definition, i.e., “substantial agreement,” and that it presupposes both “convergence” and “agreed statements” and envisages, for the future, a continuing growth towards “consensus” or “full agreement.” When, therefore, the churches are invited to “receive” this text, it is not demanded that they endorse it either as a confession of faith or as a consensus statement of full agreement. (The Preface of BEM clearly indicates that it is not yet a “consensus,” thus helping us to avoid a misunderstanding.) The churches are, rather, respectfully asked to accept BEM as representing a nucleus of substantial agreement on the fundamental essentials of the apostolic faith, and to recognize that it will be fruitful for the churches’ further progress towards reaching church reunion in the future.

An unwritten presupposition definitely lies behind the Lima text. This is the idea that, while accepting the concept of the limits of the Church, following its confessional identity or clear canonical definitions, one recognizes that there is a kind of “ecclesiality” that churches do share in their ecumenical fellowship, on the basis of essential elements of the biblical notion of *Ecclesia*.

These elements are the common belief of all of the churches that

⁴⁷ *Towards a Church of England Response to BEM and ARCIC* (London, 1985), p 103.

⁴⁸ Yves Congar, “Diversity and Communion,” SCM Press 1984, p 140, quoted in *Towards a Church of England Response to BEM and ARCIC*, p 8

there is but one catholic and apostolic Church, and that we must remain rooted in this one church while seeking visible organic unity, understood and practiced in full union and communion; that this Church, throughout the centuries, has been marked by the one apostolic creed embodied in the Nicene-Constantinopolitan formula; that as basic and indispensable sacraments for salvation we must accept baptism in the name of the Holy Trinity (including confirmation) and the eucharist; that the eucharist must be administered by a specially ordained ministry in communal and personal unbroken succession from the Apostles, as keeping and manifesting the historic unbroken continuity of the Church (even if this is not, for the moment, accepted on the basis of episcopal, sacerdotal priestly identity as it should be according to the Orthodox catholic faith); and, finally, the life of the Church as it is expressed by church communities in evangelism, witness, mission and diakonia in the world in the name of Christ and by the invocation of the Spirit. This kind of "ecclesiality" seems to me an essential presupposition for understanding the basis of ecumenical dialogues and their converging reports, and, in particular the text of BEM and the type of "reception" that the WCC is asking from the churches. For a more elaborated exposition of the notion of "ecclesiality" see my essay: "Die Zugehörigkeit zur Kirche nach orthodoxe Verstandnis."⁴⁹

Certainly the ecumenical situation is in many respects discouraging and does not allow for any easy optimism. I know very well how difficult it is for an Orthodox to experience theological and ecumenical fellowship with the principle of the Church as "*semper reformanda*" when this is represented by radical reformed theologians and some Protestant church communities which are centered exclusively on the principle of the Word of God, understood in a unilateral sense as opposing church tradition as a joint criterion of apostolic faith along with the biblical heritage. Certainly a great part of Protestantism seems, in the Orthodox perspective—and rightly so—to be centrifugal, always adopting new stances which are further away from the center, while the Orthodox believe that they are approaching the center. Certainly much of Protestantism is always insisting, in an intense way, of new practices in the church (such as the ordination of women), thus rendering agreement more difficult for the Orthodox. But, as Orthodox, we must always remember that this is not the *whole* of the ecumenical movement, and that of course this attitude does not represent the whole of Protestantism dominating the whole of ecumenical dialogue, as some

⁴⁹"Die Zugehörigkeit zur Kirche nach orthodoxe Verstandnis," in the symposium edited by P. Meinhold, *Das Problem der Kirchengliedschaft heute* (Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1979), pp. 366-91

Orthodox, in their criticism of the WCC and their total rejection of the usefulness of the ecumenical dialogues seem to believe. Certainly as Orthodox we find problems in other churches. These are due either to facile generalizations, or because of a basic element which is missing in other churches, or because there is a false application in the realm of ministry (i.e., the papal application of the Petrine ministry). BEM, in reality, is inviting the churches to go deeper together into the substance of the apostolic faith and its experience in the life of the Church throughout the ages. A Roman Catholic theologian, John Coventry, S.J., shows how to grasp this deeper reference of BEM in such delicate matters. The Lima text, when dealing with the ministry, avoids speaking of "orders," preferring to speak of "charisma." This is, of course, closer to the Eastern than to the Western Church tradition. Referring to this, he makes the constructive remark: "And if orderly transmission of powers is no longer considered essential for the validity of a ministry, the way would appear to be open for recognition of and cooperation with Western ministries. The role of the papacy would then be seen primarily in terms of responsibility for the unity of the Church."⁵⁰

In addition we must be aware that inter-church relationships are also underdeveloped and inspire no optimism because of the frequent absence of a proper ecumenical zeal and action on the part of ecclesiastical authorities and constituencies. Thus BEM "descends upon" a variety of frustrated and frustrating church bodies and theological circles which lack appropriate ecumenical experience and appreciation of what "reception" could mean today in light of such a document. The former Director of the Faith and Order Commission, Professor W. Lazareth, faces this discrepancy with his humorous remark: "Canonically to receive is the highest form of church reaction, while parliamentarily to receive is precisely the lowest. This is our challenge and opportunity: the eager doctrinal hens have come home to roost among very nervous and inexperienced juridical roosters, and no one is quite sure just how much egg is going to end up in whose face."

Thus BEM, received not as an isolated text but one which incorporates the results of ecumenical dialogues, signifies a breakthrough of particular importance for the ecumenical movement in the area of ecclesiology from an ecumenical perspective. The beginning has been made, regardless of difficult ecumenical relations and of some frustrating local church situations, where the ecumenical task is faced with hesitation and reluctance. It is a text for realization in the long-

⁵⁰John Coventry, S.J., "The Lima Report Responses to Baptism, Eucharist and Ministry," *One in Christ*, (1984/1), p 7

term future. It is a hopeful sign now for a long process of regathering, through new perspectives on ecclesiology, the separated churches. In spite of its deficiencies as they appear only too plainly to the critical reader today, the coming generations will cherish its effects gladly.

This must be our hope in order to continue our work with perseverance, defeating pessimism and the attitudes of ecumenical indifference. We will be encouraged by the preliminary stage of consensus already achieved, and above all by invoking the Spirit of God who is the Spirit of reception insofar as he is the Spirit of newness and renewal in the Church and the world. If we are really honest and right in our efforts, the Paraclete, the Spirit of truth will forward, strengthen and perfect this kind of dynamic “reception” in the churches from now on into the future.

We may finally conclude that “reception” is proposed to the churches by the constitution of the WCC because the BEM document is regarded by them as the result of its fellowship of churches and of the ecumenical dialogues of the last six decades. It included in its drafting process the maximum ecumenical representation possible today, transcending even its own membership. “Reception” means that the churches can recognize in this text the fullest statement possible today of their common action on crucial issues now separating them in the realm of ecclesiology, together with the intention to bridge their differences in the future. “Reception” in the light of BEM signifies for the churches that its text can convince people of good will in all of the churches who aspire for unity as the heart of the Gospel message, and that all of our differences are yet rooted in the unshaken biblical and apostolic elements of the one tradition of the Christian Church community in all ages. “Reception” is respectfully suggested to the churches because BEM can become for them, if they are ready to use it for promoting Christian unity as their common witness in today’s world, a pre-consensus document consisting of promising converging elements of faith of particular importance today, thus allowing all churches to look ahead together with hopeful expectations.



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Monastic Foundations in Sixth-century Anatolia and their Role in the Social and Economic Life of the Countryside

FRANK R. TROMBLEY

THIS PAPER WILL DEAL with four monastic biographies which will describe local conditions in the countryside of Anatolia between circa 550 and 640. J. B. Bury and E. Stein¹ and, most recently, A. H. M. Jones² generally ignore these texts, despite the significant data furnished in them about widespread building of monasteries, village economic life, the survival of paganism, rural topography, the smaller cities, working relations between the monasteries and the imperial administration, and the rich endowments in the form of cash allotments, precious metal vessels, and relics.

The principal text in question is the life of Theodore of Sykeon (*ob. 613*), which offers detailed evidence about Galatia. Not one article exists on this material, despite the Baynes-Dawes translation and summary and a new, complete edition of the text with extensive notes

¹ John B. Bury, *A History of the Late Roman Empire from the Death of Theodosius I to the Death of Justinian (395-565)* 2 (London, 1923); E. Stein, *Histoire du Bas-Empire II. De la disparition de l'Empire d'Occident à la mort de Justinien (476-565)* (Paris, 1949); idem, *Studien zur Geschichte des byzantinischen Reiches, vornehmlich unter den Kaisern Justinus II und Tiberius Constantinus* (Stuttgart, 1919).

² A. H. M. Jones, *The Later Roman Empire 284-602, A Social Economic and Administrative Survey*, 2 vols. (Oxford, 1964). Jones notes Theodore of Sykeon's income of 365 *nomismata* per annum as bishop of Anastasiopolis (p. 903) and his early retirement from the see after mismanaging its finances (p. 916), and makes a brief mention of the value of the biographies of Theodore and Eutychios of Constantinople as sources (p. 304). There is no analysis of the data in these texts as regards Anatolian monasticism, nor does Jones touch upon the lives of Alypios the Stylite and Nicholas of Hagia Sion.

and a French translation by Festugière.³ There are three other monastic lives, none of them translated from the Greek, which offer important supplementary data: Nicholas of Hagia Sion (*Lycia, ob. 565*), Eutychios of Amaseia (*Helenopontos, inter 565-577*), and Alypios the Stylite (*Helenopontos, ob. inter 610-41*).⁴

Sykeon was a village (*χωρίον*) on the military highway between Constantinople and Ankyra, standing twelve Roman miles from the nearest city Anastasiopolis.⁵ The base stones of the nearby military bridge over the Sangaris River were observed by J. G. C. Anderson in 1899;⁶ the construction of the bridge is noted in the *Buildings* of Prokopios, and Theodore of Sykeon is reported to have crossed it many times.⁷ There has been, however, so far as I know, no attempt to survey the other sites mentioned in the *vita*, particularly that of the monastery, which sprawled widely, to judge from the construction work reported in the *vita*.

The development of the monastery has a clear chronology. The earliest phase is Justinianic, beginning with Theodore's occupation of the abandoned martyrium of Saint George, lying on the high ground outside Sykeon.⁸ He hired a single paid workman, only later to be joined by two monks and a servant.⁹ Theodore had by this time been rushed through the ecclesiastical orders to the rank of presbyter by the bishop of Anastasiopolis in order to be able to perform the liturgy at the martyrium.¹⁰ The place became a local pilgrimage site for the

³ *Three Byzantine Saints*, trans E Dawes and Norman H Baynes (1948, repr Crestwood, N.Y., 1977), 85-192. *Vie de Théodore de Sykéon*, ed trans. A.-J. Festugière 2 vols. (Brussels, 1970). All citations herein are taken from volume one of the latter edition (BHG 1748) unless otherwise noted.

⁴ *Vita S. Eutychii a Eustratio* (BHG 657), MPG 86, pp. 2273-2390; *Vita S. Alypi Stylitus* (BHG 65), ed H Delehaye in *Les saintes stylites* (Subsidia Hagiographica 14, Brussels-Paris 1923), pp 148-69. *Vita S. Nicolai Sionitae* (BHG 1347), ed G Anrich in *Hagios Nikolaos Der Heilige Nikolaos in der griechischen Kirche* (Leipzig, 1913), 1, pp 1-55

⁵ *Vie de Théodore*, 1, p 3, lines 1-8

⁶ J. G C Anderson, "Exploration in Galatia cis Halyn," *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, 19 (1899) 65-68

⁷ Prokopios, *Aedificia* 5 3 8-11. The construction was completed in A.D. 559-60. Theophanes Confessor, *Chronographia*, ed C de Boor (Leipzig, 1883), 1, p 234, lines 15-18. Cf *Vie de Théodore*, 2, p 168.

⁸ Theodore did this at the age of fourteen. *Vie de Théodore*, p 13

⁹ The workman came from the village of Kastinos. One of the monks was Philemon (*infra*). The other monk came from the village of Ptaninon

¹⁰ The bishop of Anastasiopolis Theodosios ordained Theodore lector, subdeacon, deacon, and presbyter on four successive days, upon his reaching the age of eighteen. The bishop had subsequently to justify this act, which some regarded as uncanonical in view of Theodore's early age, on the basis of the young man's *askesis*. *Ibid.*, p. 18

residents of neighboring villages seeking cures, once stories about Theodore's acts of rigid *askesis* began to spread. An icon of Saints Kosmas and Damianos, the holy physicians, stood in the martyrion at this time, symbolizing an important function of the place.¹¹ Like Saint Hypatios a century before, Theodore eradicated pagan cult centers, including sacred trees and two groves thought by the rustics to be holy to Artemis.¹² He also gained allegiance of a village held in thrall by a pagan sorcerer who was believed to place persons, animals, fields, and buildings under the bond of a magic curse for a fee, and who owned magic books.¹³ This incident reflects the victory of the Christian "holy man" over the old rustic shamans of Anatolia. The "magic" of the new religion was clearly superior.¹⁴

The growth of the congregation led to the construction of a second building, the church (*oīkōs*) of the archistrategos Michael, an addition which was "useable in summer and winter," had two side chapels of uncertain configuration, and was evidently larger than the old martyrion of Saint George.¹⁵ At this juncture, probably late Justinianic, the monastery had an archdeacon. This man once traveled to Constantinople to buy a well-finished *diskopoterion*, or chalice, which bore the "fivefold stamp of quality" (*τίνι τε πενταφράγιστον . . . δοκιμήν*).¹⁶ The task of conducting the liturgy was at this time handed over to Philemon, one of Theodore's original companions whom the bishop of Anastasiopolis had recently ordained a presbyter.¹⁷

The monastery at Sykeon underwent its greatest expansion during

¹¹Ibid., p. 34.

¹²Theodore visited a spot, possibly a grove, called Arkeia at which Artemis was thought to make her epiphany at noon, and held court with a group of lesser deities. The place was eight miles from the martyrion of Saint George. Ibid., p. 13f. Theodore exorcised another spot called Zoumboulios, which "no man or animal could approach, especially at the hour of noon" Ibid., p. 24. This instance conforms to the typology of Artemis. The tree mentioned on p. 126 had probably been a sacred tree. Hermann Usener, "Überschene," *Kleine Schriften* 4 (Leipzig, 1913) 194-98. Cf. Frank R. Trombley, *The Survival of Paganism in the Byzantine Empire during the Pre-Iconoclastic Period (540-727)* (Ann Arbor: University Microfilms, 1981), pp. 7-10, 32ff.

¹³*Vie de Théodore*, pp. 31-34. Cf. Usener (*supra*) and Trombley, *Survival of Paganism*, pp. 34-37. The sorcerer in question, one Theodosios Kourappos, was unbaptized.

¹⁴Cf. Peter Brown, "The Rise and Function of the Holy Man in Late Antiquity," *Journal of Roman Studies* 61 (1971) 80-101.

¹⁵*Vie de Théodore*, p. 36. The useability of the new church in "summer and winter" suggests that the roof of the old martyrion of Saint George was broken in many places. The monastery surely contained residential buildings by this time.

¹⁶Ibid., p. 37.

¹⁷Ibid., p. 36.

the reign of Tiberius Constantine (578-582) and after.¹⁸ The presbyter Philemon became the *apokrisarios* of the monastery at this time. Originally a teacher of Greek grammar (γραμματικός) at the town (κώμην) of Mossyna, Philemon, the hagiographer says, "wrote many books in his own hand after the monastery was founded, and educated, many other boys, and men of middle age by teaching grammar."¹⁹ The pupils seem to have been drawn from the population at large, rather than the monastery. This text speaks well for some growth in literacy, albeit in the ecclesiastical *paideia*.²⁰ The books that Philemon wrote (γεγράφηκεν) were perhaps books "copied." It is difficult, but not impossible, to gauge the sorts of texts to be found in a small provincial church library. The papyri discovered at Nessana in the Negev desert in southern Palestine contain fragments from the gospel of John and Pauline epistles, the *Acta of Saint George*, the letter of Abgar to Christ and the *Reply of Christ*, a Greek glossary, the *Twelve Chapters on Faith* of the pseudo-Gregory Thaumaturgos, a theological fragment (possibly a homily on the fourth chapter of *Genesis*), and much else. These texts appear to be of seventh-century provenance.²¹

At any rate, Philemon the presbyter composed a formal petition

¹⁸Cf. the chronological note, *ibid.*, p. 46

¹⁹*Vie de Théodore*, p. 23. Mossyna stands as a πόλις in the synodal lists of the Synod of Chalcedon (451) and the Quinsextum (691-92). Michael Le Quien, *Oriens Christianus* (Paris, 1740), 1, pp. 823f. The author of the life of Theodore states the obvious: even though Mossyna was incorporated as a πόλις, it resembled a village more than a city. The debates over the fate of the Byzantine city in the seventh century have failed to consider this facet of the problem, to wit, that some late antique "cities" of Anatolia had never been more than villages and therefore did not "decline," in the sense of lower cities full of marble-faced public buildings being abandoned and left uninhabited. For the current orthodoxy on this subject, see: A. Kazhdan and T. Cutler, "Continuity and Discontinuity in Byzantine History," *Byzantion* 52 (1982) 429-78.

²⁰Popular literacy, such as there was of it, comprised the Greek language of the Septuagint and New Testament books, papyri, hagiographic texts, and inscriptions. Liturgical prayers were sometimes cut on the church columns for the use of the congregation. Cf. the undated inscription MAMA 1, no. 428 W. M. Calde, *Monumenta Asiae Minoris Antiqua* (London, 1928), 1, p. 226f. This text has many anomalies of morphology and orthography, including italicism.

²¹Lionel Casson and Ernest L. Heltlich, *Excavations at Nessana: Literary Papyri* (Princeton, 1950), 2, *passim*. These texts are of sixth- to eighth-century date on the basis of palaeography, but probably belong to the late seventh-century phase of the site, which is well attested by non-literary papyri and inscriptions. The fragment of John 16.29-19.26 is almost identical with the *Sinaiticus-Vaticanus* text group. *Ibid.*, 94-111. Also found among the papyri were some fragments of *Aeneid*, Books 2-5 (pp. 66-78) and a Greek glossary to it (pp. 2-65), all of sixth-century provenance. See also: Casper J. Kraemer, *Excavations at Nessana: Non-Literary Papyri* (Princeton, 1958) 3, and *Excavations at Nessana (Auja Hafir, Palestine)* (London, 1962) 1.

to the emperor and delivered it as *apokrisarios* of the monastery to Tiberius Constantine. It requested a small provision to feed the poor. The imperial response was the grant of six hundred *modii* of grain per annum in perpetuity and a *diskopoterion*.²²

It was in all probability during the 580s that the large triconch basilica was built.²³ Buildings in this Syro-Egyptian-influenced style had already been in use for several decades in Lycia.²⁴ On the high ground above the monastery, the *katechoumenon* or instructional facility for the unbaptized of Saints Sergios and Bacchos stood. The principal stone quarry lay near it. The construction work provided employment for the artisans and stimulated the local economy. Quarrymen cracked rocks by the fire and vinegar method and dragged them down to the construction site. Eight miles away, work crews burned unslaked lime, while draymen hauled it in by ox-cart for mortar.²⁵ The hagiographer, unfortunately, gives no figures for the size of these crews.²⁶ The basilica must have had some impressive mosaics, but the hagiographer is silent about this.

During the reign of Maurice, the monastery at Sykeon attained a privileged position. An imperial rescript put it directly under the jurisdiction of the patriarch of Constantinople and granted it the privilege of asylum.²⁷ Many inscriptions from Syria attest rights of asylum; the record for Anatolia is not so clear.²⁸ The growing reputation of the monastery brought in cure seekers from all parts of Anatolia, with a resultant increase in income from pious contributions and offerings (καρποφορία). Among the comers were: a householder from Heraclea Pontica; a presbyter from Lykaonia; a woman from the Sphorakios quarter of Constantinople; a shipmaster (ναύκληρος) who left the tackle of his boat as καρποφορία; a wrestler who presumably came from a large provincial town; a *silentarios* named Mannas from Constantinople;

²² *Vie de Théodore*, p. 46f.

²³ *Ibid.*, p. 47.

²⁴ R. M. Garrison, "Churches and Chapels of Central Lycia," *Anatolian Studies* 13 (1963) 148-51. The triconch basilica at Karabel is thought to date from no later than the third decade of the sixth century (p. 150).

²⁵ *Vie de Théodore*, p. 47f.

²⁶ The employment of carpenters is mentioned. *Ibid.*, p. 56f.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 69f.

²⁸ A. Dain and G. Rouillard, "Une inscription relative au droit d'asile, conservé au Louvre," *Byzantion* 5 (1930) 315-26. Cf. IGLS 618, Louis Jalabert and René Mouterde, *Inscriptions grecques et latines de la Syrie* 2 (Paris, 1939), pp. 334f. The right to asylum in ecclesiastical buildings existed solely by reason of imperial edict. The laws on asylum stand in *Codex Justinianus* 1.12.1-8.

Stephen, bishop of Kadossia in western Anatolia; Phokas, an imperial secretary; a clerical *oikonomos* from near Sebasteia; a shipmaster from Emporion Kalleon on the Pontic coast; and two matrons of senatorial rank from Ephesos.²⁹ The acquisition of relics accelerated the process as well. Theodore received what were reputedly a skull fragment, a tooth, and a finger of Saint George from the bishop of Germia.³⁰ Icons came into play as well. A cleric visiting from the see of Heliopolis had an icon (ζωγραφία) painted of Theodore.³¹ It is conceivable that icon-painters stood ready to offer their services to visitors and passed part of the take to the monastery.

The monastery of Sykeon received patronage from Domnitziolos, *curopalates* and nephew of the emperor Phokas (602-610). Offerings in specie permitted the roofing of the martyron of Saint George with lead tiles and the acquisition of ecclesiastical service vessels.³² Among these was a gold processional cross. The new patriarch of Constantinople Thomas (607-610) provided it with a purported fragment of the true cross from Golgotha and a fiber from the veil of the Theotokos.³³ When Bonosus, one of Phokas' principal agents, visited the monastery in 610, it housed fifty monks.³⁴ It was around this time that the people of Akoumis, a nearby village, presented a vineyard to the monastery.³⁵

Theodore of Sykeon played a considerable and extralegal role in keeping civil order in the countryside during the first decade of the seventh century. He often reconciled persons embroiled in law-suits and protected many who had run afoul of the tax collectors and other officials, thanks to his rapport with Domnitziolos. On one occasion, Megethios the tax collector (*exactor*) of Ankyra pursued a number of farmers to the monastery, and, despite its imperially sanctioned status as an asylum, had them flogged. Through Domnitziolos' offices, the official later underwent flogging himself.³⁶ On another

²⁹ *Vie de Théodore*, pp. 39, 68f., 70, 72, 73, 82, 97f., 98f., 99f., and 87

³⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 80

³¹ *Ibid.*, p. 83.

³² Domnitziolos also distributed alms to the poor and granted audience to petitioners on the spot, out of devotion to the saint. *Ibid.*, p. 97. Theodore was able to secure amnesty for Domnitziolos after Herakios' execution of Phokas (pp. 121-23)

³³ *Ibid.*, p. 103. The relics were deposited in a *kibotion* of some sort at the center of the cross' arms. Theodore's *apokrisarios* Epiphanios hired a goldsmith for this task while in Constantinople

³⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 112, lines 35-42

³⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 113

³⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 117f

occasion, Theodore sheltered a woman in the *gynakeion* of the monastery after her husband had mutilated her by cutting off her nose (ρίνοκοπεῖν).³⁷ A small-scale war nearly erupted between the villages of Halioi and Apokouis in a dispute over the ownership of a small woodland. Theodore mediated the dispute, but one village subsequently seized the place and, it appears, remained in control thereafter.³⁸

The hagiographer is at times reluctant to discuss the great wealth of Theodore's family; but he does not admit that the triconch basilica was constructed from the remainder of the legacy left him by his mother, who successfully operated a *pandochion* or hotel on the military road.³⁹ This establishment catered to high officials, *magistrani*, and the like, traveling to and from Constantinople.⁴⁰ She combined administrative skills with those of the courtesan, and ultimately married a *protector* who resided in Ankyra.⁴¹ She might have purchased such a post for Theodore had he not elected to follow a path of *askesis*.⁴²

Eutychios, patriarch of Constantinople (552-565 and 577-582), was proprietor of a monastery in the vicinity of Amaseia. He maintained supervision of the monastery during his patriarchate and resided there between 565 and 577, the period of exile he endured before returning to his see.⁴³ He appears to have been exceptionally wealthy, inasmuch as his father served on the staff of the general Belisarios and later became one of the Scholarian Guards.⁴⁴ Born in the village of Dios Kome in Phrygia, Eutychios entered a monastery called Klona in the diocese of the see of Augustopolis in his youth.⁴⁵ He studied grammar and, by the age of twelve, transferred to the service of the archbishop

³⁷Ibid., p. 118f

³⁸Ibid., p. 119f

³⁹Ibid., p. 47. But Theodore declined to use the dowry of his grandmother Elpidia to augment the monastery (p. 30).

⁴⁰Theodore's father was thought to be a certain Kosmas, a former camelteer in the Hippodrome and now a *magistranos*, who on one occasion passed through Sykeon carrying imperial dispatches for Orios. Ibid., p. 3f

⁴¹Ibid., p. 21f.

⁴²Ibid., p. 4, lines 7-10.

⁴³For a study of Amaseia with reference to the *Vita Eutychi*, see: Victor Schultze, *Altchristliche Städte und Landschaften, II: Kleinasiens*, fasc. 2 (Leipzig, 1922), pp 105-12.

⁴⁴*Vita Eutychi*, MPG 86, p. 2281B-C

⁴⁵Ibid., pp. 2277D, 2284B, 2288B-C

of Amaseia.⁴⁶ Unlike Theodore of Sykeon, Eutychios was promoted through the clerical orders “according to the canons” (κατὰ τοὺς θείους κανόνας) and did not become presbyter until the age of thirty, and thereafter the bishop of Lazechi.⁴⁷

Eutychios became associated with a pre-Justinianic monastery which previous bishops of the district had founded and enlarged.⁴⁸ It had among other structures, a large granary (δρεῖον).⁴⁹ Eutychios is reputed to have augmented the monastery with several chapels (εὐκτήριοι οἶκοι) and cash contributions.⁵⁰ One need only consider the finest examples of sixth-century mosaics and ecclesiastical marble work to imagine the look of these structures. In 552, at the age of forty, he became patriarch of Constantinople.⁵¹ Eutychios’ subsequent exile (565-577) for having resisted the Aphthartodocetist heresy of Justinian I permitted (or perhaps required) him to reside at the monastery. He is said to have taught pupils at this time, possibly on subjects more advanced than the instruction in Greek grammar given by Philemon at Sykeon.⁵² Like Theodore, Eutychios became a “doctor without fees” (ἀνάγυρος Ἰατρός), but the variety of persons who came for cures had a much more local distribution than those who frequented Sykeon: all of them except a family from Zela and a man from Polyandos near Komana came from the environs of Amaseia.⁵³ On the other hand, young careerists in the government of Oriens and the army sought Eutychios’ patronage. Among these was a tribune of the *arithmos* based at Amaseia, whom Eutychios sent on with a complimentary letter to the future Caesar and emperor Tiberius Constantine, who was then in Sirmium (*ante* 574).⁵⁴ On another occasion, certain tax officials

⁴⁶The hagiographer observes: “He partook of the whole and true philosophy, but nothing of the ancient and thorny [philosophy], or of the Egyptian leaven, I mean the teaching and learning of the unwise philosophers” *Ibid.*, p 2285C. It was a mark of the ascetic never, or only briefly, to have studied the Greek *paideia*

⁴⁷*Ibid* , pp 2288C, 2292A-B, and 2292D-A

⁴⁸The bishops were Meletios, Seleukos, and Uranios, at whose tombs miracles were reputed to occur. Uranios was bishop of Ibora. *Ibid.*, p. 2293B-D.

⁴⁹The grain exit bore the inscription: καὶ ἀπὸ τῆς προσευχῆς τοῦ ἀγίου Σελεύκου μυρί-άδες δέκα. Still in existence in the time of the hagiographer, the inscription referred to the large quantity of wheat distributed by the monastery during a famine *Ibid* , p 2293D

⁵⁰*Ibid* , p. 2296A.

⁵¹*Ibid.*, p. 2304B. Eutychios had gone to the Fifth Ecumenical Synod (553) as *locum-tenens* of the metropolitan of Amaseia, who was ill. *Ibid* , p. 2297A.

⁵²*Ibid.*, p. 2332B.

⁵³The miracle collection runs pp. 2325C-2341B (Zela 2329B and Polyandos 2340C). One presbyter came in from the Great Church of Constantinople *Ibid.*, p 2328D

⁵⁴*Ibid* , pp 2349C-2352A.

(*tractatores* and *exactores*) of the province of Pontos with some junior army officers came in from Arabissos to request Eutychios' recommendation.⁵⁵ The ex-patriarch had some important contacts in the prefectorial government and quite obviously never became resigned to the role of rustic hegumen.

The monastery is best known in connection with the abortive raid of Khusro I Anushirvan against Anatolia in 575, when large numbers of civilians from Nikopolis, Neocaesarea, Komana, Zela, and other cities along the route of the Sasanian advance fled to Amaseia. The grain reserves of the monastery had to be used to feed the refugees because, interestingly enough, the Byzantine and Persian armies had between them created an unspeakable famine in the countryside by their foraging and looting.⁵⁶ Relief work of this sort is otherwise unattested in the Anatolian monasteries of this period. The closest parallel to this development is undoubtedly the set of measures taken by John Eleemon, patriarch of Alexandria (610-619), to accommodate vast numbers of refugees making their way to Egypt in 613, after the fall of Antioch and the other Syrian towns to Khusro II Parviz.⁵⁷

One of the more interesting examples of selecting the site for a monastic foundation is the case of Alypios the Styliste, who died during the reign of Heraclius after a career of fifty-three years spent atop a pillar near Adrianopolis in Paphlogonia.⁵⁸ A deserted necropolis lay south of the city, which contained many ancient pagan tombs.⁵⁹ Alypios received permission from his bishop to stake out the floor of a chapel, after he had succeeded in digging a well there and had walled

⁵⁵ The officers came from the *legio Moderatiana*. This formation was presumably under command of the *magister militum per Armeniam*. The men reportedly asked for Eutychios' patronage in getting assigned particular provinces. *Ibid.*, p. 2352A-B.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 2344B-2345B.

⁵⁷ There were 7,500 persons on the church dole in Alexandria prior to the influx of refugees. When they began to flow in, John Eleemon used church funds to construct hostels, poorhouses, and an infirmary for pregnant women, with forty beds. Bread was distributed at the entrance of a specified church. Beyond that, male non-clerical refugees received upon request one *keration*, and women two *keratia* since the latter were "weaker" (i.e., could not find employment?). H. Delehaye, "Une vie inédite de saint Jean l'Aumonier," *Analecta Bollandiana*, 45 (1927) 21f. Leontios of Neapolis, *Leben des heiligen Joannes des Barberzigen Erzbischofs von Alexandrien*, ed. H. Gelzer (Freiburg and Leipzig, 1893), pp. 13f. Monies also went to migrant clergy.

⁵⁸ Alypios became *oikonomos* to the bishop of Adrianopolis after studying "grammar and scripture." He made a pilgrimage to Euchaita in youth, but never left Anatolia for the holy places of Palestine. *Vita Alypi*, p. 149, lines 16-21.

⁵⁹ The locality was a suitable habitat, being "far from tilled fields and cities." *Ibid.*, p. 150, lines 2-8.

it up to discourage squatters.⁶⁰ The building material there was eminently useful to the proto-stylite. There was, in all probability, much competition among the would-be monks for sites with disused marble blocks and a water supply. The hagiographer writes about Alypios' occupation of the site in these terms:⁶¹

Men who lived in that place wished to see the outcome when they saw him going high atop one of the tombs, but others fled to their own homes in fear of the large swarm of demons which lurked there. There was a pillar standing on a tomb, at the peak of which there was a bull-lion (ταυρολέων). Alypios went to the city, got an icon of the Lord, a cross, and an iron bar, went up, and inserted the iron bar under the lion, which was quite heavy and large. With the bar he was able to cast down the idol.

Alypios raised the cross on it and so found a pillar for himself. Blocks from the surrounding buildings proved useable for the construction of a martyrium dedicated to Saint Euphemia, whose cult prevailed widely in northern Anatolia.⁶² It is asserted that Alypios, guided by a vision, found relics within the pagan necropolis and had them installed in the narthex of the martyrium.⁶³ The incident reflects the doubtful circumstances under which relics were often acquired.

Two monastic houses (εὐαγεῖς οἶκοι), one for men and one for women, grew up at the base of Alypios' stele. The lack of quantitative detail given in the life of Alypios prevents us from assessing their sizes. The women's house apparently drew patronage from Adrianopolis. A woman of high rank (περιφανῆς) from the city abandoned her family and joined the community beneath the stele. Her name was Euphemia.⁶⁴ The combined monasteries were perhaps smaller than Kalat al-Siman near Antioch, the extensive foundation of Symeon Stylites the Younger.⁶⁵ It is quite evident that stylitism was not solely a Syrian phenomenon, inasmuch as the life of Alypios specifically states

⁶⁰Ibid., p. 152, line 30-p. 153, line 11 Alypios thus remained under the jurisdiction of the bishop.

⁶¹Summary of *ibid* , p. 154, lines 1-22. The word ταυρολέων is unattested elsewhere

⁶²Ibid., p. 154, line 33-p. 155, line 4 See footnote 69 below. Cf. F. Halkin's remarks, *Euphemia de Chalcédon* (Brussels, 1965).

⁶³The relics remained there "until this day," no earlier than the reign of Herakios *Vita Alypi*, p. 155, lines 5-11

⁶⁴Ibid., p. 161, lines 10-15. The first hegumen of the women's house was a certain Euboule (lines 16-18).

⁶⁵For maps and photographs, see: *La vie ancienne de S. Syméon Styhte le jeune*, ed trans Paul van den Ven (Brussels, 1970), 1, pp. 191-211 with bibliography

that he never left Anatolia.⁶⁶ The monastery had relations with the civil administration and the countryside similar to those of the monastery at Sykeon. These included: imperial contributions in specie, pilgrims seeking cures, and asylum sought by persons aggrieved, as the hagiographer states, “by the violence of officials or great land-owners (δυνασταί), or by the injustice of contracts.”⁶⁷ It is noted, as well, that an unnamed empress donated specie in return for the cross atop the stele.⁶⁸ For all this, however, the monastery remained subject to episcopal interference. The bishop of Adrianopolis once compelled Alypios to be made deacon and *oikonomos*, and to accompany him to Constantinople. Alypios absconded to the martyrium of Saint Bassa by the sea when the bishop’s retinue neared Chalcedon. The martyr Euphemia reputedly endorsed Alypios’ disobedience in a vision while he hid beneath the benches (σκάμνα) of the martyrium and sent him home.⁶⁹ Underlying the martyr’s sanction were genuine economic interests about the allocation of land and trained ecclesiastical personnel.

I shall speak only briefly about the monastery of Hagia Sion founded by Nicholas I in Lycia.⁷⁰ R. M. Harrison has published a survey of the churches there, one of which is thought to be the triconch basilica mentioned in the text of the vita.⁷¹ Based on Harrison’s architectural dating criteria, it appears that the Christian church had no institutional presence in the Lycian hinterland before the early sixth century. The life of Nicholas confirms this, inasmuch as the hegumen had to exorcise a sacred spring and a sacred tree, the latter probably belonging to Artemis.⁷² The traditional rural sacrifices were ineradicable and

⁶⁶ Arsenios, a follower of Theodore of Sykeon, erected a stele on the upper Sangaris River near the village of Galenon, *Vie de Théodore*, p. 42. The narrative of Willibald mentions two stylites near Miletos in 724 (*duo solitari in stulice*) *Vita Willibaldi Episcopi Eichstetensis*, *Monumenta Germaniae Historica. Scriptores* 15/1, ed. O. Halder-Egger (Leipzig, 1925), p. 93, lines 22-24.

⁶⁷ *Vita Alypu*, p. 165, lines 10-11.

⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 164, lines 26-33

⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 155, lines 15-29

⁷⁰ The Hellenic College Press will soon publish this important source with a new edition of the text and English translation by I. Ševčenko and Nancy P. Ševčenko

⁷¹ R. M. Harrison, “Churches and Chapels of Central Lycia,” *Anatolian Studies* 13 (1963) 117-51. See pp. 148-51 for summary. Hans-George Severin, “Alacadağ,” *Anatolian Studies* 27 (1977) 23.

⁷² *Vita Nicolai*, pp. 12-18. Cf. Trombley, *Survival of Paganism*, pp. 22-26. Robert and Festugière agree that the “spirit of the unclean idol” (*πνεῦμα εἰδώλου ἀκάθαρτον*) believed by the villagers to inhabit the cypress tree represented survival of a pagan cult. Louis Robert, “Villes et monnaies de Lycia,” *Hellenica* 10 (1955) 197-99 and *Vie de Théodore*, 2, p. 179.

were continued under Nicholas' supervision, but with Christian *symbola*.⁷³ The personal names of monks who came in from the countryside and farmers given in the *vita* closely match those found in the third-century inscriptions.⁷⁴ The sixth century was, by all standards, a period of vast expansion for the Lucian monasteries. At least one other, that of Saint John at Akalissos, was directed by Nicholas' uncle.⁷⁵ Building material for the apse of the basilica of Hagia Sion was quarried on a nearby mountain. This entailed using skilled stonemasons and the entire manpower of the village of Arneae as well. The latter numbered seventy-five.⁷⁶ The hagiographer states that eighty-three artisans worked on one of the smaller churches at Hagia Sion.⁷⁷ The monastery also had a kitchen building (*μαγειρεῖον*).⁷⁸ Before the construction of the triconch basilica began, Nicholas hired five workmen from the village of Karkabo to saw the sacred cypress tree mentioned above, which reputedly had a length of seventy feet and a diameter of seven. The men of many villages helped drag (*συρεῖν*) the sawed portions

⁷³ *Vita Nicolai*, pp. 42-45. Trombley, *Survival of Paganism*, pp. 27-29.

⁷⁴ See H. A. Ormerod and E. S. G. Robinson, "Inscriptions from Lycia," *Journal of Hellenic Studies* 34 (1914) 1-35. The personal names in the inscriptions are tabulated on pp. 34f. Counting again the names which occur more than once, about 180 personal names are listed. Nicholas' mother was named Nonna (*Vita Nicolai*, p. 4, lines 4-5) Orthographic variants and combined forms of this name occur six times out of 180 persons in the inscriptions (Νάννη, Νάννηλά, Νάννος), a rate of 3.2 percent. There was also a village named Nonnina (*Vita Nicolai*, p. 5, line 3). Konon, the name of a presbyter (*Vita Nicolai*, p. 6, line 5), occurs only once in the inscriptions. On the other hand, variants and compounds of Hermaios, Nicholas' disciple (*Vita Nicolai*, p. 8, line 7), occur eight times ('Ερμαῖος, 'Ερμαῖοςκος, 'Ερμᾶς, 'Ερμία, etc.), a ratio of 4.3 percent. Variants of Artemis, the *deuterarios* of Hagia Sion, occur only twice. The survival of nomenclature from the third to sixth centuries suggested here is striking, but not conclusive. It is significant, however, that the personal names inscribed on the Hagia Sion silver ecclesiastical vessels (of which I received a partial list from Susan Boyd, Curator of the Dumbarton Oaks Byzantine Collection in February, 1980), presumably of sixth-century provenance, show no such correlation. Of thirty-three instances of personal names on the vessels, that of the bishop Eutychianos predominates, occurring seventeen times. I seriously doubt that the single Εὐτυχίης in the Ormerod-Robinson inscriptions says much about the persistence of pre-Christian Lycian cultural forms. Nor does the mention of a Leontia (probably the daughter of the dedicators, the deacon Prinkipios and his wife (?) Stephane) on an Hagia Sion silver book cover have much to do with the Leontis and Leontiskos in Ormerod-Robinson. The silver objects appear to be a product mainly of the secular clergy of the see of Myra. The life of Nicholas, on the other hand, bears the stamp of the Lycian hinterland, where Nicholas of Hagia Sion was himself born (ἐν τῷ παρακείμενῷ ἀγρῷ), *Vita Nicolai*, p. 4, lines 2-3.

⁷⁵ *Vita Nicolai*, p. 3, lines 8-12 and p. 42, lines 9-11

⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 33, lines 13-14.

⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 37, lines 15-16

⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 36, line 19.

to Hagia Sion, where it probably went for roofing the monastic structures.⁷⁹ This building activity suggests a vital agricultural economy on the monastic lands, which raised sufficient specie to pay the construction workers.

The metropolitan of Myra accused Nicholas, hegumen of Hagia Sion, of restraining farmers from marketing essential foodstuffs such as grain, barley meal, wine, and wood in the city during a mid-century outbreak of the bubonic plague. The governor of Lycia, archbishop, and primates of the city sent two clerics to arrest Nicholas in connection with this charge, but the populace of the village of Traglasseon prevented this.⁸⁰ The countryside aligned itself against the imperial administration and against the metropolitan in this crisis. The reasons for this "rural noncooperation" were economic and cultural: Hagia Sion housed the sick, paid its artisans and day laborers in specie, and most importantly, conducted its daily business amidst the "works and days"—the agricultural cycle—of the smallholder. It would seem that the cities suffered much greater depopulation from these outbreaks of the plague than the countryside.

This is an important corrective consideration to the rather one-sided discussion of the economic and demographic decline of the late sixth-century towns. Excavations and papyri from Nessana in southern Palestine reveal that semi-arid lands were being reclaimed and used for agriculture all through the sixth and early seventh centuries, contrary to A. H. M. Jones' arguments about the so-called *agri deserti*.⁸¹ The extensive building activity in Lycia allows that agriculture conditions at worst remained stable. The Christianized sacrifices performed at the rural chapels confirm this supposition. At Saint George's in the village of Plenios, Nicholas provided seven calves, 100 measures of wine, 40 *modii* of bread, and much oil for the 200 couches that were laid. The leftovers amounted to 60 measures of wine, 100 loaves of bread, and 4 measures of oil.⁸² A comparable expenditure was made at the chapel

⁷⁹Ibid., p. 15f. The use of dray gangs was the only useable method of hauling timber in late antiquity. The harnessed four-wheeled wagon had yet to be invented. Cf. Lynne White, "The Agriculture Revolution in the Early Middle Ages," *Medieval Technology and Social Change* (Oxford, 1962), pp. 66f.

⁸⁰*Vita Nicolai*, p. 41, line 1-p. 42, line 4.

⁸¹See Philip Mayerson, "The Ancient Agriculture Regime of Nessana and the Central Negeb," *Excavations at Nessana*, 1, pp. 211-69, plates 60, 61, and 62. The period of expansion at Nessana began in the fifth century. Cf. the introductory remarks of H. D. Colt in the same volume, 16ff. For the *agri deserti*, see: Jones, *Later Roman Empire*, pp. 812-23.

⁸²*Vita Nicolai*, p. 42, line 20-p. 43, line 10.

of the archangel Gabriel at Karkabo two years later.⁸³ These figures, like the others given in the life of Nicholas, probably derive from an Hagia Sion register of the sort attested in the papyrus finds of Egypt and Nessana.⁸⁴ The monastery of Hagia Sion was able to lay out 80½ *nomismata* to hire an architect named Theotimos to rebuild the rural chapel of Saint Daniel the prophet.⁸⁵ It might be well to view the late sixth century as a period of demographic and economic ruralization.⁸⁶

The large Christianized sacrifices celebrated by Nicholas at the village chapels suggest, if anything, improved production on the land. A family which had farmed a holding usually good for 25 *modii* of grain per annum reported that production rose to 125 *modii*. Attributed to a "miracle" of the saint after the couple confessed belief "in your God and your angel," this incident may reflect the inclusion of recently converted pagans into some sort of cooperative agricultural system.⁸⁷

The lives of Theodore of Sykeon and Nicholas of Hagia Sion offer convincing proof that parts of the Anatolian countryside underwent steady economic growth during the mid- and late sixth century. Few direct statements are made about smallholdings owned by the monasteries, but this supposition is well-taken in the case of Hagia Sion, in view of the food supplies expended in the Christianized sacrifices. It has become a sort of axiom or half-proven argument that the coastal cities of the Mediterranean basin drew their grain supplies principally from maritime imports. Yet it is clear that Myra depended heavily on agricultural products grown in its own hinterland, an important datum. The monasteries influenced this productivity, in part by sound management of their own lands, in part by redirecting the rural ethos towards

⁸³Ibid., p. 43, line 11-p. 44, line 3.

⁸⁴The *Vita Nicolai* invariably uses ἀνάλωμα, the standard term for "expenditure" found in papyrus registers. Cf. *Excavations at Nessana*, 3, pp. 144f., with an ecclesiastical context, the festival of Saint Sergios (early seventh century) and pp. 251-60, the account of a trading company (circa 600 A.D.). The range of the figures given in the *Vita Nicolai* is accurate. Cf. the sale of eighty measures of wine by the deacon of an Egyptian village to a representative of the *arithmos* quartered in Hermopolis, Egypt (538 A.D.). *Greek Papyri in the British Museum*, ed. F. G. Kenyon, and H. I. Bell (London, 1907), 3, pp. 270f. For some examples of ecclesiastical inventories and record-keeping, see: John G. Winter, *Life and Letters in the Papyri* (Ann Arbor, 1933), pp. 180-84.

⁸⁵*Vita Nicolai*, p. 45, lines 19-30. The church of the Theotokos, constructed with four hundred *nomismata* after Nicholas became bishop of Pinarea, seems to have gotten its funding elsewhere. Ibid., p. 50, lines 8-22.

⁸⁶Speros Vryonis, *The Decline of Medieval Hellenism in Asia Minor and the Process of Islamization from the Eleventh through the Fifteenth Century* (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1971), pp. 6f.

⁸⁷*Vita Nicolai*, p. 46, lines 1-21.

greater “cooperation.” In a cultural sense, this meant abandoning the pre-Christian propitiatory rites on behalf of the good harvest and putting the trust of one’s village in the Christian “holy man.” In practical terms, it meant mutual assistance in production and, at times, communal resistance to the governor of the province, the tax collector, or the local bishop.

As the monasteries and their hegumens gained renown for country medicine, not to mention spiritual remedies, they accumulated wealth in specie and land. This financed the erection not only of basilicas and chapels, but poorhouses, hospitals, granaries, threshing floors, and dormitories for the monks. The resultant opportunities for employment drew mosaicists, stonemasons, carpenters, architects, and day laborers to the countryside. This development, evident in the hagiographic texts under consideration, corresponds to the supposed decline of public works and basilica construction in the provincial towns between 550-600, as known from reductions in the coinage found at excavated sites and a sharp decline in the number of dated inscriptions. Specie and manpower, in short, found refuge and employment in the countryside. The recurrent outbreaks of bubonic plague made city life hazardous at times. But it cannot be simply an accident or response to hardship that talented or wealthy provincial townspeople like the grammarian Philemon and the wealthy matron of Adrianopolis Euphemia migrated to rural monasteries, religious motives aside. The evidence presented here, although not conclusive, suggests that, amidst the flux of social, economic, and religious norms of the late sixth century, one potent trend was ruralization.



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Elections were held. Ignatios IV of Antioch became one of the seven presidents of the World Council of Churches, and Metropolitan Chrysostom of Myra of the Ecumenical Patriarchate became the Vice-Moderator of the W.C.C. Central Committee.

The concluding section of the report discusses world affairs in ecumenical perspective.

Vasil T. Istavrides
Chalke, Turkey

Nairobi to Vancouver, 1975-1983. Report of the Central Committee to the Sixth Assembly of the World Council of Churches. Geneva: The World Council of Churches, 1983. Pp. xv, 238.

The present volume deals with the history and life of the World Council of Churches in the period between the Fifth and Sixth General Assemblies (Nairobi, 1975 and Vancouver, 1983). The different parts have been written either by the responsible persons or the committees of the various departments. A foreword is provided by the Moderator of the Central Committee, Edward W. Scott, and an introduction by Philip Potter, General Secretary, who mentions, among other things, the contribution of Orthodox theology in the period under study.

Commenting on the pre-assembly visits by special teams of persons to the Orthodox and other churches, the report states that "the contributions of Orthodox churches to ecumenical programmes have become more dynamic, valuable, and creative." Efforts to increase Orthodox participation in the governing bodies of the World Council are discussed. The Orthodox Task Force in Geneva reports that eleven consultations on relevant ecumenical-ecclesiastical themes were held by the Orthodox. In 1982 the Orthodox Church of Finland became a member of the council.

With regard to the Ecumenical Institute at Bossey, the appointment of a Roman Catholic tutor is recommended. Efforts should be made to enroll Roman Catholic students, as well as Orthodox students. The importance of the yearly seminar on Orthodox theology and spirituality is noted.

Unit 1 on Faith and Witness includes reports of the sub-units. The Commission on Faith and Order stated that the Fifth World Conference on Faith and Order will tentatively be held in 1987, on the 1200th anniversary of the Seventh Ecumenical Synod of Nikaia. The Commission on World Mission and Evangelism discussed the substantial contribution of the Orthodox Church to the World Missionary Conference "Your Kingdom Come" held in Melbourne, Australia in 1980. The

work being accomplished by the Commission's Desk for Orthodox Studies and Relationships was presented, and the creation of an advisory group for Orthodox Studies was proposed. Reports were also submitted by the sub-units on Church and Society and on Dialogue with People of Living Faiths and Ideologies.

Unit 2 on Justice and Service consists of reports from the Commission of the Churches on International Affairs, the Commission on Inter-Church Aid, Refugees, and World Service, and a report on the Programme to Combat Racism, as well as reports from the Commission on the Churches' Participation in Development and the Christian Medical Commission.

Unit 3 on Education and Renewal provides reports on the following sub-units: Education, The Programme on Theological Education, Renewal and Congregational Life, Women in Church and Society, and Youth. With regard to the Orthodox Church, it is noted that the sub-unit on Women in Church and Society "calls for a more thorough dialogue with Orthodox churches on their understanding of the role of women." Furthermore, the sub-unit on Youth has established working relationships with Syndesmos.

Vasil T. Istavrides
Chalke, Turkey

The Resurrection of Jesus: A Jewish Perspective. By Pinchas Lapides. Trans. Wilhelm C. Linss. Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1983. Pp. 160. \$8.95, paper.

The resurrection of Jesus has been the point of separation between Christians and Jews throughout the centuries. The recent openness and ecumenical dialogue between committed followers of these two great religions gave the opportunity for an objective and sympathetic view of each other.

This volume was written by a committed and practicing Orthodox Jew. Professor Pinchas Lapides, a Jewish New Testament scholar who lives and teaches in Germany has been active for several years in promoting dialogue and good will between Christians and Jews. His numerous books, as evidenced by the themes that he treats, are of interest to both Christians and Jews and bring greater understanding among both followers. Professor Carl E. Braaten gives a succinct theological introduction to the book that should be very useful to the reader.

The importance of this volume is that the author openly states that he believes in the physical resurrection of Jesus as a historical event.



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Narrative Cycles of Saints' Lives in Byzantine Churches from the Tenth to the Mid-fourteenth Century

THALIA GOUMA-PETERSON

THE IMPORTANCE OF THE CULT of saints in the Christian East has long been recognized, as has the significance of the saint's life as literary genre and socio-historical document. The indispensable place that saints held in Byzantine society as protectors, friends, and active participants in everyday life is demonstrated by the popularity of pilgrimages, the translation and veneration of relics, the many stories of miraculous healings, and the veneration of living saints. The canon of saints and parallel body of hagiographical literature continued to grow throughout the history of Byzantium, in spite of periods of retrenchment. The growth took various shapes and was influenced by complex and changing patterns of popular piety and church and state politics. But it never lost its central force and always included a component of living saints or holy men who were a constant presence both in the cities and in the countryside.¹

In view of the hagio-centric nature of Byzantine life one would expect that painted cycles of saints' lives would have been an especially popular genre. But this does not seem to have been the case. Illustrated saints' lives in Byzantine manuscripts appear to have been few even in editions of the Metaphrastian Menologion, and icons combining an

¹On the role of the saint in Byzantine society and culture, see the collection of articles in *The Byzantine Saint. University of Birmingham Fourteenth Spring Symposium of Byzantine Studies*, Sergei Hackel ed., Studies Supplementary to Sobornost 5 (Birmingham, 1981). See also Peter Brown, "The Rise and Function of the Holy Man in Late Antiquity," *Journal of Roman Studies* 61 (1971) 80-101, and by the same author "A Dark-Age Crisis: Aspects of the Iconoclastic Controversy," *English Historical Review* (1973) 1-34.

image of the saint with scenes from his or her life appear to have been the exception rather than the rule.² The evidence provided by Byzantine church decoration from the tenth to the mid-fourteenth century, though fragmentary and partly determined by accidental survival, suggests that monumental cycles of saints' lives were equally limited in number and restricted in range. (In this study a cycle is defined as a narrative of two or more scenes.)

A survey of surviving monuments in Kappadocia, Greece, Yugoslavia, Bulgaria, and Russia, in spite of its incompleteness due to the extensive loss of churches (especially in Constantinople and Thessalonike), provides some rather startling evidence. (The survey does include two surviving cycles from Constantinople and two from the churches of Sicily, which were in the sphere of direct Byzantine influence.)³ For a period of 450 years, from the conclusion of the Iconoclast controversy to the middle of the fourteenth century, there are 18 saints whose lives have been included in Byzantine church decoration: one cycle each of Symeon Stylites, Cyril of Alexandria, Panteleimon, Euphemia, Gerasimos Iordanites, Euthymios, Stefan Nemanjic and Archbishop Arsenije; 2 cycles each of Basil, Sabbas of Jerusalem and Kosmas and Damian; 3 cycles of Simeon Nemanja; 4 cycles each of Peter and Paul, Demetrios, and Stephen; 6 cycles of the 40 Martyrs of Sebastia; 36 of George; and 31 of Nicholas. Of these 18 lives, 8 have been represented only once, 3 twice, 4 four times, one five times and the remaining 2 (Nicholas and George) 31 and 36 times respectively. In other words, in surviving cycles, there are only two saints whose lives have been represented with any frequency (see Tables A and B). This list does

²Nancy Patterson Ševčenko, "An Eleventh Century Illustrated Edition of the Metaphrastian Menologium," *East European Quarterly* 13 (1979) 423-30, and by the same author *The Life of Saint Nicholas in Byzantine Art*, Centro Studi Bizantini Bari, Monografie I, (Turin, 1983). See also Temuly Mark-Weiner, *Narrative Cycles of the Life of St. George in Byzantine Art*, Ph.D. Dissertation, New York University, 1977, University Microfilms International. The rarity of the saint surrounded by scenes of his or her life in icon painting becomes clear as one looks through publications on collections of icons, e.g. G. and M. Soteriou, *Εικώνες τῆς Μονῆς Σινᾶ*, 1 (Athens, 1956), and Kurt Weitzmann, *The Icon* (New York, 1978).

³In addition to personal notes this survey was based on the following publications: Ševčenko, *The Life of St. Nicholas*, Mark-Weiner, *Narrative Cycles of the Life of St. George*; Karin M. Skawran, *The Development of Middle Byzantine Fresco Painting in Greece* (Pretoria, 1982), Gordana Babić, *Les chapelles annexes des églises byzantines* (Paris, 1969), Guillaume de Gerphanion, *Les églises rupestres de Cappadoce. Une nouvelle province de l'art byzantin*, 1-3 (Paris, 1925-1934); Marcell Restle, *Byzantine Wall Painting in Asia Minor*, 1-3 (New York, 1967), Svetlana Tomeković, "Les répercussions du choix du saint patron sur le programme iconographique des églises du 12^e siècle en Macédoine et dans le Péloponnèse," *Zograph* 12 (1981) 25-42.

not include the Archangel Michael because of his non-human angelic nature and John the Baptist because he is a Biblical personage whose life was frequently treated as part of the life of Christ.⁴

When listed by century the breakdown of numbers of cycles for the tenth and eleventh centuries is as follows: 7 for the tenth, all in Kappadocia (Basil 2, Peter and Paul 2, Symeon Stylites, George, 40 Martyrs of Sebastia) and 5 for the eleventh, one in Ohrid (40 Martyrs of Sebastia), 2 in Kappadocia (George), and 2 in Russia (Peter and Paul, George). In addition to the small overall number of preserved cycles for these two centuries (12), there also is the negative evidence provided by the absence of cycles in the three major foundations of Greece: Hosios Loukas in Phokis, the Nea Mone at Chios, and Daphne in Attika. The absence is all the more striking at Hosios Loukas since its patron saint, Luke of Stiris, had been canonized and his vita had been written within the tenth century. It is significant that his life is omitted both from the mosaic program of the main church and from the frescoes in the crypt and side chapels. Added negative evidence is provided by the churches of Kappadocia for, out of some 50 churches and chapels (dating mainly from the tenth through the mid-twelfth century), only 9 contain lives of saints other than that of Saint John the Baptist.

During the twelfth century there is a relative increase in the number of cycles, a total of 17. However at least 8 of these date from the last quarter of the century and 7, of the life of George, occur in the churches of Georgia, i.e., they form part of a special local cult. The overall breakdown is as follows: 2 in Sicily (Peter and Paul), 9 in Russia (one of Cyril of Alexandria and 8 of George), 2 in Greece (George and Nicholas), 2 in Yugoslavia (George), and one each of Panteleimon (Greece), and Nicholas (Mount Athos). This century marks the beginning of the rising popularity of the lives of George and Nicholas.

Of the 42 cycles surviving from the thirteenth century most are located in Greece and Yugoslavia: one of Euphemia (Constantinople), 3 of the 40 Martyrs of Sebastia (2 in Kappadocia and one in

⁴This is especially true of the Kappadocian examples which are the earliest and where the life of Saint John usually consists of three or four scenes included within the narrative of Christ's life. Of the 8 cycles of the life of Saint John in Kappadocian churches, ranging in date from the tenth to the mid-twelfth century, only 3 are represented as independent cycles. The linking with Christ's life also occurs in some later examples, e.g. Saint Clement in Ohrid (formerly the Virgin Peribleptos, 1294) where the life of Saint John, though placed in the diaconicon, also is part of the narrative cycle of the life of the Virgin. Of the 14 extant cycles of the life of the Baptist 7 are in Kappadocia (tenth-fourteenth), one in Russia (twelfth), 3 in Greece (twelfth-fourteenth), and 3 in Yugoslavia (twelfth-fourteenth).

Constantinople), 12 of George (9 in Greece, 2 in Yugoslavia, and one in Russia), 17 of Nicholas (10 in Greece, 4 in Yugoslavia, 2 in Bulgaria, and one in Russia), 3 of Simeon Nemanja, 2 of Sabbas of Jerusalem, one of Stefan Nemanjic, and (perhaps) 4 of Stephen, all in Yugoslavia. Several new patterns emerge during this century. In spite of the overall increase in numbers of cycles many of the saints whose lives had been represented in previous centuries do not recur and the life of a number of new saints, who were of political/dynastic significance for the rising Serbian kingdom, emerge in the churches of Yugoslavia.⁵ Among these are lives of recently deceased persons, a unique phenomenon in post-Iconoclast Byzantine churches. At the same time the cycles of George and Nicholas reach unprecedented popularity in rural Greece and other provincial regions. Finally 3 cycles are survivals of the pre-Iconoclast tradition of martyrs' lives, the 40 Martyrs of Sebastia and Saint Euphemia. The latter could in fact have been a recreation of an early cycle.⁶

The pattern of progressive increase in the number of narrative cycles characteristic of the last quarter of the twelfth and the thirteenth century continued during the first fifty years of the fourteenth. Of the 28 cycles that survive, all in Greece and Yugoslavia, 12 are of Nicholas (6 in Greece and 6 in Yugoslavia), 9 of George (7 in Greece and 2 in Yugoslavia), 4 of Demetrios (3 in Yugoslavia and one in Greece) and one each of Gerasimos Iordanites (Greece), Euthymios (Greece), and Archbishop Arsenije (Yugoslavia). This survey stops with the middle of the fourteenth century because the monuments for the latter part of the fourteenth and the fifteenth century have not been adequately studied. However, the many small churches of Crete suggest that inclusion of lives of saints continued and increased, that George and Nicholas were the most popular, and that some new cycles also emerged. It would seem then that the pattern of creating cycles for saints of local importance or of particular significance to the donor (frequently, though not always, the patron saint of the church) is characteristic of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. Equally characteristic is that during this period, in several instances, more than one saint's life was included in a church (e.g.: Sopočani: Stephen, George, and Simeon Nemanja; Gradac: George, Simeon Nemanja, and Sabbas; Saint Nicholas Ofanov: Nicholas and Gerasimos Iordanites; Dečani: Demetrios,

⁵Babić, *Les chappelles annexes*, pp. 129-58.

⁶Rudolf Nauman and Hans Belting, *Die Euphemia-Kirche am Hippodrom zu Istanbul und ihre Fresken* (Berlin, 1966), pp. 114-52

Nicholas, and George). This did, however, also occur in some earlier churches.

The evidence provided by this survey does not claim to be complete, not even of preserved monuments. Further study may turn up more instances. The available evidence does, however, suggest some overall patterns. First, it suggests a pattern of growth from what one could term a resistance to the inclusion of saints' lives in church decoration during the tenth, eleventh, and first half of the twelfth century to an increasing acceptance in subsequent centuries. This change coincides with a period of closer contact with the West, with the temporary dissolution and progressive decentralization of the empire, and with the growth of foreign centers and provincial regions with specific local interests and needs.

However, in surveying the period of 450 years as a whole, the most striking phenomenon, I believe, remains the restricted number of saints whose lives were included in church decoration, a total of 18. When compared with the approximately 150 lives in the Metaphrastian Menologion plus the continuing additions of saints and of written lives from the eleventh through the fourteenth centuries, the number appears even more minuscule.⁷ Equally striking is the fact that only 4 of the 18 saints could qualify as holy men—that is, ascetic or monastic saints who existed, in varying degrees, outside the vested hierarchy and political structure of the official church and who derived their power through a strong basis of local or regional followers.⁸ Of the lives of these 4 saints (Symeon Stylites, Sabbas of Jerusalem, Gerasimos Iordanites and Euthymios), 3 have been represented only once (Symeon Stylites, Euthymios, Gerasimos Iordanites). In addition, all 4 are saints who lived during the early period of the empire (fourth to seventh century) and 2 are the founders of Palestinian monasticism. That is, they and their lives meet the requirement of antiquity or "holiness through consecration by the past"⁹ so important for the validation of the icon and by extension for the representation of a saint's life in pictorial form. Several also meet the requirement of investiture and acceptance by the church hierarchy, e.g., Euthymios who became both deacon and

⁷Sevchenko, "An Eleventh Century Illustrated Edition," pp. 423-30. Robert Browning, "The 'Low Level' Saint's Life in the Early Byzantine World," *The Byzantine Saint*, pp. 117-27. Evelyn Patlagean, "Sainteté et pouvoir," *The Byzantine Saint*, pp. 88-105. A. E. Laiou-Thomadakis, "Saints and Society in the Late Byzantine Empire," *Charanis Studies. Essays in Honor of Peter Charanis* (New Brunswick, New Jersey, 1980) pp. 84-114.

⁸Brown, "A Dark-Age Crisis," p. 21.

⁹Ibid., p. 8.

presbyter before retiring to the Palestinian desert, as the scenes of his life are careful to stress.¹⁰

Of the remaining 14 saints, again most belong to the early history of the church: one is a pair of apostles (Peter and Paul), 3 are doctor saints and martyrs (Panteleimon, Kosmas and Damianos), 3 are soldier saints and martyrs (George, Demetrios, and the group of 40 Martyrs of Sebastia), one is a female martyr (Euphemia), and 3 are bishops (Cyril of Alexandria, Basil, and Nicholas). Of the 18 only 3 are men who lived more recently (Simeon Nemanja, Stephan Nemanjic, and Archbishop Arsenije) and they are part of the official church, in this case the Serbian church, for which their sanctity was both a political and a religious validation.

One big gap, of course, remains the almost total absence of evidence from Constantinople, except for two thirteenth-century examples. (The recently discovered cycle of the life of Saint Francis of Assisi is a Western import and has not been included in this survey.) However, for the tenth and eleventh centuries the churches of Kappadocia which, it is generally agreed, do reflect Constantinopolitan trends, and Saint Sophia in Kiev, whose decoration clearly was under metropolitan influence, do give some indication of the saints whose lives might have been included in Constantinopolitan churches.¹¹ They are Basil, Symeon Stylites, Peter and Paul, the 40 Martyrs of Sebastia, and George (and also John the Baptist and Michael and Gabriel). Again if for the twelfth century we look at the Russian and Sicilian churches for some evidence of Constantinopolitan trends, we find Cyril of Alexandria, Peter and Paul, and George (and also John the Baptist and Michael). This evidence, though partial, suggests a restricted and conservative range of cycles. It is interesting that the lives of the two important bishop saints, Basil and Cyril, which may have been of special significance for the capital, do not become popular in more provincial and rural churches of subsequent centuries.

Finally the two saints whose lives were most frequently represented, George and Nicholas, are also the least historical. They seem in fact to have been invented through a conflation of several historical and/or fictitious persons.¹² There still is no satisfactory explanation for the popularity of their cults and the numerous narrative cycles of their lives.

¹⁰Thalia Gouma-Peterson, "The Parecclesion of Saint Euthymios in Thessalonica: Art and Monastic Policy under Andronicos II," *The Art Bulletin* 58 (1976) 168-83.

¹¹For a recent opinion see Lyn Rodley, "The Pigeon House Church, Cavusin," *Jahrbuch der Österreichischen Byzantinistik* 33 (1983) 301-39

¹²Sevčenko, *The Life of St. Nicholas*, pp. 18-24 Mark-Weiner, *Narrative Cycles of the Life of St. George*, pp. 1-10

A contributing factor may have been their antiquity. According to some versions of his life George lived during the reign of Diocletian, and Nicholas was active during the reign of Constantine. Another may have been the fictitiousness of their lives which gave more freedom for elaboration and a chance to create a varied and appealing combination of circumstances and events. As a result, in the life of Saint Nicholas we have a respected bishop saint who protects the poor, delivers sailors from storm-causing devils, and intercedes with the highest authority, the Emperor himself, on behalf of generals wrongly accused. Clearly this combination would appeal to a large constituency: the poor, sailors, and the military. In the case of Saint George we have one of the most ancient and respected martyr/military saints whose life is a veritable treasure house of types of martyrdom (eleven different ones to be precise) of which there always was a generous sampling in the narrative cycles. His popularity and the frequency of representations of his life attest to the continued high status enjoyed by martyr saints who after the tenth century also became military saints.

The importance of martyrs as models for emulation and as effective intercessors for salvation dates back to the pre-Iconoclast period, and references to martyr-cycles in churches exist in such early sources as the writings of Gregory of Nyssa, Basil, and Asterios of Amasea.¹³ Their continued high status, over that of any other group of saints, during the eighth century is attested to by the life of Patriarch Tarasios (784-806), composed shortly after 787 by Ignatios the Deacon.¹⁴ Ignatios contrasts the host of "celebrated" martyrs, who were "incomparable in noble courage," whom Tarasios could only "praise" in his speeches and "implore their salutary intervention before God," whose struggles he "outlined" in churches, with the ascetic saints whom Tarasios did not allow to "obtain any advantage over him" ("He vied with some, . . . was somewhat inferior to some, and somewhat superior to others."). The implication is clear and gives perhaps some insight for the absence of the lives of ascetics or holy men from Byzantine churches: the ascetic saints could be emulated and even surpassed by living clerics. The martyrs who suffered excruciating deaths during the early history of the church were *hors concours*, they could only be admired, praised, and implored. They were the heroes of the past. Their

¹³Nicholas Gendle, "The Role of the Byzantine Saint in the Development of the Icon Cult," *The Byzantine Saint*, p. 182

¹⁴This text was presented and discussed by Ihor Ševčenko at the Dumbarton Oaks Symposium, Spring, 1984. The paper was entitled "A Program of Church Decoration Soon After 787 According to the Vita Tarasii of Ignatios the Deacon" All subsequent references are to Ševčenko's translation of sections of this text, handed out at the Symposium

struggles should be put up in churches to better inspire the faithful. On the contrary the lives and struggles of the ascetics, which were human as opposed to heroic, were not deemed worthy of representation by Tarasios. A second reason why the ascetic saints may not have been deemed “incomparable” by Ignatios is that they “were known to be saviors either of themselves alone or of only a few other people.” In other words they would not be as effective intercessors as the martyrs.

The *Vita Tarasii* also provides information about the kind of scenes from martyrs’ lives that had been represented in pre-Iconoclast churches and some of which Tarasios had put up in churches in his own lifetime (i.e., towards the end of the eighth century). For the *Vita* describes at length and in vivid detail a repertory of scenes of all types of martyrdom which would “drench” the faithful “in warm tears” and make them “groan with compunction” as they partook in their minds “of this spiritual feast.” The descriptions suggest individual or paired scenes of martyrdom similar to those in the *Menologium Vaticanum*.¹⁵

Ignatios’ restrained attitude toward the ascetic holy man and his reluctance to attribute to him the heroic power of sanctity reflects the remnants of Iconoclast ideology for, as Kazhdan has observed, “the worship of the ideal independent monk had to be destroyed [in the eighth century] before the omnipotent Byzantine monarchy could be established.”¹⁶ This ambivalent attitude was not completely eradicated until the fourteenth century and manifested itself in different forms during different periods.¹⁷ It would seem that it also underlies the reluctance to represent the lives of ascetic holy men, of more recent date, who had gained sanctity through a popular following, and thus is partly responsible for the restricted range of lives represented in Byzantine churches.

Further reasons for the restricted range and small number of narrative cycles may have been the very special significance accorded to the portrait image in the Christian East as the official testimony of the saint’s existence, the belief in intercession, and, as Brown has observed, “the consequent psychological need to focus one’s attention and hopes

¹⁵ It is not clear from the wording in the text whether Ignatios was describing examples of scenes put up by Tarasios or whether he was referring to a general inventory of scenes of martyrdom, with which he was familiar because they had been represented in earlier churches, and from which Tarasios would choose

¹⁶ Alexander Kazhdan and Giles Constable, *People and Power in Byzantium* (Washington, D.C., 1982), p. 133

¹⁷ Paul Magdalino, “The Byzantine Holy Man in the Twelfth Century,” *The Byzantine Saint*, pp. 61-64

on the face of the intercessor.”¹⁸ The portrait image was in fact treated as a kind of continuum with the living saint.¹⁹ Also the Iconodule belief, subsequently adopted by the official church, that icons had the same spiritual power and status as the Gospel book and were contemporary with it²⁰ made it difficult, if not impossible, during the first few centuries after Iconoclasm to raise the life of more recently deceased human beings to the same level of holiness. The passion of the early martyrs was a complement to that of Christ, hence they could be included. The cycles of George, Demetrios, the 40 Martyrs of Sebastia and Euphemia came out of this early tradition. Their passion “raised them from the material to the supernatural.”²¹

That the increased popularity of narrative cycles of saints' lives from the last quarter of the twelfth century on coincides with a period which has been identified as hagiographically disappointing,²² when the holy man “ran the risk of losing his credentials”²³ seems at first paradoxical. However, on second thought, it appears that the pictorial representations of saints' lives acted as a counterbalance to the absence of the actual holy man from Byzantine life. During the same period, some of the cycles also express the increasing politicization of the saint which began in the eleventh century and accelerated during the late twelfth and thirteenth centuries.²⁴ That certainly was the case with the group of saints represented in the Serbian churches. Here recently deceased bishops were paralleled with saints Stephen and Sabbas in order to validate the central authority of the Serbian church.

In the late thirteenth and early fourteenth century, during the conclusion of Michael the VIII's controversial reign and the eradication of his unpopular policies after his death, the ascetic was again much in evidence in Byzantine society “as prophet, adviser, and leading figure in ecclesiastical controversies.”²⁵ Hagiography flourished again and monastic power, now allied with official church structure, took a firmer

¹⁸Brown, “A Dark-Age Crisis,” pp. 12-14.

¹⁹Gendle, “The Role of the Byzantine Saint,” pp. 182-85.

²⁰Brown, “A Dark-Age Crisis,” pp. 7-8.

²¹Ibid., p. 5.

²²Hans George Beck, *Kirche und Theologische Litteratur im Byzantinischen Reich* (Munich, 1959), p. 271.

²³Magdalino, “The Byzantine Holy Man,” p. 52

²⁴Rosemary Morris, “The Political Saint of the Eleventh Century,” *The Byzantine Saint*, p. 50 Ruth Macrides, “Saints and Sainthood in the Early Palaiologan Period,” *The Byzantine Saint*, p. 68.

²⁵Ibid.

hold than ever before in Byzantine society.²⁶ During this period and especially during the reign of Andronikos II, the representation of the standard saints' lives continued but a few new cycles of lives of monastic saints were also created (e.g., Euthymios, Gerasimos Iordanites). These cycles emphasized the long tradition of Eastern monasticism and its presence as a positive force in Byzantine society.

As the ascetic holy man became bishop and patriarch (Athanasios, John Kosmas, Theoleptos of Philadelphia) and advised the emperor and his circle on personal and political matters, one might have expected lives of more recent ascetics to emerge as narrative cycles. Yet that did not happen. The few new lives continued to be of ancient saints validated by the past. The adoption of John Kosmas as spiritual father by the protostrator Michael Glavas Tarchaneiotes and his wife Maria and his elevation to patriarch, coincided with the adoption of Euthymios as their saintly intercessor, the dedication of a major chapel to him, and the creation of a splendid monumental narrative cycle of his life as a prototype of ascetic holiness.²⁷

The new climate of increasing uncertainty during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries necessitated more elaborate and more specific evidence than the icon-portrait to assure people of the saint's continued presence as protector and advocate. The narrative cycles reminded and reassured the beholder that human beings who had lived on this earth continued to act as agents in the joining of heaven and earth.²⁸ The cycles also attempted to order and make coherent human experiences and perceptions. But the continued conservation and restrictive choices may also express a desire for "immovable ethical and esthetic principles"²⁹ during a period when the sociopolitical situation was becoming increasingly more unstable and contradictory. The phenomenon of Saint Francis of Assisi and the blossoming of impressive monumental cycles of his life shortly after his death never happened in post-Iconoclast Byzantine society. The genuine individualism of that phenomenon could not occur in a "world of individualism without freedom."³⁰

Finally, it is precisely the continued popularity and power that living saints held in Byzantium as friends, intercessors, advisers, and

²⁶Beck, *Kirche*, p. 272. Laiou-Thomadakis, "Saints and Society," p. 84.

²⁷Gouma-Peterson, "The Parecclesion of St. Euthymios," and by the same author, "Christ as Ministrant and the Priest as Ministrant of Christ in a Palaeologan Program of 1303," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, 32 (1978) 213-16.

²⁸Peter Brown, *The Cult of the Saints*, The Haskell Lectures on History of Religion, New Series, No. 2 (Chicago, 1981), p. 1.

²⁹Kazhdan and Constable, *People and Power*, pp. 160-61.

³⁰Ibid., pp. 34, 90-91, 160-61

political foci that made the permanent recording of their lives on walls of churches dangerous, especially in a society where images were considered truer and more real than living persons. The story of their lives might have challenged too vigorously the unitary and, at least in theory, centralized authority of the church.³¹

³¹On the centralization of the Byzantine administrative system see Kazhdan and Constable, *People and Power*, pp. 34-35. On the political power of the Byzantine saint see: Morris, "The Political Saint," pp. 43-50; Patlagean, "Sainteté et pouvoir," pp. 88-105; Browning, "The 'Low Level' Saint's Life," pp. 117-27; Macrides, "Saints and Saint-hood," pp. 67-87.

NARRATIVE CYCLES OF SAINTS LIVES IN
BYZANTINE CHURCHES c.900-1350

Table A

List of Saints (according to numbers of cycles)

1. Archbishop Arsenije	Gerasimos Iordanites
Cyril of Alexandria	Panteleimon
Euphymia	Symeon Stylites
Euthymios	Stefan Nemajic

2. Basil
Kosmas and Damianos
Sabbas of Jerusalem

3. Simeon Nemanja

4. Demetrios
Peter and Paul
Stephen (?)

6. 40 Martyrs of Sebasteia

31. Nicholas

36. George

Total number of Saints 18

NARRATIVE CYCLES OF SAINTS LIVES IN BYZANTINE CHURCHES c.900-1350

Table B2

List by Century-more than one Cycle

	Basil	Peter & Paul	40 Martyrs of Sebastia	George	Nicholas	Kosmas & Damianos	Sabbas of Jerusalem	Stephen	Simeon Nemanja	Demetrios
10th	Kappadocia 1 Balkham Deressi 2 Toqale New Church	Kappadocia 1 Balkham Deressi 2 Belli Kilisse	Kappadocia 1 Belli Kilisse	Kappadocia 1 Goreme Chapel 9						
11th	Russia 1 Kiev St Sophia	Yugoslavia 1 Ohrid St Sophia	Kappadocia 1 Goreme 2 Belisummar Russia Kiev 3 St Sophia							
12th	Italy Sicily 1 Palermo 2 Monreale	Athos (?)	Russia 8 Greece 1 Yugoslavia 2	Greece 1 Kastoria (St Nicholas Kasnutes) 1 Athos(?)	Greece 1 Kastoria (Sts Anargyroi)					
13th		Kappadocia 1 Sahinefandi Ch of 40 Martyrs 2 Constanti-nople St Euphemia	Greece 9 Yugoslavia 2 Russia 1	Greece 10 Yugoslavia 4 Bulgaria 2 Russia 1		Yugoslavia 1 Žiča 1 Gradac	Yugoslavia 1 Žiča 1 Sopočani 1 Gradac 1 Morača	Yugoslavia 1 Žiča 1 Studenica 1 Sopočani 1 Gradac	Yugoslavia 1 Žiča 1 Studenica 1 Sopočani 1 Gradac	
14th			Greece 7 (Crete) Yugoslavia 2	Greece 6 Yugoslavia 6	Greece 1 Mystras St Demetrios					Yugoslavia 3 Prizren Dečani Peć Greece 1 Mystras

NARRATIVE CYCLES OF SAINTS LIVES IN BYZANTINE CHURCHES c.900-1350

Table B1

List by Century-One Cycle

Symeon Stylites	Cyril of Alexandria	Panteleimon	Euphymia	Euthymios	Gerasimos Iordanites	Stefan Nemanjic	Archbishop Arsenije
Kappadocia Zilve Chapel of Symeon Stylites							
Russia Kiev Holy Trinity		Yugoslavia (Macedonia) Nerezi St Panteleimon					
			Constantinople St Euphymia			Yugoslavia Morača Ch of the Dor- mination of the Virgin	
					Thessalonike Parekklesion of St Euthy- mios	Thessalonike St Nicholas Orphanos	Yugoslavia Peć Ch of the Virgin



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confessor and martyr in exile, ours must recognize him as a father of the Church (p. 173).

While his intended audience is clearly *not* the average lay person, the author's clarity and sensitive style are attractive enough to maintain interest even for those who shrink at the prospect of reading "theology." Travis has made an effort to use difficult theological terms only when unavoidable, and then to offer definitions in simpler terms when possible. The abundance of Greek terms (from the classical philosophers, the church fathers, and the patriarch's own writings) which bear upon the theological discussion, are presented in English phonetics (although footnotes cite foreign titles in the original languages). One can read and apprehend the book's content, then, without knowledge of Greek. Plentiful footnotes offer those with advanced interests much referential direction, and a general index is a welcome convenience.

The result of Travis' meticulous study is a compendium of theological discourses, which originated in the mind and spirit of the patriarch, and were brought to light by a modern scholar of Byzantine Church History. The issues presented include some of the most troublesome the Church has faced to our own day: trinitarian theology, the incarnation, veneration of images, and eschatology to name but few. Travis' contribution does not end with the systematic presentation of the patriarch's teachings. He weaves into the discussion his own pastoral understanding of the issues, reflecting as well upon the tradition and doctrine of the Church. This reinforcement of the orthodoxy of the patriarch's teachings, reiterates in yet another way for the reader that while Nikephoros' major accomplishment was to reestablish the theological basis for the veneration of icons, his was a total and ongoing involvement with the overall well-being of the Church, which led him, while making a defense of images, to a defense of the faith.

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Nicholas of Methone. Refutation of Proclus' Elements of Theology.
By Athanasios D. Angelou. Athens and Leiden, 1984. Pp. lxxxii + 204.

This is the first volume in the Series *Philosophi Byzantini* of the *Corpus Philosophorum Medii Aevi*, published by the Academy of Athens under the auspices of the International Union of Academies. The project is supervised by an international committee composed of L. Benakis, R. Browning, H. Hunger, C. A. Trypanis, G. Verbeke, and D. Zakythinos. The present volume is an excellent beginning to

this auspicious series.

Nicholas (Nicholaos, Nikolaos) was one of the most important thinkers of twelfth-century Byzantium but we know neither the date nor the place of his birth. We only know with certainty that he was a theological adviser of Emperor Manuel I Komnenos (1143-80) and that he was elected bishop of Methone in the Peloponnesos sometime before the enthronement of Patriarch Nikolaos IV Muzalon in 1147. His last dated work was written in 1160 and his death occurred around 1165 but not beyond 1166. Though remote from the capital, Methone was an important city from as early as the ninth century. The little known ninth-century Bishop Athanasios who was born in Catania, Sicily, but emigrated to Patras in the Peloponnesos, was deemed worthy to become bishop of Methone because it was a prominent (*periphanes*) city. By the twelfth century, Methone was an enterprising port and a popular stopping place for Palestine-bound pilgrims. It was because of its economic and cultural importance that several other educated and competent persons, including Nicholas, had been appointed its bishops. That Nicholas considered his appointment there as a “condemnation” should not surprise us because he compared Methone with Constantinople whose intellectual environment he had missed.

Nicholas was the author of sixteen works on a variety of subjects but his *Refutation of Proclus' Elements of Theology* is the most important. It has survived in thirteen manuscripts and in a sixteenth-century Latin translation. The present critical edition is based on only three because the other ten “are of no importance for the reconstruction of the archetype and belong to the *codices eliminandi*” (p. xlvii).

In some seventy-five pages of Introduction, the author discusses Nicholas’ life and times as reflected in his works, a list and a brief commentary of Nicholas’ works with an emphasis on his “Refutation,” the interrelationship of the various manuscripts of the “Refutation,” and its intellectual background. These five chapters end with an appendix and a bibliography. The second half of the book includes the text of Nicholas’ essay.

Nicholas’ *Refutation of Proclus' Elements of Theology* was written in order to protect the faithful from the infiltration of Neoplatonic philosophy which had been used to undermine certain doctrines of the Church. Nicholas’ method was to pose and answer questions, and proceed even further by discussing other existing issues. Long before his appointment to Methone, Nicholas had established a good reputation in Constantinople as a theologian. The disputes between the supporters and the enemies of Patriarch Nicholas Muzalon provided the opportunity to some people “who love leisure and innovations as much as horse races, who are completely indifferent to the harm which is being

done to the Church and are prepared to welcome any change and zealously assist the 'charioteers of this change' in their actions" (xviii) to undermine teachings as well as the authority of the Church. Nicholas was critical not only of heretics but also of bishops who abandoned their flock in times of Turkish and other foreign invasions preferring to save themselves by flight rather than stay and protect it from its enemies (xvii). The present text illuminates the nature of the conflict between pagan and Christian Hellenism. The twelfth century brought a considerable reaction to the study of Hellenic thought which had flourished in the eleventh century under the influence of Michael Psellos and John Italos. There were people who preferred Greek philosophical wisdom to Christian doctrine while others used philosophical syllogisms to question church dogmas.

The Neoplatonic philosophy of Proklos had been idealized by Psellos who admired and considered him as the epitome of human wisdom. But by the middle of the twelfth century, Proklos was considered by some churchmen as a heresiarch and his philosophy as a source of heresies. Thus Nicholas' concern with Proklos' philosophy, especially his Neoplatonic categories and their influence on Christian doctrine.

This is an attractive and excellently executed book of interest to theologians, philosophers, and medieval historians both Byzantine and Western. The author deserves our thanks and congratulations for a superb piece of work.

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Muslim-Christian Relations and Inter-Christian Relations in the Middle East. The Case of the Jacobites in an Age of Transition. By John Joseph. Albany: State University of New York Press, 1983. Pp. 205 + Bibliography.

The author of *The Nestorians and their Muslim Neighbors* Princeton, 1961) has now come up with an additional and welcome contribution to our understanding of the intricate subject of religious complexity and diversity in the Middle East. Two restrictions have been imposed in the book by the author himself: first, a sociological restriction to deal specifically with the Jacobite community and, second, a historical restriction to deal only with the period from the early 1800s to the present. Mercifully the author has not adhered absolutely to his promise: otherwise he might have ended up with an esoteric book, much too technical for a general reader who needs the historical background in



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O City of Byzantium, Annals of Niketas Choniates. Translated by Harry J. Magoulias. Byzantine Texts in Translation. Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1984. Pp. xix + 442 (including 4 plates + 3 maps). \$40.00, cloth.

Dr. Harry J. Magoulias, Professor of History at Wayne State University, was challenged over two decades ago when he was a Dumbarton Oaks Junior Fellow by Professor Glanville Downey, to undertake a translation of Niketas Choniates' history—one of the most monumental and most important documents of the Byzantine period. The translator devoted five years of his professional life to this task and has succeeded admirably in producing a truly elegant translation, with introduction, notes, bibliography, and index to a valuable resource for the study of the period from 1118 to 1207.

Niketas Choniates (ca. 1155-1215), a Byzantine nobleman and official, was an eyewitness to much of what he reports. His *Annals* begin with the reign of John Komnenos and end with the Fall of Constantinople to the Crusaders. After the Preface, which is reminiscent of the introductions of Herodotus and Thucydides, the ten books of the *Annals* survey 1. The Reign of John Komnenos; 2. The Reign of Manuel Komnenos; 3. The Reign of Alexios Porphyrogennetos, the son of Emperor Manuel; 4. The Reign of Andronikos Komnenos; 5. The Reign of Isaakios Angelos; 6. The Reign of Alexios Angelos; 7. The Second Reign of Isaakios Angelos, together with his Son Alexios; 8. The Reign of Alexios Doukas, also called Mourtzouphlos; 9. The Events Which Befell the Romans Following the Fall of Constantinople, by the Same Choniates; and 10. Of the Same Blessed Choniates from His History of Constantinople. In fact, Choniates covers the period that begins with the death of the Emperor Alexios I Komnenos on 15-16 August 1118 and concludes with the events of the autumn of 1207.

Niketas Choniates believes in the value of history and insists, like the ancient Greek historians, that history has moral lessons to teach us:

Historical narratives, indeed, have been invented for the benefit of mankind, since those who will are able to gather from many of these the most advantageous insights. In recording ancient events and customs, the narratives elucidate human nature and expose men of noble sentiments, those who nourish a natural love for the good, to varied experiences. In abasing evil and exalting the noble deed, they introduce us, for the most part, to the temperate and the intemperate who incline one or the other of these two scales. Men

who value the attribute of virtue and eschew shameless conduct and corrupt habitude, although born mortal and subject to death, are immortalized and brought back to life by the writing of history. The same is true for those who, on the contrary, have led depraved lives. It is most fitting that the actions of the virtuous and the shameless be known to posterity (p. 3).

Niketas Choniates insists that the objective of history is truth, and that he will try to write this kind of history with clarity and succinctness. Still, his *Annals* give us a picture of good battling evil, with evil in the end seemingly triumphing (Constantinople falls to the barbarians). He wastes no time in describing the most violent, most tragic, and most gruesome activities of his chosen period of study and vividly portrays the horrible treatment of Eastern Christians by Western Christians that helps explain the centuries' long hostility between the East and the West and that helped prepare the Byzantine empire for its eventual subjugation by the Ottoman Turks. His is a story of the inhumanity of man to his fellow man.

The *Annals of Niketas Choniates* tells us the story from the inside, as only a contemporary and insider could tell it. Professor Magoulias' excellent translation has now made this valuable and fascinating primary document available to a much wider spectrum of readers than would have been otherwise possible in very handsome format. For this labor of love we are greatly in his debt.

John E. Rexine
Colgate University



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On the Profession of a Christian

Τι τὸ τοῦ Χριστιανοῦ Ἐπάγγελμα

by Saint Gregory of Nyssa

BROTHER CASIMIR, O.C.S.O.

INTRODUCTION

ON THE PROFESSION OF A CHRISTIAN is a short treatise in the form of a letter addressed to Harmonios, a friend and disciple of Saint Gregory of Nyssa. Gregory has neglected to write to Harmonios, so he compares himself to a person who has been delinquent in paying taxes and must now render an account for his debts. To atone for such neglect, Gregory composes a longer than usual letter to his disciple for the purpose of "reflecting our personal conversations." His negligence in writing provides the excuse or opportunity to set the tone of the letter: "the promise belonging to Christians is indeed a debt."

On the Profession of a Christian resembles Gregory's other better known treatise also in letter form, entitled *On Perfection*.¹ Both epistles deal with the proper name of Jesus Christ. To Harmonios, Gregory stresses the obligations belonging to a Christian's profession (ἐπάγγελμα) which resemble those of other professions such as an orator or doctor. To Olympios, another disciple, Gregory underlines the metaphysical element of Christian living in *On Perfection*.

As bishop of Nyssa, Gregory had only brief intervals of tranquillity, yet all the while he was preoccupied with the perfection of the spiritual life and set his energies to work advancing this ideal. In his two letters, the basic Christian dogmas, as means of attaining the perfection of the Christian life, are presented. Both epistles present the spiritual life as an organic whole, a realization of the mystery of baptism, the dying to sin, and rising to new life. Gregory proposes that the meaning of Christianity be examined etymologically. Here are parallel passages from both letters:

¹ Published in *The Greek Orthodox Theological Review* 29 (1984) 29.

Let us consider Christianity with respect to its etymology . . . if the name of Christ is changed into a term to make it clearer and more recognizable, it signifies kingship, for by this use, holy Scripture demonstrates royal honor [*On the Profession of a Christian* J.134].

Since the dignity of (God's) kingdom transcends every honor, power, and sovereignty, the name of Christ rightly and above all designates God's kingly power [*On Perfection* J.176-77].

The principle name, however, which these two passages single out to designate the reality of Christ is "kingship." "Since Scripture says that the divinity is inexpressible . . . the prophets and apostles must guide us by many names . . . thus by the word "kingdom" (βασιλεία) sovereign power of everything is intimated" (J.134).

One theme running through *On the Profession of a Christian* is "knowledge of the incarnate nature." All the virtues man can acquire are applicable to Christ by means of his incarnation: "righteousness, wisdom, power, truth, goodness, life, salvation, incorruptibility, the stable and unchangeable" (J.134). These virtues enable us to "imitate the divine nature," a favorite theme not only of Gregory of Nyssa, but of all the Greek Fathers. Each person is a "limb" or εἰκὼν of Christ's body, the sum of man's possibilities of likeness to God not only with respect to the soul's nature, but with regard to man's whole spiritual life. A similar passage from *On Perfection* brings out the close relationship between limbs of the body and Christ as the head:

Therefore we are taught that the head has the same nature as each member in order that each one may be properly conformed to the head. But we are the limbs which contribute to Christ's body (J.198).

By defining Christianity "as the imitation of the divine nature" (for each person is this nature's *eikon*), Gregory of Nyssa borrows Plato's concept of μίμησις, a copy or reproduction.² *On the Profession of a Christian* finds expression of this *mimesis* with respect to a painting: "If anyone should claim that the king's image³ engraved on a tablet

² Gregory of Nyssa also borrows Plato's image of the passions as irrational beasts. Refer to the humorous example of a monkey which is dressed up like a dancer. The spectators have been captivated by its human traits, but once food has been tossed to the monkey, it strips off its costume and dives after these treats (J.132-33).

³ Jean Daniélou points out two aspects of εἰκὼν or image: "Deux traits d'abord caractérisent la condition divine de l'âme si on la compare à sa condition déchue, c'est l'exemption de la mortalité (ἀφθαρσία) et celle de la sexualité," *Platonisme et Théologie Mystique* (Paris, 1944), p. 55.

is disgraceful and not a true likeness, then would not the king's authority suffer harm because the model's beauty was treated unbecomingly" (J.137)? Compare this passage with one from *On Perfection*: "If we are taught the art of painting, our teacher gives us a certain beautiful form on a tablet: the beauty of that form must be imitated by each person's painting" (J.195). Here the colors are equated with virtues imitated by a life according to virtue.

All virtues are rays of the "sun of righteousness" (*On Perfection*, J.184) emanating for our illumination. This concept of virtue has a rich significance in the theology of the Eastern Church, for it means enlightenment by God and a communication of his holiness. Although "God's transcendent essence is totally incomprehensible" (*On Perfection*, J.188), we are bidden "not to compare natures here, but to imitate God's action by our lives as far as it is possible" (*On the Profession of a Christian*, J.138), which is "true imitation of the divine perfection and of the perfection ($\tau\acute{e}leio\acute{t}\acute{e}ta$) of the heavenly God." Gregory closes his letter *On Perfection* with this very word "perfection" just as he began it, pointing out the similarity between "end" and "goal" ($\tau\acute{e}lōs$) in relation to the virtuous life: "For perfection truly consists in never stopping our growth toward the better nor to limit perfection with any boundary" (J.214).⁴ Both letters, the one to Olympios and the other to Harmonios, strike the reader with their strong christological emphasis: the Christian is united to Christ by faith in him and shows his participation in Christ by the practice of all the virtues Christ himself practiced.

Although *On Perfection* confines itself to the use of the great Pauline christological quotations, *On the Profession of a Christian* has fewer such references, citing only one verse in full: "Neither eye has seen nor ear has heard nor has it entered the heart of man what God has prepared for those who love him" (1 Cor 2.9). It is interesting to note that in this short letter, Gregory quotes the famous passage of Genesis pertaining to man as the image and likeness of God (J.136) and Matthew 6.6 which refers to God who sees in secret (J.133). Coupled with the example of a painting (J.137), these two passages underscore the faculty

⁴ This important concept of constant growth is summed up in the word $\acute{e}p\acute{e}ktasis$, the stretching forth to ever higher goals on the spiritual path. Jean Daniélou says of this concept of *epektasis*, "Ainsi le progrès suppose une acquisition antérieure, un affermissement dans le Bien. Mais en même temps il suppose qu'on ne regarde pas en arrière, qu'on ne s'arrête pas aux richesses acquises, qu'il n'y ait aucun regard sur soi-même, mais une orientation de toute l'âme tendue ($\acute{e}p\acute{e}ktivōnevoc$) vers ce qui est en avant, orientée vers Dieu et vers toutes les richesses qu'elle ne possède pas encore," Daniélou, *Platonisme et Théologie Mystique*, p. 325.

of vision.⁵ Gregory implies that God secretly beholds man (his image, reflection) thus setting his eyes upon man's soul as upon a mirror. In these two passages, together with a quote from Psalm 138 which Gregory paraphrases as well as cites, we can see that his stress upon vision applies to the "heavenly dwelling" (J.139) which lies bare to God's scrutiny.

Gregory knows no separation between the natural and supernatural. He gives importance in *On the Profession of a Christian* to the will or intention for uniting oneself to God: "Separation (from earthly passions) with regard to space does not apply, but it comes through free will alone" (διὰ προαιρέσεως, J.140). We have the capacity to will the heavenly way of life upon earth, that is, of bringing the supernatural sphere into the natural realm. As Hans Urs von Balthasar points out, the possession of God is anterior to human efforts of intelligence,⁶ for his image constitutes our very nature and has a connaturality (οὐγγένεια) with him: "Moses taught this when he said, 'God made man; he made him God's image'—Gen 1.27. The Christian profession, then, is the restoration of man to his pristine happiness" (J.136). Man as image "does not overstep the limits of our human nature" because the last end (ὅπος) of man consists in this assimilation.⁷

By perceiving the unity between nature and supernature, Gregory is aware of the profoundly unified view of creation which is proper to the Bible. He incorporated perhaps the most accurate perception possible of a divine transcendence which is not spirit versus matter, but the living God in relation to his creatures. The sensible world, then, is not divorced from the spiritual.⁸ "We can arrive at whatever we wish by our thoughts. Thus the heavenly way of life becomes easy by

⁵ "Auffällig oft nennen die Berichte Jesu 'Anschauen,' seinen 'Blick,' als Mittel der Begegnung, der Anteilnahme 'das Schauen' gleichsam ein Ausgangspunkt für 'ein Haben,' das seinerseits hinwiederum einen Bestandteil bildet von 'Tielhaftigkeit,' 'Teilhabe,' und ähnlichen Wortbildungen 'Schauen' ist also für Gregor nahezu gleichbedeutend mit 'Haben,' Friedrich Normann, *Teilhabe ein Schlüsselwort der Vatertheologie*, (Münster, 1978), p. 231

⁶ "Il existe une possession de Dieu antérieure à tous les efforts de l'intelligence c'est l'image de Dieu dans l'âme, forme concrète de l'analogie de l'être, qui du même coup nous mène hors de la 'nature' et nous transporte dans domaine intermédiaire que l'on pourrait, non sans anachronisme, appeler celui de la 'grâce créée'" *Présence et Pensée* (Paris, 1944), p. 82

⁷ "The goal (ὅπος) of human blessedness is to resemble God," *On the Inscriptions of the Psalms*, PG 44 433C

⁸ "Gregor von Nyssa weiß durchaus um die tiefe Kluft, die sinnliche Wahrnehmung und gestige Erkenntnis voreinander trennen kann Und doch besteht trotz der Gegensätze, ja geradedyurch sie vermittelt, eine bestimmte Harmonie Der Einklang ist also ein Zusammenklang, sonst müßte man von Eintonigkeit sprechen," *Teilhabe ein Schlüsselwort der Vatertheologie*, p. 224

our willingness to have it upon the earth" (J.140), that is by the choices of our free will. Gregory gives the impression here of ignoring man's dependence upon grace, but this apparent neglect is meant to combat the fatalism inherent in the paganism of his day. The battleground between God and the devil (J.140-41) lies in the human heart or in the thoughts ($\tauαῖς διανοίαῖς$) which Gregory calls our treasure, an insight developed in relation to the following verse from the Gospel: "Do not lay up treasures on earth but in heaven where neither moth nor rust corrupts nor where thieves break in and steal" (Mt 6.19).

Participation and image are intimately connected, yet a careful reading of Gregory's works shows that they are not identical: participation refers to the created intellectual nature as a whole, whereas image pertains to man only.⁹ This means that man has the same attributes as his Archetype: "As we conform ourselves to the name Christian by participation in Christ, it befits us as a result to have fellowship ($\kappaονωνία$) with all his sublime names" (J.135). The important concept of participation ($\muετοχή$, J.135), an absolute distinction but a gratuitous union, is for Gregory not a static relationship, rather, it is a process always in progress.¹⁰ In Gregory's *Commentary on the Song of Songs*, the fullest flower of his doctrine on participation is presented as a dialogue between bridegroom and bride. Gregory does not use the term "divinization" with regard to participation due to the careful distinction needed to be made between created and uncreated natures in the Trinitarian heresies of his time ("the Gospel bids us not to compare nature here," J.138). By our partaking of God's perfections, his image in us unfolds by our sacramental (*On Perfection*, J.191-92) and moral participation (*On the Profession of a Christian*, J.135) in Christ's redemption.

The reality behind Gregory's use of the word "participation" in both letters is that the transcendent God is present in the participant. This transcendent source is never diminished but is present "according to one's ability" (J.141) to bring it to realization. His originality with regard to participation consists in seeing its dynamic nature, that is, the soul's stretching forward towards ($\piρός$) God while already being rooted in him. This is like being rooted in Christ as Alpha yet moving

⁹ " 'Image' expresses in the language of Gregory the possession of the same attributes as the Archetype; 'participation' immediately suggests the derived, secondary and thus imperfect possession of them. 'Image' suggests rather a state of perfection, 'participation' has essentially dynamic connotations" David Balas, *Metouσία Θεοῦ*, (Rome, 1966), pp. 145-46.

¹⁰ Friedrich Normann gives a brief survey of various terms used for "participation" in his book, *Teilhabe: ein Schlüsselwort der Vatertheologie*, pp.3-72, as background for a study of participation in the Church Fathers.

towards him as Omega, that is, towards an eschatological fulfillment. Man's ἔρως for things incorporeal provides the energy for such movement as when Wisdom prescribes this passionate ἔρως for the divine beauty.¹¹ We have no mention of ἔρως in *On the Profession of a Christian*, yet the passion Gregory demonstrates to Harmonios for "the blessedness of the life above" (J.140) is plainly evident to the reader. Gregory graciously closes his letter, expressing the desire that Harmonios be attentive for heaven and quotes from Saint Paul " . . . nor has it entered the heart of man what God has prepared for those who love (ἀγαπῶσιν) him" (1 Cor 2.9). We find Gregory's affection for his disciple summed up at the letter's conclusion which is founded in a desire for the things of heaven: "May this which is a delight to God and pleasing to us be ever agreeable to you." And this desire for God in none other than the "profession of a Christian."

* * * * *

A note regarding the text, *On the Profession of a Christian*: In the left margins of the text are the letters "J" and "M." "J" refers to the text in Werner Jaeger's critical edition (Leiden, 1963, viii. 1), while "M" refers to Migne's edition, PG 46.

¹¹"I boldly add to these words: 'Be passionate (*erastheti*) about it,'" *Commentary on the Song of Songs*, First Homily, J.23. Reinhard Hübner says of *eros* in Gregory of Nyssa: "Die Erfüllung dieses *Eros* besagt Empfang des Lebens oder des Guten oder der Tugend oder Freiheit, und es ist wichtig festzuhalten daß dieses Endstadium der Verankerung des menschlichen *Eros* im Guten (cf. Gregory's 'treasures' in *On the Perfection of a Christian*, J.141) mit der Auferstehung und eschatologischen Vollendung des Liebes Christi identisch ist" *Die Einheit des Leibes Christi bei Gregor von Nyssa* (Leiden, 1974), p. 222.

THE TREATISE

M.237 & IF THE ADVANTAGE of further time is wanting as when
J.129 persons subject to daily debts have to pay magistrates, let
them swiftly render the debt in one lump sum, provided that
they have the resources. Thus I will follow the same exam-
ple with regard to your august person. I am in debt to fre-
quently write to you (the promise belonging to Christians
is indeed a debt), and I now wish to make this up by a longer
than usual letter. I have unwillingly neglected to address you
with the passage of time, so if my correspondence differs
with respect to the normal length of a letter, it is meant to
take the place of many letters. Not wishing to unreasonably
burden you with excessive words, I think it would be helpful
to reflect through this letter our personal conversations.

M.240 & No doubt you recall that the subject of our mutual cor-
J.130 respondence was constantly directed to virtue and the exer-
cise of piety as when you carefully suggested an objection
to what was said and admitted nothing without examina-
tion. But we, with the passage of time, have on each occasion
settled these matters which had been inquired in conform-
ity with reason. Should it now be possible, nothing would
be better than to submit this matter to your consideration.
We could then obtain a double benefit for both of us (what
in life can be sweeter to me?), and could awaken as with a
plectrum our old cithera by means of your wisdom. Since the
necessity of life prepares us for bodily separation, even if
we can always be joined spiritually, it would still be necessary
to personally respond if any point of contention in reference
to the argument should appear between us. It would be
helpful to first offer a theme in our correspondence pertain-
ing to what is beneficial for the soul if this theme is to have
relevance to the matter at hand. Thus let us propose the
following question: What is the profession of a Christian?

J.131 Perhaps we may now profit from considering the Chris-
tian profession. We are able to obtain much assistance for
leading a virtuous life, provided that we may truly be
through our sublime manner of life what we are called. A
doctor, orator, or geometrician desires to be called by his
proper title. Such a person would not have his profession
disgraced through ignorance as if he were called something
other than his profession; rather, he wishes to be addressed

according to the true nature of his profession's title so that he might not be reproved by a false name, for his name has credence by virtue of being put into practice. As for us, if we discover by investigation the true end of the Christian profession, we shall not wish to be other than what the name declares us to be, lest the story which the unbelievers tell about the monkey be applied to us also.

J.132

They say that in the city of Alexandria is a monkey belonging to jugglers which has a certain agility in dancing. This monkey has the mask and costume of a dancer. It is exhibited with a chorus and gains attention by its rhythmic dancing, while all the time its true nature has been concealed. While the onlookers were captivated by this new spectacle, one of them, however, more astute than the others, showed by a trick that the monkey was, after all, a monkey to everyone's astonishment. While all the spectators were applauding and clapping at the monkey's graceful antics as it swayed to songs and tunes, they asked this man to cast into the dancing area treats which attract such animals. It did not hesitate when seeing almonds scattered before the chorus: forgetting the

M.241

dance, applause and adornments of its clothing, the monkey ran for the almonds and grasped them in its hands. It quickly tore away the mask which covered it mouth and pounded it into pieces with its claws. Having moved the crowd to much

J.133

laughter instead of praise and admiration, the monkey has now appeared both ugly and ridiculous with the remnants of its disguise. Therefore, just as the human-like costume did not suffice when the monkey exposed its true nature out of greediness for treats, so it is with those persons who do not form their nature in the faith: they will be easily persuaded by the devil's enticements for other things held out to them. Instead of dried figs, almonds, or any such food, the devil offers as enticements to men vanity, ambition, greed, pleasure, or the like, to take the place of sweets. These things quickly bring disgrace upon such apelike souls; falsely imitating the part of a Christian, they remove the mask of temperance, meekness, or any other virtue at the time of trials. Therefore, we must reflect upon the profession of a Christian so that we might quickly become what this name indicates, lest conforming to a mere confession and pretext of a name alone, we be pointed out by him "who sees in secret" (Mt 6.6) because we are other than we appear.

Therefore, let us first consider Christianity with respect

J.134 to its etymology. Among persons of greater wisdom can be found a broader, nobler mind sensitive to the loftiness of this name. We are able to comprehend the following as it pertains to this name: if the name of Christ is changed into a term to make it clearer and more recognizable, it signifies kingship, for by this use, holy scripture demonstrates royal honor. Since scripture says that the divinity is inexpressible and surpasses all power of thought, the divinely inspired prophets and apostles must guide us by many names and conceptions to an understanding of the incorruptible divine nature, for one concept befitting God sets us right with regard to the other. Thus by the word "kingdom" sovereign power over everything is intimated. The name of "virtue" designates anything pure or free from every passion and evil, and so each aspect pertaining to the more excellent divine nature is both perceived and designated. Since the divine nature is righteousness, wisdom, power, truth, goodness, life, salvation, incorruptibility, the stable and the unchangeable, and whatever noble thought is made known through these terms, all are Christ and are called Christ.

M.244

J.135 If every sublime conception is comprehended by the name of Christ (for the loftier name of Christ contains his other names, while each of the others can be seen in the notion of a king), perhaps we may consequently understand and explain something of Christianity. If we who are united to him by faith in him are called by a name surpassing those which explain his incorruptible nature, all the concepts contemplated about his incorruptible nature by this name must consequently be identified in us. As we conform ourselves to the name Christian by participation in Christ, it befits us as a result to have fellowship with all his sublime names. Just as a person pulling a chain with a sharp hook gathers the common links together as one, so when one is united to the name of Christ—for the rest of his names explain that ineffable, multiform blessedness—by grasping the one name, he would necessarily draw together the rest with the one name of Christ.

J.136 If anyone assumes the name of Christ yet does not show in his life what that name means, such a person reveals himself as untrue to the name according to the examples we have offered: he has put on a lifeless mask which conforms to a monkey with human traits. Since Christ cannot be other than justice, purity, truth, and estrangement from all evil, a person cannot be a Christian (that is, he who is truly a Christian)

if is he is not associated with these names. If anyone is to explain Christianity by a name, we therefore say that it is imitation of the divine nature. No one should misrepresent our definition as bold or excessive, for it is not beyond our human nature. If anyone considers man's first state, he will find through the lessons of scripture that our definition does not transgress the limits of our human nature, for man's first condition was according to the imitation of the likeness of God. Moses taught this when he said, "God made man; he made him in God's image" (Gen 1.27). The Christian profession, then, is the restoration of man to his pristine happiness.

If at the beginning man resembled God, perhaps it would not be outside the scope of our definition to say that Christianity is the imitation of the divine nature. Thus the profession of this name is great. It would be appropriate to closely examine whether or not there is anything harmful in life for a person with this name. The object of our investigation might become clear through some examples. When a painter has been commissioned to do a portrait, an order by a magistrate is promulgated to engrave the king's image of his subjects living at a distance. If anyone should claim that the king's image engraved on a tablet is disgraceful and not a true likeness, then would not the king's authority suffer harm because the model's beauty was treated unbecomingly among his subjects who do not know him because of that detestable representation fashioned in ignorance? Should a person who has not accepted the mystery or the definition of Christianity as the imitation of God but has observed a life which we believe is in imitation of him, he will think that our life is also similar. If a person sees examples of every good, he will believe that the God we venerate is good. If any passionate, bestial person was transformed into other similar passions and has assumed in his character many beastlike forms (for it is evident that beasts are formed from perversions of our human nature), then should such a person call himself a Christian, while it is clear to all that the profession of this name proclaims imitation of God, he will thus make the divinity in which we believe an object of reproach among the unbelievers. Because of this, scripture proclaims a more fearsome threat: "Alas, because of those by whom my name is blasphemed among the Gentiles" (Is 52.5).

It seems to me that the Lord is guiding us in a special way by these words when he says to those able to hear, "Be perfect

M.245
J.137

J.138

as your heavenly Father is perfect" (Mt 5.48), for Christ who called him the Father of those who believe, the true Father, wishes those begotten through him to resemble the perfection of the good seen in him. You will therefore say to me, "How can our lowly human state attain the blessedness seen in God when its impotence is manifest? For how can an earthly creature become like a heavenly one when these natures differ and show the inability of being imitated?" It is equally impossible that the image be compared to the greatness of heaven and to the beauty therein, and that the man of earth resemble the heavenly God. But we are clear on this point: the Gospel bids us not to compare natures here—I mean the human with the divine—but to imitate God's actions by our lives as far as it is possible. How, then, do our actions resemble God's? The answer lies in keeping ourselves away from all evil as far as possible and to be cleansed from filth in deed, word, and thought. This is true imitation of the divine perfection and of the perfection of the heavenly God.

M.248

It does not seem to me that the Gospel calls the element of heaven a dwelling place of God set apart, as it were, from earth in which it bids us to be perfect like our heavenly Father.

J.139

For this reason the divinity is equally present in everything and pervades all creation in a similar manner. Nothing separate from being can remain in existence, while the divine nature possesses everything and embraces all within itself by its all-comprehensive power. Similarly, the prophet teaches that if I be in heaven by my thought, and if by descending in my mind to scrutinize the regions under the earth, and if I extend my thoughts to the limits of creation, I see all things grasped by your right hand. With regard to this sentiment, the psalmist says, "If I ascend to heaven, you are there. If I descend to hell, you are there. If I take my wings early in the morning and dwell in the uttermost parts of the sea, even there your hand shall lead me, and your right hand shall hold me" (Ps 138.8-10). We learn from these words that God's heavenly dwelling is not separate nor distinct from us.

Since heaven above is free from evil, holy scripture often shows us this fact through symbols. But in this crasser life below, evil passions are at work, and so the inventor of the evil serpent (i.e., the devil) defiles and entwines itself around the life of earth. As scripture symbolically says, it moves on its breast and belly and eats dirt (Gen 3.14). This form of motion and kind of feeding teaches us that this life is earthly

J.140 and lived below. It is susceptible to the creeping of various evils and becomes the prey of the serpent crawling on it. Therefore, he who commands us to imitate the heavenly Father commands us to be cleansed from earthly passions; separation here with regard to space does not apply, but it comes through free will alone. If separation from evil is directed by an impulse of the intention alone, the Gospel bids us nothing burdensome, for there is no burden in directing the intention; rather, we can arrive at whatever we wish by our thoughts. Thus the heavenly way of life becomes easy by our willingness to have it upon the earth, as the Gospel prescribes, by comprehending heavenly things and by storing up there the wealth of virtue: "Do not lay up treasures on earth but in heaven where neither moth nor rust corrupts nor where thieves break in and steal" (Mt 6.19). Christ shows here that nothing harmful is introduced to the blessedness of the life above.

M.249

J.141 The devil is produced in the thoughts like moths to defile our life or to effect multiform evils against human life, or to render useless through his corrosive power any part where he implants himself. Unless the devil is quickly expelled, he impresses a trace of destruction on whatever he touches through his corrosive power. If the inside is sound, he contrives to enter from outside, for he breaks into the heart's treasury by pleasure or empties the receptacle of the soul of virtue by some other passion after having stolen the reason by anger, sadness, or another passion. Since, therefore, the Lord teaches us that there is neither worm, corrosion, nor a thief's treachery in the treasure above, when we consider these teachings, we must transfer our exchange there where our treasure eternally remains not only safe and strong, but is increased many times like seeds. The recompense must indeed be in accord with the nature of him who receives our deposit, for just as we function according to our nature by offering our poverty, it thus befits that he who is rich in all things which he naturally possesses, should pay back what was delivered over to him.

J.142 Let no one thus lose heart, provided that he pay to the heavenly treasures according to his ability so as to receive according to the measure what he had given; rather, let him wait, as the One who promises, that great things will be given for small things, heavenly things for those of earth, the eternal for those that perish quickly. Such things by their nature cannot be perceived nor explained, for the divinely inspired

scripture teaches that “neither eye has seen nor ear has heard nor has it entered the heart of man what God has prepared for those who love him” (1 Cor 2.9). We have paid in full these words to you, honorable Lord, not only for letters omitted, but we have anticipated those things left unsaid by the subject under consideration. You are dear to me by your deeds in the Lord. May this which is a delight to God and pleasing to us be ever agreeable to you.



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scholar of some repute in his native Australia, a well-known figure in Western European scholarship, and was recently a Visiting Scholar at the Harvard Divinity School. His attention to Saint Symeon, relatively recently glorified by the Ecumenical Patriarchate, is most welcome. This saint has long been venerated as a spiritual writer in the Greek Orthodox Church and has been widely used by Slavic Orthodox writers in commentaries on divine services. Saint Symeon's writings on the Church's services, as represented in the present volume, often contain information that is at odds with other writers, in terms of various details. However, he gives us most valuable insight into the liturgical life of his times and, of course, conveys to us that subtle patristic sense that is so necessary in understanding all aspects of the Church, from theology to liturgics.

Dr. Simmons has provided us with a rare book from the writings of a saint who should be better known to English-speaking scholars and to Orthodox in the West. I do hope that we see more of Simmons' work in the future.

Archimandrite Chrysostomos
St. Gregory Palamas Monastery

Pavel Florensky: A Metaphysics of Love. By Robert Slesinski. Foreword by John Meyendorff. Crestwood, New York: St. Vladimir's Seminary Press, 1984. Pp. 259. \$10.95, paper.

Fr. Robert Slesinski of the faculty of the John XXIII Institute for Eastern Christian Studies and holder of a doctorate in philosophy from the Pontifical Gregorian University in Rome has written a very important book on a very significant Russian Orthodox thinker that now makes an aspect of the latter's thinking available in some detail to English readers for the first time. Father Pavel Florensky (1882-1943?) exemplified in his person and in his speculative thought the spirit of the Russian religious renaissance before the Revolution of 1917. His *magnum opus*, *The Pillar and Foundation of Truth*, made a lasting impact on Russian religious thought and it is this work in particular that Father Slesinski utilizes to provide a critical and interpretative analysis of his experiential methodology, his antinomic theory of truth, and his controversial sophiological contribution. A priest-theologian who was also a distinguished mathematician and engineer, Pavel Florensky's work, in science as well as religious thought, has been duly recognized within and beyond the borders of Russia. Father Slesinski's monograph becomes the first of its kind in English and was produced on the occasion

of the fortieth anniversary of Father Florensky's death.

A Metaphysics of Love is a carefully worked out book that provides a general introduction to Florensky's life and thought, his antinomic concept of truth (that embraces the experience of truth, his homoousian philosophy, and the antinomy of truth) and his metaphysics of love (including his sophiology and the metaphysics of friendship). For Florensky, "the great dogmatic themes of the Christian religion cannot be grasped in abstraction from the lived situation of man in two worlds, the terrestrial and the divine, but rather must be considered as resultant symphonic presentations of this joining of these worlds" (p. 52) but at the same time the view is taken that the cognitive process cannot produce a fully integral knowledge. Florensky hearkens back to Khomyakov's position that "only he understands the Church who understands the Liturgy," since "ecclesiality, to his mind, is none other than the stance that religious truth is graspable only in the context of ecclesial life, or, more specifically, in the experience of divine worship, which is the heart and pulse beat of this life" (p. 64). Even so, ecclesiality ("the life of the Church in spirit") cannot be fully embraced by any concept, yet man experiences a compelling urge to illuminate and express his lived experience of a more foundational and transcendent truth. For Florensky it is the Divine Word alone that discloses the mystery of the Holy Trinity. An inquiry into the experience of truth shows that there are ontological, logical, sociological, even etymological aspects to truth. Truth can be experienced as certitude, and the principle of identity is viewed negatively—unable by itself to address the problem of truth. Identity Florensky sees in terms of ". . . the static, 'rational' model of unconditional self-identity, as not deriving its *reason* in being from its 'other' and the dynamic model of self-identity viewed as *life* and, accordingly, conceived of as having its reason in being in some greater flow of events" (p. 89). In addition, Florensky posits a Self-Proving and Self-Authenticating Subject as capable only of fulfilling all the necessary conditions for a synthesis. Florensky's personalist thesis is that the Subject of Truth is the Holy Trinity. For Florensky, the essence of Truth is an "infinite act of Three in Unity" "*one substance in three hypostases*" (p. 113). Florensky uses a heuristic proof for the existence of that Absolute Truth, which is the Triune God of the Christian faith. His philosophy is uniquely homoousian. To quote Father Slesinski directly, "The term, 'consubstantiality' or '*homoousios*' itself captures the thrust of meaning of what constitutes the most fundamental antinomy of all Christian experience, namely, the experience of the *oneness* of God, who, at the same time is essentially Three Hypostases (Persons)" (p. 123). Florensky presents us with a Triune Self-Proving Subject as the ultimate foundation of truth, which is at

the root of our being and of the world. This Absolute Being becomes the object of our longing, our love, and our cognitive inquiry. To know the Truth is to participate in the Truth, which is possible only through the *theosis* of man. Consequently, only through love of God can there be knowledge of God: “It is in love and only in love that a valid knowledge of Truth can be expressed” (p. 133). Knowledge of Truth is participation in Divine Love. Father Slesinski puts it very precisely and pointedly when he says: “This essential participation in the trinitarian life, effected in love, constitutes man’s consubstantiality, as it were, with the Triune Godhead, and only through this consubstantiality is the Absolute and Infinite Reality or Integral Unity known” (p. 138).

Truth is, for Father Florensky, essentially antinomic. In the temporal world we know about Truth but through *theosis* we can have a vision of the Truth. To develop a knowledge of truth on the affirmative basis of antinomies requires a spiritual life and *askesis*. Paradoxically, Father Florensky asserts that “where there are no antinomies, there is no faith” (p. 148). The search for Truth has led Florensky to the Lord and Savior himself—to the Person of Christ and the revelation that Truth is a Person.

Interestingly, all of creation is the expression of the Wisdom of God—the willed actualizations of this Divine wisdom. This is a God who freely creates, humbles himself, and makes himself “Other” in relation to the creature. Love explains the dynamics of the universe. It is the love of God that makes possible life, unity, and being. Sophia is the realized Wisdom of God. Creation is the realized Love of the Creator. Florensky asserts that Sophia is the Great Root of Creation—“the germ and center of the redeemed creature—*the Body of the Lord, Jesus Christ*” (p. 182). Sophia is also the Church in its terrestrial aspect and *virginity*. The Virgin Mary, finally, is the maiden full of grace who is incomparably Sophia. Father Slesinski goes on to discuss the Sophia tradition in Russian iconography in Novgorod, Yaroslavl, and Kiev. For Florensky, Father Slesinski emphasizes, “it is Holy Sophia which provides that all-embracing unity in which somehow all is contained, or better yet, founded upon and belongs to that Absolute, who is God. This is essentially the pan-entheistic content of Florensky’s sophiology” (p. 200).

It is clear that for Father Florensky God is not just relational to the creature in his Divine Energies; he remains unfathomable in his Essence and is totally other than his creatures, but it is his Love that is the true actual cause of the ordered beauty of the universe. Florensky discusses friendship in relation to Sophia and Truth, and concludes that it is properly metaphysical in nature and must be viewed ontologically and mystically (“the contemplation of oneself through the friend

in God"). Such love can exist for human beings only to the extent that they are the beloved creatures of God who is Love.

A Metaphysics of Love is not an easy book to read, and there is much in it that needs detailed exegesis. Simply put, "because God is Love, he is also Truth" is its principle message, but the complex and complicated reasoning that highlights Florensky's principle of dynamic identity (his central philosophical discovery) serves to show how a brilliant Russian Orthodox theologian could use that principle as the cornerstone of his personalist, homoousion philosophy, the consubstantiality of all creatures being only a result of the fact of dynamic reality. It is a philosophy which reaffirms the Creation as a unified, organic, integrated expression of God's Wisdom and Love—a sublime manifestation of God's Love. Florensky reminds us that "there is truth because there is Truth; he immediately adds, however, that there can be Truth only if there is Love. Love is thus the very condition of the possibility of Truth" (p. 234).

Father Slesinski has done an admirable job in presenting to the English-speaking public some of the most important aspects of the religious thinking of one of twentieth-century Russia's most fertile theological minds. Despite some awkward English terminology and expression, Dr. Slesinski has managed to give us an ordered view of an Orthodox theologian whom all Orthodox readers must come to know, appreciate, and digest, even if they cannot always agree with all of his ideas and methods. Non-Orthodox critics also will no doubt be impressed by the range and power of this amazing Orthodox thinker.

John Rexine
Colgate University

Isaiah 1-39. By Joseph Jensen, O.S.B. Old Testament Message 8. Wilmington: Michael Glazier, Inc., 1984. Pp. 311. n.p.

Joseph Jensen's commentary on Isaiah 1-39 follows neatly in the tradition already established by other writers in this series. Critical discussions are never substituted for an elucidation of the text itself; the author has successfully used critical information to enhance the text. It is likely that more commentaries will be produced in the 1980s than in any other single decade, and it is refreshing to discover this commentary which does not contain an inordinate amount of critical baggage.

With these comments as background, it should also be noted that this is more than a "popular" treatment. A careful reading of the



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The People of God—Its Unity and Its Glory: A Discussion of John 17.17-24 in the Light of Patristic Thought

CONSTANTINE SCOUTERIS

AT THE VERY BEGINNING of this address I would like to say what a high honor and distinct privilege it is for me to be asked to deliver the annual lecture in commemoration of the faith and testimony of Father Georges Florovsky.

The protopresbyter Georges Florovsky was a man of great theological contribution, of genuine spiritual vision, and of humble pastoral *diakonia*. In the memory of those who had the privilege of knowing him, he will remain as “an example of the believers, in word, in conversation, in charity, in spirit, in faith, in purity” (1 Tim 4.12). In the hearts of those who have known him through his writings, he will be remembered as a theologian dedicated to bear witness to what we call “the Orthodox ethos,” or “the Orthodox way.” Both as a scholar and as a pastor, the late Father Georges Florovsky was a living testimony to patristic theology. His entire theological approach was according to the mind of the Fathers. His constant effort was to prove that the eternal strength of Orthodox theology lies in the patristic inheritance.

With the same intention, the Orthodox Theological Society of America, honoring his memory, projects the spirit and the passion, the life and the word of our Fathers. And, indeed, to transmit the spirit and the message of the patristic inheritance is, I believe, the best service one can offer to modern man caught up as he is in his own self-sufficiency and futility.

The Father Georges Florovsky Memorial Lecture (1985) sponsored by the Orthodox Theological Society of America.

Status of the Question

The stress on the patristic way, this supreme concern of Father Georges Florovsky, leads me to concentrate my attention on a theme which was often discussed by the Greek Fathers, and yet is not infrequently overlooked in our contemporary ecclesiastical life, despite the fact that it is often included in the agenda for our theological consultations. Living as we do in a society where emphasis is placed on programs and structures, we often understand the Church as an organism in the narrow sense. We pay less attention to the fact that she is a new totality, a new generation, a peculiar gathering of people, in which immense potentialities are offered to all. The world in which we live inflicts upon us a secular understanding of the Church. Thus, the fact that the Church, although in the world, is not of the world, frequently escapes our attention. In fact we do not always realize that the Church is the transcendence of the world.

When we consider the New Testament data more carefully and thoroughly we find ourselves in the presence of a new, glowing life. There is nothing in the world which offers any real parallel to this remarkable and unique life. The New Testament presents us with the possibility of realizing that ecclesiastical communion is the abolition, in the most radical way, of any worldly human communion, and is the creation of a new relationship. For me, this is summed up in the words of Christ himself: ‘I am come to send fire on the earth . . . Suppose ye that I am come to give peace on earth? I tell you, nay, but rather division. For from henceforth there shall be five in one house divided, three against two, and two against three. The father shall be divided against the son, and the son against the father, the mother against the daughter, and the daughter against the mother, the mother-in-law against her daughter-in-law, and the daughter-in-law against her mother-in-law’ (Lk 12.49-53).¹

Before coming to grips with the issue I am going to discuss, I feel that it is necessary to say just a few words about the theme itself, and the way in which I intend to discuss it. My concern in this presentation is to argue the subject: “The people of God: its unity and its glory.” It is well-known that in recent Orthodox theology, issues related to the people in general, or to the laity in particular, recur constantly. We speak very frequently about the people of God, about its importance and its authority.² The question is, what do we mean when we speak

¹ See also Mt 10.34-35.

² Thus, we often make statements such as: “The apostolic preaching is protected within the entire ecclesiastical body,” or “The people of God in its entirety is the bearer of tradition,” and so on.

of the people, and where do its unity and uniqueness lie? My aim here is to touch on this issue and to present a theological outline, or if you like, a very brief theology of the people of God.

More precisely, I wish to read a concrete scriptural passage, relevant to the theme proposed, and to examine it in the light of the patristic interpretation. My intention is to draw your attention to certain aspects of the patristic understanding. However, it must be said from the beginning that I am making no claim to presenting you with a detailed analysis of every point of the biblical passage which I shall use. I shall rather be taking it as a starting point or a framework of my investigation, trying to focus my thought on its main points.

The passage of which I am speaking is drawn from the high priestly prayer of Christ. When we read this prayer in John's Gospel we find ourselves face to face with notions that are applied to God and to the people of God simultaneously. Christ is praying for his disciples, but as he adds, not "for these alone, but for them also which shall believe on me through their word." His concern is for their unity and their sanctification in the truth. "Sanctify them through thy truth; thy word is truth . . . that they all may be one; as thou, Father, art in me, and I in thee, that they also may be one in us, that the world may believe that thou hast sent me. And the glory which thou gavest me I have given them, that they may be one even as we are one and that the world may know that thou hast sent me, and hast loved them, as thou hast loved me. Father, I will that they also, whom thou hast given me, be with me where I am, that they may behold my glory, which thou hast given me" (Jn 17.17-24).

The Divine Oneness and the Unity of the People

Evidently, this prayer is not concerned with the future unity of the churches, but with the maintenance of that unity in glory which was given to the Apostles and to the faithful in and through Christ.³ In fact, the prayer has two major themes: the unity of the disciples and of all those who will believe in Christ through the apostolic preaching, and their participation in the divine glory. These two points are obviously interrelated, and I believe that they constitute a solid ground for a theology of the people.

The main characteristic point of this prayer of Christ is his request for unity. The word "one" is repeated a striking number of times within a few lines. It occurs six times in four verses, and it stresses the paradoxical connection between the divine unity and the unity of those human

³See the comments of Saint Gregory of Nyssa in: *"Οταν ὑποταγῇ αὐτῷ τὰ πάντα,* PG 44.1321Aff.

persons who had believed in Christ. In fact, Christ stresses the reality of communion with God as the *sine qua non* condition for the being of man and for the oneness of all believers. Communion with the “One” is the only bond which unites the people in one particular unity.⁴

In other words, the oneness of the people of God is not understood as an autonomous and enclosed reality but as a continuous and dynamic share of the divine fullness and oneness. Or, to put it another way, the divine oneness transforms human multiplicity into a harmonious agreement. The divine oneness covers every aspect of ecclesiastical life, and although “we have many members in one body,” being many we are one in Christ” (Rom 12.4-8). I cannot find any other more characteristic and clear illustration of this than the words of Saint Ignatios when he is writing to the Philadelphians:

I exhort you to have but one faith, and one preaching, and one Eucharist. For there is one flesh of the Lord Jesus Christ, and his blood which was shed for us is one. One loaf also is broken for all, and one cup is distributed among them all. There is but one altar for the whole Church, and one bishop, with the presbytery and deacons. Since also there is but one unbegotten being, God, even the Father, and one only-begotten Son, God, the Word and man, and one Comforter, the Spirit of truth, and also one preaching, and one faith, and one baptism, and one Church which the holy Apostles established from one end of the earth to the other by the blood of Christ, and by their own sweat and toil, it behooves you also, therefore, as “a peculiar people, and a holy nation,” to perform all things with harmony in Christ.⁵

The Old and the New Israel

In its simplicity Saint Ignatios’ argument makes it clear that the oneness of the people is made possible only through the divine oneness. The gathering of the people of God into one synagogue is thus a *koinonia* in the image of the divine communion. The people of the New Israel form a new, unbroken totality because God freely and willingly, transcending his transcendence, created a new personal relationship with man. In the Old Israel the relationship between God and the people was a sort of a subject-object relationship. God was acting behind the

⁴ “Μίαν οὖν τινα καὶ ἀπλῆν τῆς εἰρηνικῆς ἐνώσεως θεωρήσωμεν φύσιν, ἐνοῦσαν ἄπαντα ἔαυτῇ καὶ ἔαυτοῖς καὶ ἀλλήλοις, καὶ διασώζουσαν πάντα ἐν ἀσυγχύτῳ πάντων συνοχῇ καὶ ἀμιγῇ καὶ συγκεκραμένᾳ,” Pseudo-Dionysios, *Περὶ θείων ὀνομάτων*, PG 3.949C. This unity is often called *ένοείδεια* in the writings of the Areopagite, i.e. a unity of a single form, of one and the same kind and character.

⁵ Chapter 4.

veil of human history. He was speaking from outside; his word was an external claim: “Hear this, all ye people, give ear all ye inhabitants of the world, both low and high, rich and poor together” (Ps 42.1-2). Thus, the unity of the Old Israel was a result of submission to the one voice of God which came as an external law, commandment or prophetic assurance. In the New Israel the oneness of the people is the result of a *symbiosis* and *enoikesis*, of the dwelling of God among men (Jn 1.14). The fundamental difference between Old and New Israel lies in the radical change from a subject-object relationship to one of participation or communion. This means that in the New Israel God no longer acts in human history as an external factor, but enters himself into the scene of human history, and becomes the central person in it. This is the meaning of the “ἐσκήνωσεν ἐν ἡμῖν.” Thus, by his unique kenotic action the divine Logos became himself history enhypostasized. By his self-emptying and abasement, he is involved in human history in a personal and direct way. John Zizioulas speaks of the “existential involvement” of God in human history. This “existential involvement”⁶ of God in human destiny constitutes the surpassing of the law by the truth. It is in this sense that Paul spoke of the ransom (ἐξαγορά) of those who were under the law (Gal 4.5). Hence the New Israel is in an absolutely new situation, one created by God’s kenotic going out and by his redemptive indwelling (ἐνοίκησις) in man. Clearly, this means that the unity of the new people of God resulted from the personal communion which was created by the incarnate Logos. The divine Logos became the unifying bond, the gathering of the people “from the four winds” or “from the ends of the earth.”

The Divine and the Human Ecstasy

In their attempt to stress the connection between the divine oneness and the oneness of the new people, the Areopagite and Saint Maximos the Confessor speak of God’s ecstatic action. This divine ecstasy is understood as a movement of God, and as dwelling in the heart of human reality. Thus the Incarnation implies an exodus of God out of himself, while he yet stays within himself, in order to eliminate the existing gulf between God and man. This ecstasy or movement of God is understood in terms of divine love. “For God so loved the world, that he gave his only begotten Son” (Jn 3.16).

God’s ecstatic love can be compared with nothing, since it is a love beyond human experience. It is a unifying and conjoining love, diametrically opposed to human love which is “a partial, physical and divided

⁶ See J. D. Zizioulas, “The Authority of the Bible,” *The Ecumenical Review*, 21 (1969) 162ff.

quality.” While God’s love is “beginningless” and “endless” revolving “in a perpetual circle for the Good, from the Good, in the Good, and to the Good,” human love is a “vain image” or a “lapse” of the real love.⁷ Both the author of the Areopagite texts and Maximos the Confessor prefer to use the term ἔρως in order to speak about the divine love. The term “yearning” is considered to be “more divine” and better illustrates the fact that God, although unmovable in himself, is moved in order to make man free from his divisions and his loneliness. Thus God in his yearning is transported outside of himself, and being united with human nature hypostatically, but without confusion, he transfers divine unity to the human level. The ecstatic “emigration,” so to speak, of the incarnate Logos forms the ontological basis of what we call “one body.” Thus, in and through Christ man has the possibility of connecting himself with the perfect divine oneness in a personal and unique communion of love. This is what is meant, I believe, by Christ’s words, “I in them, and thou in me, that they may be perfect in one.” God’s outgoing constitutes the presupposition and the beginning of man’s going out of himself in order to meet the divine Thou and to reach a personal communion with him.

Thus, in and through Christ, the incarnate Word, we have a reciprocal ecstasy. God is moved in a yearning, going out in order to move man towards himself. At one and the same time he is both he who acts the unique and ecstatic yearning, and the object of love. He is both ἔρως and ἔραστόν. As ἔρως is moved out of himself, and as ἔραστὸν is the motive power leading towards himself, those who are able to do so receive his love.⁸ It is within this theological context that Ignatios’ words, “He whom I yearn for is crucified” (ὁ ἐμὸς ἔρως ἐσταύρωται)⁹ can be understood. And it is from this perspective that we must read Paul’s words, “I live, and yet not I, but Christ liveth in me” (Gal 2.20).¹⁰

God’s ecstatic movement towards man, and man’s free response in a motion of love towards God, which is also ecstatic, form precisely the community of the new Israel. The communion of the new people in Christ is thus a meeting which is effected in a double motion, of both God and man. The kenotic movement of the Logos is the embracing and the unification of human nature, which is, due to sin, partial

⁷ Περὶ θείων ὀνομάτων, PG 3.709BC, 712D.

⁸ “Ως μὲν ἔρως ὑπάρχον τὸ θεῖον καὶ ἀγάπη κινεῖται, ὡς δὲ ἔραστὸν καὶ ἀγαπητὸν κινεῖ πρὸς ἔαντὸ πάντα τὰ ἔρωτος καὶ ἀγάπης δεκτικά,” Maximos the Confessor, Περὶ διαφόρων ἀποριῶν, PG 91.1260C.

⁹ To the Romans 6. See also Pseudo-Dionysios, Περὶ θείων ὀνομάτων, PG 3.709B.

¹⁰ Ibid., PG 3.712A.

and divided. As such it constitutes the locus in which every human ego can create its own personal and unique relationship with God. But it should be underlined once more at this point that this new communion presupposes not only the “emigration” of God, but also the “emigration” of man. Man must respond to God’s offer by freely offering his own existence to him who became a “curse” (Gal 3.13), in order to re-establish the lost communion of man with his creator. It is important, I think, to note in connection with this that, in a certain sense, man carries his fellow believers along with him through his free dedication to God. The free offering of the one, results in, and provokes, the offering of the other. It is a challenge which urges others to do likewise. In other words the offering of the one contributes to the increase and growth of the entire ecclesiastical body, and to the maturing of it. In this sense the offering of the one becomes an ecclesiological act with catholic significance. And it is precisely this offering of the one, which leads to the offering of the others, that we have in mind when we sing in the Divine Liturgy: “Let us commit ourselves and one another and our whole life to Christ our God.”

The Person of the Father as the Cause of the Divine Unity

In discussing the question of the unity of the people of God, there are some further observations to be made which may throw more light on the issue. The first point which deserves to be given more careful consideration is the connection between the divine unity and the unity of the people of God. The question is stressed clearly, as has already been pointed out, by Christ: “that they may be one, even as we are one.” The divine oneness is the model for the oneness of the people. In fact, the people can be one only because the triune God is the fullness of unity.”¹¹

Let me undertake a doctrinal analysis. In the tradition of the Greek Fathers it is commonly asserted that the source, the beginning and the

¹¹In the life of the superessential and life-giving Trinity, unity appears not as an additional or compound category, but as an absolutely radical reality which is beyond conjunctions and divisions. The number “One” as an arithmetical category is insufficient to describe the divine unity. Unity as a mathematical concept presupposes compoundness. But we know, explains Saint John of Damascus, that only those which are “composed of imperfect elements must necessarily be compound.” We also know that “compoundness is the beginning of separation.” However there is nothing in the intertrinitarian life which is imperfect, or which compounds, or which leads to separation. The three divine hypostases are absolutely perfect, and consequently no compound can arise from them. The three divine Persons are united in such a way “not so as to commingle, but so as to cleave to each other, and they have their being in each other without any coalescence or commingling.” While each divine hypostasis is perfect in himself, and has his own mode of existence, “each one of them is related as closely to the others as to himself.” *The Orthodox Faith 1*, PG 94.824A-28C.

recapitulation of the intertrinitarian unity is the person of the Father. The oneness of God is thus understood as having a “personal” dimension, so to speak. The one God is not the inaccessible divine nature, but is the Father, the cause of the existence of the other two divine Persons. The Father, the principle of the hypostases, gives himself over to the other two divine Persons, generating the Son, and causing the Holy Spirit to proceed, thus establishing a unique unity based on his monarchy. We have to understand this “giving over” of the Father as the communication of his divine essence to the Son and to the Holy Spirit. This ecstasy of the Father is an action of freedom and of love. It is a personal *kenosis*, so to speak, an ἀκένωτος κένωσις of the Father for the benefit of the other two divine Persons. The Son and the Holy Spirit respond freely to this “gushing forth” of the Father’s love. They neither usurp the Father’s love for their own benefit, nor seize it (Phil 2.6), but offer their existence and life to the Father in love, as he does to them. This exchange (ἀντίδοσις) in love and freedom is expressed as absolute obedience to the Father’s will.¹²

I think it is clear from what has been pointed out so far that the ontological cause of the Godhead and of the divine oneness is not the divine essence, but the hypostasis of the Father. God’s unity and the intertrinitarian life are not the consequence of the one nature but of the existence of the Father through whom the Son and the Holy Spirit receive their existence. “All that the Son and the Spirit have,” says Saint John Damascene, “is from the Father, even their very being, and unless the Father is, neither the Son nor the Spirit is. And unless the Father possesses a certain attribute, neither the Son nor the Spirit possesses it: and through the Father, that is, because of the Father’s existence, the Son and the Spirit exist, and through the Father, that is, because of the Father having the qualities, the Son and the Spirit have all their qualities.”¹³

The Person of the Son as the Cause of the Ecclesiastical Unity

Thus in the trinitarian life it is the person of the Father who is the sole cause of the existence of the other two divine Persons, and, is consequently the unique principle of the divine communion. The person of the Father is the ontological basis of the divine communion. Likewise, in the Church it is the person of the incarnate Logos who makes every human being a unique person, thus establishing a communion of persons in the image of the three divine Persons. The incarnate Logos

¹² See my article: “Paradosis: The Orthodox Understanding of Tradition,” *Sobornost Incorporating Eastern Churches Review*, 4 (1983) 31.

¹³ *The Orthodox Faith* 1, PG 94.824AB.

transferred the divine unity to the human level as a personal communion. The incarnate Logos becomes the ontological foundation of the new people. This means that there can be unity of the people because there is Christ. It is the person of the incarnate Logos who reveals the authentic human person and makes every human being a unique person in communion with others.

What does this mean? What do we mean when we say that the incarnate Logos reveals the authentic human person and creates a communion of persons? At first sight we simply mean that the Logos of God re-established in his person the divine image which had been obscured by sin, thus opening the way for man's liberation from his estrangement, from his isolation and individuality. It also means that the foundation of the unity of the new people of God cannot be found outside personal communion. The unity of the people of God is not the consequence of a particular external teaching. The unifying force of the people of God is not theoretical agreement. Similarly, its oneness is not based on a new common law, with new commandments and regulations.

Let us state the argument again: the uniqueness of the New Testament people lies in the fact that this people ($\lambda\alpha\circ\varsigma$) exists as a communion of persons. Its unity must be understood not in terms of human agreement, nor even of metaphysical beliefs, but as a recapitulation in the unique person of the incarnate Logos. In the final analysis this means that, if there is unity, it is because the re-creation of the human person is realized in Christ. Saint Paul puts this well in his epistle to the Ephesians, "In Christ Jesus ye who sometimes were far off are made nigh by the blood of Christ. For he is our peace, who hath made both one, and hath broken down the middle wall of partition between us, having abolished in his flesh the enmity . . . for to make in himself of twain one new man, so making peace, and that he might reconcile both unto God in one body by the cross, having slain the enmity thereby . . . Now therefore ye are no more strangers and foreigners, but fellow citizens with the saints, and of the household of God" (Eph 2.13-19).

This passage from Paul refers primarily to the Gentiles who are "fellow heirs, and of the same body, and partakers" of the promise of God in Christ by the Gospel (Eph 3.6). It is also significant, however, for a generally better understanding of the unity of persons in the one body of the Church. The point is that in the person of Christ all distinctions and divisions are abolished. And we know that the corruption of human nature is due to the fact that it is a rupture and a breaking off of the original unity established by God. Let me briefly elaborate on this.

The Unifying Energy of the Creator

We are aware that when we speak of the creation we mean that God, freely and in love, exercises his personal capacity for producing entirely new beings. Creation *ex nihilo* implies that God created realities which are outside of himself, and despite the fact that there is an “infinite” distance, or rather an ontological gulf (χάσμα), between the nature of God and that of created beings, God’s intention was not one of producing beings which would have no participation in his glory.

Since God [explains the Damascene], who is good and more than good, did not find satisfaction in self-contemplation, but in his exceeding goodness wished certain things to come into existence which would enjoy his benefits and share in his goodness, he brought all things into being and created them, both what is invisible and what is visible, yet, even man, who is a compound of the visible and invisible.¹⁴

Thus the ontological gulf between the uncreated Lord and his creatures is nullified by God’s love and his immutable maintenance of all created beings. This means that despite the fact that God creates beings outside himself there is still a strong connection between himself and the created things. God abolishes the infinite distance between uncreated and created through his unifying and perfecting energy which permeates all. Again I must quote from Saint John of Damascus who speaks of the “divine radiance and activity,” which although it is in itself “one and simple and indivisible . . . is multiplied without division among the divided, and gathers and converts the divided into its own simplicity. For all things long after it and have their existence in it. It gives also to all things beings according to their several natures, and it is itself the being of existing things, the life of living things, the reason of rational beings, the thought of thinking beings. But it is itself above mind and reason and life and essence.”¹⁵

The primordial vocation of created beings was unity with the creator. And although the created, according to its nature, is outside God, its call and ultimate destiny was to be in union with him and to share in his goodness. We must emphasize here that the connection between created and uncreated must be understood not only in terms of dependence, but also in terms of God’s penetration of the universe, and of his holding and containing of it. The divine power creates, holds together and unites all beings. Saint Gregory of Nyssa is very explicit

¹⁴Ibid. 2; PG 94.864C-65A.

¹⁵Ibid. 1; PG 94.860C.

on this matter. “The divine power,” he says, “skillful and wise, is manifested in the beings and, pervading everything, adapts the parts to the whole, and completes the whole by the parts, and through one power holds together the universe.”¹⁶ God the creator holds all the created beings together in existence and in unity and communion with himself. God, “the source of the beauty and of every good,” adds the Areopagite, “is the cause of all (ποιητικὸν αἴτιον), and the mover of all, and that which holds all together in the love of its beauty . . . and among beings there is nothing which does not participate in the Good and the beautiful.”¹⁷ One of the characteristic properties of the uncreated power is “to pervade and to extend to every part of the nature of beings.”¹⁸

Although the theme of God’s containing and penetrating his created beings has a philosophical background, namely Stoic and Neoplatonic,¹⁹ the patristic understanding of it goes beyond the philosophical approach. The unity is understood by the Fathers in purely biblical and theological terms. They did not speak of it in terms of speculation, but always and constantly within a soteriological context. In fact it is the divine “emigration” and radiance of God, the trinitarian love, which calls the created beings to share the divine unity and glory.

The Destructive Character of Sin

This original oneness and conjunction (συνάρφεια) of the universe with God, the symphony (σύμπνοια), so to speak, of all beings with one another was dissolved by sin. In order to understand the unity of the people of God better it is necessary to say a few words about the destructive character of sin. Sin introduced discord and confusion into the created universe. Even the material world undergoes its effect. Sin is understood in patristic anthropology as being a catastrophe caused by the free will of intelligent beings. It is a turning away which causes the entire *cosmos* to break loose from its creator. The primordial vocation was for unity, but sin introduces division.

As a matter of fact, sin is a continuous decomposition, disorganization and dissolution of the unity created by God. It is a separation and disruption in the harmony of beings. The author of the Areopagite treatises speaks of sin as “an inharmonious mingling of discordant

¹⁶ Περὶ ψυχῆς καὶ ἀναστάσεως, PG 46.28A. For a fuller discussion, see D. L. Balas, *Μετουσία Θεοῦ. Man’s Participation in God’s Perfections according to Saint Gregory of Nyssa* (Rome, 1966), pp. 115-20.

¹⁷ Περὶ θείων δονομάτων, PG 3.701C-04B.

¹⁸ Λόγος κατηχητικὸς δι μέγας, ed. J. H. Srawley, pp. 118, 10-119, 3; PG 45.80D.

¹⁹ See J. Dupont, *Gnosis. La connaissance religieuse dans les épîtres de St. Paul* (Louvain, 1960), pp. 461-68, 463-66. See also D. L. Balas, *Μετουσία Θεοῦ*, p. 117.

elements.”²⁰ Thus, in the condition of sin, man is separated from God as well as from his fellow man. This means that in the final analysis, selfhood and hate are introduced instead of *eros* for the “other” person. It is in this sense that Jean Paul Sartre spoke of the other as “hell” and “sin.” “My original fall is the existence of the other.”²¹ The sinful condition implies that man understands himself not as a person in connection with God and other human persons, but as an individual. Under the heavy yoke of time and space the individual man follows his own way which leads nowhere. The ideal of “my existence for the other, and the other’s existence for me,” is understood as being an illusion, or rather as the condition for the exercise of a lie.²² From this perspective man is the being “who is what he is not, and who is not what he is.”²³ In the condition of sin the first man, instead of “being with” the other, found himself in a stage of absolute isolation “at the east of the garden of Eden” (Gen 3.24). The words of God addressed to him, “in the sweat of thy face thou shalt eat bread” (Gen 3.19), describe the human tragedy of opposition to God and separation from him. Thus, by the free acceptance of sin, the innate connection between man and God was destroyed. And so man, instead of loving God and being his servant, in a world of which he was designated to be prophet, priest and king,²⁴ became an alien and a stranger. In fact, sin consists in the limitation of man to his individuality. It is a reduction of the human person within the limits of his own existence. Thus, through sin man became a stranger to his communion with God, a stranger to his fellowship with the human “other,” and even a stranger to himself. Sin, as a decomposition and separation, effects both the disorganization and the disruption of the human person itself.

The man of sin, in other words, is a divided personality. The original and innate unity of the human person is disrupted and dissolved by sin. I cannot find any clearer exposition of this division of the human person than that expounded by Paul:

The good that I would I do not, but the evil which I would not, that I do. Now if I do that I would not, it is no more I that do it, but sin that dwelleth in me. I see another law in my members, warring against the law of my mind, and bringing me into captivity to the

²⁰ Περὶ θείων δνομάτων, PG 3.809BC.

²¹ *Being and Nothingness. A Phenomenological Essay on Orthodoxy*, trans. H. E. Barnes, (New York, 1956), p. 352.

²² *Ibid.*, p. 88.

²³ *Ibid.*, p. 100.

²⁴ See G. Florovsky, “The Darkness of Night,” *Creation and Redemption* (Belmont, MA., 1976), p. 85.

law of sin which is in my members. O wretched man that I am! Who shall deliver me from the body of this death (Rom 7.19-24)?

The Restoration of the Human Person

The decomposition of the human person affects the very structure of his being. It is, as Gregory of Nyssa would say, a real “*analysis*” of man.²⁵ The original unity of soul and body became uncertain and unstable through sin. In short, sin abolishes man as a person. It is a decomposition of his very being, it makes him live this divided and disorganized life only for himself, and thus it deprives him of the possibility of living in fellowship with others and with God. It is only through the self-emptying of the person of the Logos of God that a new creation and restructuring of the human person can be realized. Saint Gregory of Nyssa uses the term ἀναστοιχείωσις to stress the radical change effected in the very structure of man’s existence. The restoration or, even better, the recombination of the human person results from the person of the incarnate Logos, and consequently its authentic state of *κοινωνία* is re-established. Just as evil “was poured into a multitude of persons by one man through succeeding generations,” similarly “the good begotten in human nature was bestowed upon every person as one entity.”²⁶ Saint Maximos the Confessor likes to explain that “that which was absolutely immovable according to nature, moved, and God became man in order to save the lost man.” Salvation is understood in terms of unification of the divided human nature. Thus the divine Logos, through his self-emptying re-establishes the ancient harmony of nature. By his penetration of man’s nature Christ brings together the divided parts of our nature, so as to form one perfect unity again.²⁷ Indeed, Christ is the gathering of all together in one (Eph 1.10).

At this point I would like to underline the fact that the unification of man’s divided nature is an act of God which is “personal.” Let me elaborate very briefly on this. Earlier in this paper I tried to explain that, according to the patristic understanding, the basis of the divine unity is the person of the Father, not the inaccessible divine essence.

²⁵“Εἰς γῆν διὰ τῆς ἀμαρτίας ἀναλυθέντος,” “Οταν ὑποταγῇ τὰ πάντα . . . , PG 44.1312A.

²⁶Ibid. 2, PG 44.1312AB.

²⁷“. . . κινεῖται τὸ πάντη κατὰ φύσιν ἀκίνητον, καὶ θεὸς ἀνθρωπος γίνεται, ἵνα σώσῃ τὸν ἀπολόμενον ἀνθρωπὸν, καὶ τῆς κατὰ τὸ πᾶν καθόλου φύσεως δι’ ἑαυτοῦ τὰ κατὰ φύσιν ἐνώσας δῆματα, καὶ τοὺς καθόλου τῶν ἐπὶ μέρους προσφερομένους λόγους, οὓς ἡ τῶν διηρημένων γίνεσθαι πέφυκεν ἐνώσις, δείξας τὴν μεγάλην θουλὴν πληρώση τοῦ Θεοῦ καὶ Πατρός, εἰς ἑαυτὸν ἀνακεφαλαίωσας τὰ πάντα τὰ ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ καὶ τὰ ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς, ἐν φαντασίᾳ διατίθησαν. Ἀμέλει τοι τῆς καθόλου τῶν πάντων πρὸς ἑαυτὸν ἐνώσεως, ἐκ τῆς ἡμῶν ἀρξάμενος διαιρέσεως γίνεται τέλειος ἀνθρωπός, ἐξ ἡμῶν δι’ ἡμᾶς καθ’ ἡμᾶς . . . ,” *Περὶ διαφόρων ἀποριῶν*, PG 91.1308D-09A.

I also tried to explain that, in an analogous way, the unity of the people of God is founded on the person of the incarnate Logos. This means that unity, both as intertrinitarian communion as well as fellowship of the people in Christ, is not an “ontological necessity,” due to either the nature of God as regards divine unity, or to human nature as regards unity in the Church. The people are one not because they all belong to and share in the same nature, but because, through the personal abasement of the second divine person, they themselves become persons, thus sharing in the personal life of Christ. It is the person of Christ, not an impersonal divinity, who re-establishes human persons.

The notion of “person” is an essential Christian concept, based on the reality of God being personal, and on the fact that man has been created in the divine image in order not to be confined in his own self, but to share the divine life, in fellowship with others. And, although the term *prosopon* is well known in classical Greek antiquity, it is only in Christian thought, namely in the Greek patristic tradition, that it finds its theological content. Neither in the Aristotelian system, nor in Platonic philosophy, nor in the Stoics, nor even in the revival of the Platonic tradition in Middle and Neo-Platonism does the notion of “person” acquire a satisfactory and solid meaning.

The inability of Greek philosophy to give a positive answer to the question of personality lies in the fact that the person is understood as an exclusively human and worldly reality. According to the Greeks the person is limited within the boundaries of time and space. It is always under the heavy yoke of time and space that all people of all generations move along. And even the gods themselves are presented as being prisoners of this double yoke. Thus the human personality pulling time and space becomes a tragic phenomenon. Ancient Greek tragedy vividly expresses the drama of the human being who, pushed by some invisible force, follows a path of sufferings, afflictions and pain. The use of masks in the Greek tragedies expresses nothing other than man’s strong desire to surpass and to free himself from his destiny. The ancient world presents us with a depersonalized human person without hope, a moribund human person who, under the yoke of time and space constantly suffers the pangs of death, and yet never dies. This is a human person under the dominion of sin and death. We can speak of sin as the power which deprives man of his authentic person. Saint Gregory of Nyssa says that through sin man has changed the image of God, i.e. his real person, with a mask (*προσωπεῖον*).²⁸ It is the

²⁸ Περὶ καταστάσεως τοῦ ἀνθρώπου, PG 44.193C. For a further discussion of the subject “person,” see: Ch. Giannaras, *Tὸ ὄντολογικὸν περιεχόμενον τῆς θεολογικῆς ἐννοίας τοῦ προσώπου* (Athens, 1970). “Απὸ τὸ προσωπεῖον εἰς τὸ πρόσωπον· Ἡ συμβολὴ

Christian Gospel which reveals the true dimension of the human person. In and through the Gospel, human tragedy is transfigured into a new reality. This transfiguration is understood in terms of re-creation of the hidden and obscured human person. Saint Gregory of Nyssa speaks again about the repainted and restored image of God.²⁹ Thus the importance and the uniqueness of the Gospel lies in the fact that the human impasse as presented in the Greek tragedies has been overcome. Through all life's afflictions and pains man can now hear the consoling voice of God manifested in the flesh: "Come unto me all ye that labor and are heavy laden, and I will give you rest. Take my yoke upon you, and learn of me, for I am meek and lowly in heart, and ye shall find rest unto your souls. For my yoke is easy, and my burden is light (Mt 11.28-30).

The Unity of the People, Unity of Persons

The point which I am trying to make is that the unity of the people of God is a unity of persons. This means precisely that the unity of the ecclesiastical body is not the result of the coexistence of certain individuals who accept the same theoretical or moral principles, but is indeed a communion of those who share freely, and in the measure which has been given to them, in the life of the divine persons. As a matter of fact the notion of personality is understood by the Greek Fathers as being a primarily theological notion. In the final analysis this means that outside God the idea of the person is an illusion. In other words the authentic person is an uncreated reality. Because the person is uncreated reality, it is absolutely free from every necessity, even from the "necessity" (if we can speak in this way) of its own nature. It is within this theological context that we can understand the persistent efforts of the Greek Fathers to maintain that the principle of divine unity is the person of the Father, and not the common nature. The person of the Father is the bond of trinitarian unity, because he freely confers his own nature on the Son and on the Holy Spirit, thus establishing a peculiar and unique divine union and communion. And it is again within this theological context that the fact can be better understood that, in his self-emptying, the eternal Logos of God dwelt among us freely in order to realize in his theandric person the restoration (*ἀποκατάστασις*) of the human person. This means that, in other words, the unity and community of persons in the Church is possible because the second divine person became one of us, by taking one

τῆς πατερικῆς θεολογίας εἰς τὴν ἔννοιαν τοῦ προσώπου," *Χαριστήρια εἰς τιμὴν τοῦ Μητροπολίτου Γέροντος Χαλκηδόνος Μελίτωνος* (Thessalonike, 1977).

²⁹See my book: *Consequences of the Fall and the Laver of Regeneration: From the Anthropology of St. Gregory of Nyssa* (Athens, 1973) (in Greek), pp. 165-69.

individual and concrete human nature. Thus, the Logos of God, con-substantial with the Father through divinity, becoming consubstantial with us through humanity, recreated the human person and transferred the divine unity to the human level. Therefore the unity of the people is, as we have already pointed out, the reflection and the image of divine communion; or, to put it in more conciliar terminology, the unity of the people of God is precisely theandric. I think that we can somehow see the theandric character of the people of God in the words of Christ himself, as they were preserved by John: “I in them, and thou in me, that they may be perfect in one” (Jn 17.23).

In the light of what has been pointed out so far it is, I think, clear that the true stature of the human person is exhibited in and through Christ. I believe it is also clear that the union of the people of God, this peculiar communion of persons, is possible only “ἐν Χριστῷ.” It is only in Christ that we are offered the possibility of seeing what God is, both in his personal character as well as in his relationship to us. The “ἐν Χριστῷ” is therefore the necessary presupposition for the unity of human persons in the one body of the Church. The “ἐν Χριστῷ” means that the communion of the people of God is neither simply a humanitarian fellowship, nor even a company of believers, but is indeed the one body of the incarnate God; the body which is maintained in its integrity by the continuing presence of Christ and the Holy Spirit throughout the course of human history.

Unity in the Holy Spirit—Faith and the Sacraments

The fact that Christ is present in the midst of his flock in every historical “now,” evidently implies that the unity of the people is based, not on an abstract agreement, but on a direct and personal relationship. This relationship is established through the Holy Spirit, by faith and in the sacraments. “By one Spirit are we all baptized into one body” (1 Cor 12.13). “We being many are one bread, and one body, for we are all partakers of that one bread” (1 Cor 10.17). “One body, and one Spirit . . . one Lord, one faith, one baptism” (Eph 4.4-5). Thus, by faith and in the sacraments, Christ assumes in the Holy Spirit our personal existence and permits us to be in communion with him, i.e. to participate existentially in his own life. In this sense the unity in the body of the Church is not a one-sided unity, nor is it unconditionally given, but it implies man’s personal affirmation of the personal call of God. The personal involvement of Christ in human destiny calls for our personal existence to be incorporated into his Body.

The reconstruction of human existence and the unity of the “new man” are realized at the personal level by the act of acceptance of the life of Christ and especially of the central fact of this unique life, i.e. the

death and the resurrection. Therefore, in order to transmit into his own ego the unification realized in the hypostasis of the incarnate Logos, man must accept existentially the $\alpha\pi\alpha\xi$, the once and for all event, of Christ's death and resurrection. "So many of us as were baptized into Jesus Christ were baptized into his death. Therefore we are buried with him by baptism into death, that as Christ was raised up from death by glory of the Father, even so we also should walk in newness of life" (Rom 6.3-4). Thus, through baptism, life and resurrection, which were achieved by Christ's voluntary death, are realized in the very existence of man. By going through the mystery of Christ's death and resurrection, every believer is clothed in him. Obviously the death of the believer in baptism is a symbol and an imitation of real death. And although the death is not real but only an image, its consequences are those of a real transcendence of death. Here lies the mystery of the restoration of the human person and of its glory in the Church. Through imitation and a symbolic act man receives the gifts of the resurrection.

It is interesting to recall in this connection the point made by Saint Symeon the New Theologian. Although Saint Symeon follows the traditional teaching of the Fathers on sacramental baptism and recognizes it as an act of therapy, regeneration and renewal of man, he also speaks of a second baptism which he calls "baptism in the Holy Spirit." This second baptism is a stage in the Christian life which insures and maintains the effect of the sacramental baptism. The second baptism affirms the uniqueness and significance of the first. It is, so to speak, a testimony to, or a continuous presence of the gifts provided by the sacramental baptism. As a matter of fact this second baptism is nothing other than that repentance which offers to the individual Christian a deeper understanding of his Christian consciousness, and a greater awareness of Christ as Lord and Savior.³⁰ This baptism in the Holy Spirit presupposes the personal *kenosis* of the believer in repentance, and indeed it is the medium for the accomplishment in the Holy Spirit of his final goal, i.e. of deification.

"Display a worthy penitence," argues Saint Symeon, "by means of all sorts of deeds and words, that you may draw yourselves the grace of the all-holy Spirit. For this Spirit, when he descends on you, becomes like a pool of light to you, which encompasses you completely in an unutterable manner. As it regenerates you, it changes you from corruptible to incorruptible, from mortal to immortal, from sons of man into sons of God and gods by adoption and grace."³¹

³⁰ *Discourses*, 32.77-84; Sources Chrétien, 113, ed. B. Krivocheine, p. 244.

³¹ Ibid. 32.78-85; Sources Chrétien, p. 244. The English translation is taken from "St. Symeon the New Theologian," *The Classics of Western Spirituality*, trans. C. J. de Catanzaro (New York, 1980), p. 337.

It is of special interest for our study here to look at the way in which Saint Symeon connects baptism in the Spirit with the unity of the people of God. His exposition is basically a synthesis of New Testament material, and the unity of which we are speaking is presented as a trinitarian dwelling. In order to clarify his position, Saint Symeon uses the image of the house, of the door of the house, and of the key to the door. The key to the door, he explains, is the Holy Spirit “because through him and in him we are first enlightened in mind. We are purified and illuminated with the light of knowledge. We are baptized from on high and born anew [cf. Jn 3.3-5] and made into children of God.”³² The door of the house is the Son himself, “ ‘for,’ says he, ‘I am the door; by me if any man enter in he shall be saved, and shall go in and out, and find pasture’ ” (Jn 10.7,9).³³ Finally, the house itself is the Father. Christ spoke of this when he said, “in my Father’s house are many mansions” (Jn 14.2).³⁴

Saint Symeon is here engaged in pointing out explicitly that participation in the divine glory is effected in and through the Holy Spirit. He uses this image in order to guide man to a deeper understanding of the significance of baptism in the Spirit. According to him the crucial thing to do is to understand that only in and through the Holy Spirit do we know God, do we become his children and partakers of his ineffable light. It is precisely this dwelling of the Holy Spirit in the human person which constitutes his divine adoption and inner transfiguration. It is within this context that we can understand Paul’s words, “The Spirit himself intercedes for us with sighs too deep for words” (Rom 8.26), and again, “God has given his Spirit in our hearts crying, ‘Abba, Father!’ ” (Gal 4.6).

Bearing in mind what has been pointed out so far we reach the conclusion that the Holy Spirit was sent to the world, in the name of the Son, to bear witness (Jn 15.23), and to guide human persons to him, and through him to the Father of Lights. Saint Symeon argues:

In theological terms, we use the term house of the Son, as we use it of the Father, for he says, “Thou, O Father, art in me, and I in them, and they in me, and I, O Father, in thee, that we may be one” (cf. Jn 17.21,23), together with the Holy Spirit. He also says, “I will live in them and move among them” (2 Cor 6.16).

³²Ibid. 32.153-57, p. 260; Catanzaro, p. 343. See also Discourses, 97-99, p. 256; Catanzaro, p. 341.

³³Ibid., 95-96, p. 256; Catanzaro, p. 341.

³⁴Ibid., 100-01, p. 256; Catanzaro, pp. 341-42.

I and the Father will come and make our home with him (Jn 14.23) through the Holy Spirit.³⁵

Nevertheless, it is true that not only in Saint Symeon the New Theologian's trinitarian theology but also in the entire patristic tradition, a strong conviction exists that the Holy Spirit effects the integrity of the divided human person and the restoration of disunited humanity. The Paraclete enters the world to be the unifying principle of the new kingdom, the one force which guides all believers to the one faith and the one Lord. In fact, the Holy Spirit himself is the enhypostasized kingdom,³⁶ and he makes of the people a "royal priesthood" and "a holy nation" (1 Pet 2.9). To quote Maximos:

Thus, men, women and children profoundly divided as to race, nation, language, manner of life, work, knowledge, honor, fortune . . . the Church recreates all of them in the Spirit. To all equally she communicates a divine aspect. All receive from her a unique nature which cannot be broken asunder, a nature which no longer permits one henceforth to take into consideration the many and profound differences which are their lot. In that way all are raised up and united in a manner which is truly catholic. In her, none is in the least degree separated from the community, all are grounded, so to speak, in one another by the simple and indivisible power of faith.³⁷

Life in the Holy Spirit presupposes faith ("He that believeth and is baptized shall be saved" [Mk 16.16]), co-exists with faith ("The Spirit itself beareth witness with our spirit, that we are the children of God" [Rom 8.16]), and maintains faith ("No man can say that Jesus is Lord, but by the Holy Spirit" [1 Cor 12.13]).³⁸ This means that the one faith of the people is an acceptance neither of certain metaphysical axioms, nor of a set of laws given to men for their moral betterment by a God

³⁵Ibid., 160-76, pp. 260-62; Catanzaro, p. 343. (This passage is mistranslated into English.)

³⁶"Βασιλεία ζῶσα καὶ οὐσιώδης καὶ ἐνυπόστατος τὸ Πνεῦμα τὸ Ἀγιον." Gregory of Nyssa, *Katà Makedonιῶν*, ed. F. Mueller, pp. 102, 27-30; PG 45.1321A.

³⁷*Mystagogy*, 1; PG 91.665-68. Quoted by V. Lossky, *The Mystical Theology of the Eastern Church* (Plymouth, 1957), pp. 164-65.

³⁸" . . . ή διμολογία τῆς τοῦ Υἱοῦ Κυριότητος, ἐν Πνεύματι Ἀγίῳ τοῖς καταλαμβάνουσι γίνεται, πάντοθεν τοῖς διὰ πίστεως προσεγγίζουσι προαπαντώτος τοῦ Πνεύματος . . . ἀλλὰ χρὴ τὴν εἰς τὸν Κύριον προϋποκείσθαι πίστιν, δι' ἣς ἡ ζωτικὴ χάρις τοῖς πιστεύσασι παραγίνεται . . . Ἀλλ' ἐπειδὴ καὶ ἡ διὰ τοῦ Υἱοῦ διακονούμενη χάρις ἥρηται τῆς ἀγεννήτου πηγῆς, διὰ τούτο προηγεῖσθαι τὴν εἰς τὸ δνομα τοῦ Πατρὸς πίστιν δ λόγος διδάσκει, τοῦ ζωογονοῦντος τὰ πάντα," Gregory of Nyssa, *Katà Makedonιῶν*, ed. F. Mueller, pp. 103, 8-106; PG 45.1321B-1325A.

who acts authoritatively behind the scene of human activity. Faith implies an existential agreement in the Holy Spirit. It is “a fruit of the Spirit,” a *charisma* (Gal 5.22), to which man responds in a deeply personal way. “Our faith, brethren,” claim the Orthodox patriarchs of the East in their famous Encyclical of 1848, “is neither from man nor by man.”³⁹ And it is for precisely this reason that the people of God, as a whole, possesses a spiritual sense which makes it a “defender of the faith.”⁴⁰

It is very important to stress in connection with this that faith “by the Holy Spirit” is not understood exclusively as a possession on the individual level; rather, it finds its significance in the context of the ecclesiastical community. In other words, personal faith is in absolute harmony with the faith of the Catholic Church. This means that the faith of each human individual in the one body of the Church becomes truly Orthodox when it is identified with the catholic conscience of the Church, and is expressed as “*consensus fidelium*. ”

Life in the Holy Spirit, i.e. the life of persons who are bound together by one baptism, one faith and identity of experience, is fulfilled in the eucharistic gathering. The eucharistic assembly is the concrete manifestation of the communion with God in Christ and in the Holy Spirit. It is the realization, through the invocation of the Holy Spirit by the Church, of the one body. “When we are fed,” points out Nicholas Kabasilas, “with the most sacred Bread and do drink the most Divine Cup, we do partake of the same flesh and the same blood our Lord has assumed, and so are united with him who was for us incarnate, and died, and rose again.”⁴¹

The Eucharist is the transcendence of any division; it constitutes the restoration of the ancient symphony between God and man. In it each participant exists as a person in communion both with God and with the other human persons. By partaking of the bread and wine one becomes simultaneously both a communicant of the whole Christ, who is “broken and not disunited,” and a communicant of the entire Church. Or to put it better, in the Eucharist every human person becomes the *totus Christus* and the entire Church. Thus the bread of the Eucharist constitutes the central point of ecclesiastical unity. Indeed, the Eucharist is the historical realization of Christ’s words, “I in them, and thou in me, that they may be made perfect in one” (Jn 17.23). The bread being eaten by man in his fallen condition, “in the sweat of

³⁹ J. N. Karmiris, *Tὰ δογματικὰ καὶ συμβολικὰ μνημεῖα τῆς Ὁρθοδόξου Καθολικῆς Ἑκκλησίας*, 2 (Graz, 1968), p. 1002.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 1000.

⁴¹ *The Life in Christ*, 4.3.4.6.

his face" (Gen 3.19), shows, and in fact maintains his isolation and individuality. In contrast to this the eucharistic bread, by the power of the Holy Spirit, maintains the unity of human persons in Christ.

The Glory Which You Have Given Me, I Have Given to Them

When we stress the fact that the Holy Spirit creates unity in Christ, and when we attempt to understand this unity in terms of a relationship, we come again to the crucial point of the entrance and dwelling of the Holy Spirit in the human reality. The Holy Spirit's permeation of the ecclesiastical body constitutes the glory and the kingship of the people, since the Holy Spirit himself is kingship and glory. In his prayer for unity Christ stresses his relationship with the Spirit, and the fact that his relationship with the Father can be reproduced by the Spirit, in an analogous way, in the lives of those who follow him. "The glory thou gavest me I have given them; that they may be one, even as we are one" (Jn 17.22). "Christ's own glory," points out Saint Gregory of Nyssa, "is meant to be the Holy Spirit which he has given to his disciples by breathing upon them, for what is scattered cannot otherwise be united unless joined together by the Holy Spirit's unity." Thus Christ, by the Holy Spirit, bestows his own life on the lives of all who are willing and able to receive him. Christ can be reached only through the Spirit. "Anyone who does not have the Spirit does not belong to him" (Rom 8.9). The Spirit is glory, as Christ himself pointed out when he was addressing his Father: "Glorify me with the glory which I had with you before the world was made" (Jn 17.5). When Saint Gregory of Nyssa comments on this passage from John, he makes the following clarification: "The Logos is God who has the Father's glory. But because in these last days he became flesh, it was necessary for the flesh to become what the Logos ever was (that is, to become divine) by uniting itself to him. And precisely this was effected when the flesh received that which the Logos had before the world was made. And this is none other than the Holy Spirit, that same Holy Spirit existing before the ages together with the Father and the Son."⁴²

If we read Christ's statement, "the glory which you have given me, I have given to them, that they may be one," in this hermeneutical context, we can easily understand where the ultimate criterion of the oneness of the people lies. The mystery of Christian existence and fellowship is based on and connects with the personal and dynamic presence in the ecclesiastical body of the "heavenly King, the Lord, the giver of

⁴² "Οταν ὑποταγῇ αὐτῷ τὰ πάντα, PG 44.1320D. See also *Kατὰ Μακεδονιανῶν*, pp. 108, 30-109, 15; PG 45.1329AB. *Εἰς τὴν προσευχὴν*, PG 44.1157CD. *Song of Songs*, ed. H. Langerbeck, pp. 466, 14-467, 17; PG 44.1116D-117B.

life.” “Now the Lord is that Spirit, and where the Spirit of the Lord is, there is liberty. But we all, with open faces beholding as in a glass the glory of the Lord, are changed into the same image from glory to glory, even as by the Spirit of the Lord” (2 Cor 3.17-18).⁴³

⁴³Saint John Chrysostom commenting on this passage makes the following observations: “ . . . and not only do we behold the glory of God, but from it also receive a sort of splendor. Just as if pure silver be turned towards the sun’s rays, it will itself also shoot forth rays, not from its own natural property merely but also from the solar lustre; so also doth the soul being cleansed and made brighter than silver, receive a ray from the glory of the Spirit, and send it back. Wherefore also he said, ‘beholding as in a glass the glory of the Lord, are changed into the same image from glory to glory,’ that of the Spirit, ‘to glory,’ our own, that which is generated in us; and that, of such sort, as one might expect from the Lord the Spirit.” *Homily on 2 Corinthians*, PG 61.44B.



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People of the Lie. By M. Scott Peck. New York: Simon and Schuster, 1985. Pp. 269. Paperbound, \$7.95.

Some may find it curious that I would find the present book suitable for review in a scholarly journal, since the book has received attention through the popular media that has tainted it as a sensationalistic account (though by a well-trained psychiatrist) of the fearsome threat of demons—lurking in every dark place—to possess the unsuspecting human being. Such curiosity is unfounded. Equally unfounded are the ludicrous reports about this careful study in the media.

The author is a Harvard-trained psychiatrist with a distinguished career in his field. At the beginning of his book, he points out that he is a Christian, having come to a confession of faith largely through personal reading and experience. An Orthodox thinker might find some difficulties with the “non-denominational” nature of Dr. Scott’s beliefs, and indeed there is an obvious lack of historical theological precision in the analysis of Christian belief that he puts forth at the end of his book in support of the experiences which he describes in the body of his treatise. Nonetheless, his observations are pertinent for us Orthodox and anything but sensationalistic or cursory.

In an age so taken by the simple-minded empiricism of “what you see is what you get,” it is natural that our very faith has been compromised. No doubt some of our Church’s theologians have come to think of evil in abstract forms, relegating such things as demonism to the recesses of private speculation or even superstition. We commit this error because one of the limitations bequeathed to us by outmoded empirical science is that of considering the exceptional, along with that which does not fit observable patterns of experience, specious. This error belongs to outmoded empirical science because many enlightened scientific thinkers have long since discovered this flaw. Yet many of us still live with it. We also dismiss demonism on the grounds of a statistical procedure. On the basis that the majority of the cases of “demon possession” which we encounter are, indeed, bogus, or can be attributed to a clear psychological disorder, we dismiss the occasional challenging (and probably valid) case as a piece of anomalous data. We thus dismiss our most important phenomenon. Dr. Peck calls us from this sloppy thinking to a more objective view of the phenomenon of demonic possession. And his view is wholly compatible with the Church’s teachings.

In all of our Orthodox prayers, both private and public, we can

find examples of entreaties for the restoration of our reasoning powers and the removal of the demonic darkness that clouds our vision. In fact, it would be a theologically sound proposition to say that our ascent to union with God is fundamentally bound up with the restoration of our spiritual vision and our struggle with those negative and dark spiritual beings that impede our progress and cloud our perception. There are, to be sure, times in which our restored human reason is so overcome by our fallen emotions and cognitions, that we function in consort with forces that work against spiritual growth. In moments of weakness in faith, if not weakness in our psychological powers, we succumb to things which take us from what we should be. In acute forms, these lapses can lead to a total distortion of the world around us and we become agents, not of controlled and adaptive human intention, but of chaotic spiritual forces—demons. Our poor thinking, our psychological weaknesses, and even our intentional turning to evil can jeopardize our better motivations and aspirations.

Dr. Scott essentially concurs with this Orthodox portrayal of how the human falls to possession. His psychological model is compelling and he deals with this subject open-mindedly. Neither does he attribute all psychological disorders to demonic possession—which would be stupid—nor does he discount the fact that psychological disorders (even of physical origin), in weakening human control, can occasion encounters with evil spiritual beings. Nor does he exaggerate the frequency with which open possession occurs. However—and this is very important for the Orthodox Christian—he does confirm that there are cases in which patients appear to give themselves over to spiritual beings that literally indwell them and transform them. What he describes is precisely that which any Orthodox pastor has seen in authentic cases of demonic possession. With clarity, with an obvious scientific objectivity, and with precision that challenges any superficial observer, Dr. Scott has presented us with evidence that “superstition” does not alone account for the phenomenon of demonic possession. He reports what many of our most advanced Fathers—men of learning and rational minds—have not hesitated to present to us as facts of spiritual life.

With so much charlatanism, so much actual superstition, and so much foggy thinking attached to this subject, it is difficult to find much intelligent written about demons and demon possession. As I have noted, most theologians simply retreat, out of embarrassment, into rationalizing away the teachings of the Church on this subject

as "metaphorical images" or as images of the spiritually abstract. Some, caught up in the spirit of a less than sophisticated philosophical age, have come to call the Fathers themselves superstitious or outmoded. For all such thinkers, and for us who have experience in these matters which has led us away from simplistic explanations, this book provides an important insight. I would urge readers to ignore the sensationalistic reputation of the volume, a best seller nationwide, and look to it for evidence that demonism and demonic possession are subjects that should be brought out of the closet by true scientists and by open-minded Christian thinkers. As a former psychologist myself, I find the book a scientific gem.

Bishop Chrysostomos
Center for Traditionist Orthodox Studies



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Reception of the BEM Document in the Orthodox Tradition: A Response to the Paper of Theodore Stylianopoulos

K. M. GEORGE

I MUST BEGIN by expressing my unreserved appreciation for what Father Stylianopoulos has presented to us. He has articulated his reflections on a double front. On the one hand he has clarified his critical and positive approach to the BEM document from the Orthodox perspective in a very creative manner. This is done in the spirit that "it is not their text, but our text—a common text of our fellowship." On the other hand he has critically examined the Orthodox position from the perspective of the BEM document bringing out the spiritual, theological, and ecclesiological challenges and possibilities. He has also highlighted the commitment of the ecumenical movement in general and that of the Faith and Order Commission in particular to the one, holy, catholic and apostolic tradition and the reciprocal commitment of the Orthodox churches to the world fellowship of Christians. The BEM document seems to be understood by Father Stylianopoulos as an initial test of this mutual commitment. We must be immensely grateful for his reflections.

As an Indian Orthodox Christian, the Indian religious-philosophical tradition and the Eastern Christian tradition are part of my heritage. The Indian religious tradition does not have any notion of blasphemy or heresy as we see in Judaism or Christianity. People with widely varying views are accommodated within the mainstream of Hindu religion. It is legitimate for a person to say: "I am Brahman (God)" without being blasphemous. In fact it is the ultimate level of spiritual realization when the human and the divine are no longer distinguished, but experienced as one single reality. The major Indian philosophical

traditions do not know of any ultimate distinction between the Creator and the creature. A person who perceives only distinction, without realizing the non-difference between his self and the ultimate Self is in the state of *maya* (illusion) or *avidya* (ignorance). Even the so-called atheistic strands of thought are accommodated within the religious tradition. An atheistic position need not necessarily be a materialistic one. Denying God or being silent about God may sometimes be the expression of the highest spiritual experience as in the case of Buddha. An enlightened soul knows that there is *no God* apart from his realized self.

Now, the change from darkness to light, from ignorance to true knowledge does not occur as a sudden transition. It is a gradual process necessitating much askesis, spiritual, mental and physical discipline. In this process of spiritual enlightenment one is not preoccupied with doctrinal questions of purely intellectual-verbal categories. One discerns only different levels of understanding and different degrees in the intensity of experience. Spiritual life is understood as a gradual growth from inferior levels to superior levels of understanding and self-realization.

Without subscribing to any of these religious-philosophical ideas, one can find here some striking parallels with the patristic thought which is constitutive of the Eastern Christian Tradition.

1. In the Tradition of the Christian East, the primary concern is not with propositional orthodoxy. In spite of the great significance of creeds and conciliar decrees in the life of the Church, it is understood that intellectual assent to a credal proposition does not in itself constitute right belief. There is a great reluctance on the part of the Church to proliferate creeds, confessions and statements of faith. Fathers like Saint Basil of Caesarea, Saint Gregory the Theologian, and Saint Gregory of Nyssa took great pains to establish the Orthodox principle that logically coherent, rationally clear and scripturally argued propositions about God do not necessarily constitute genuine *theologia*, but they might run the risk of becoming pure *technologia* leading to vain talk about God and to a war of words. The integral and experiential relation between talking about God (*theologein*) and “becoming God (*theon genesthai*),” and that between dogma and doxa, are held very high by the Church over against all excessive concern with propositional orthodoxy.

2. The patristic tradition recognizes that God’s self-revelation in human history has been a gradual process respecting the freedom of human beings. The whole human history is understood as a stage of God’s subtle, loving, persuasive—not compelling—act of raising

humanity to higher and higher levels of spiritual receptivity. Saint Gregory of Nazianos, in his theological orations tells us that theology or knowledge of the Holy Trinity develops by gradual additions. The Father makes himself known fully in the Old Testament period while the Son and the Holy Spirit are only adumbrated. In the New Testament period, God the Son is fully revealed while the fulness of the Holy Spirit is only promised. After the Pentecost, the person and power of the Holy Spirit are fully manifested. The divine economy is based on the recognition that there are various levels of spiritual perception and capacity for reception and that higher levels of receptivity are attained only gradually, in freedom and through sustained mutual interaction between God and humanity. If we are involved in this experiential process of growth, we cannot think of the life of the Church primarily in terms of schisms or heresies. Although the fathers vehemently criticized all malicious and deliberate distortions of faith, they also understood that it is our common task and responsibility to sharpen and focus the various levels of spiritual sensitivity within the community in the direction of the Good, to correct each other, to carry each other's burdens and to sustain the feeble in faith by closely integrating them to the community of faith.

I mentioned these two aspects of Orthodox understanding because they might be helpful in evaluating the BEM document in the process of reception, and also understanding what Father Stylianopoulos has stated in his paper with great discernment and balance. Referring to my first comment about propositional orthodoxy and speaking in a rather reductionist manner, I would say that the BEM document is a multiple set of theological propositions shaped by a group or group of theologians over the years. Over half a century ago when Faith and Order discussions started culminating in the production of the present document, there was no effective Orthodox and Roman Catholic involvement or input. The major assumption and motivation of the Faith and Order movement then was that a doctrinal agreement among several Protestant denominations could be brought about through commonly agreed theological statements, and thereby unity of these churches could be achieved. Gradually Orthodox and Roman Catholic Churches came in to share this assumption and ideal. There is no need to question this basic goal, because it is the goal of unity which is constitutive of the ecumenical movement to which world Christianity is committed. But methodologically, if there is any lingering of the idea that commonly agreed, neatly defined theological propositions are the major instrument of unity, that should be of serious concern to us.

Father Theodore makes it very clear that this "reception" of the BEM document at this stage does not "signify that ecclesial process through which the Orthodox Church has received the authoritative decrees of Ecumenical Synods. . . ." But *ultimately* is it not the same ecclesial process the Churches are committed to by consenting to consider the question of reception? Are we not entering already the inarticulate but initial stages of that process? When that process matures it will not be the BEM document as such that matters, but the mutual embrace of ecclesial communities in the one apostolic faith in Christ. So we are going to be involved in a process of self-transcendence and in the reciprocal sharing of the apostolic experience. In the initial stages of reception, the Faith and Order Commission anticipates a further refinement and possible reformulation of the BEM document. But the text in this process of reformulation will have to be simultaneously transcended by the churches so that the end result will not remain an agreed statement but mutual reception and unity of the churches in love. A reciprocal openness to the quality of faith among the churches which are committed to unity is the essential context of the reception of the BEM document. I think this aspect is remarkably clear when Father Theodore says that the truth of BEM is "truth which the churches themselves are willing to recognize as apostolic truth reflecting the faith of the Church of all ages under the assumption that the Holy Spirit is missing neither from any of the great moments of Christian history nor from any of the churches of the fellowship today." If the Orthodox Churches are willing to consider for reception the BEM text, a document prepared not exclusively by Orthodox theologians, but together with Roman Catholic and Protestant theologians, as an *internal* document, that will mean the Orthodox Churches are deeply open to the quality of faith in other communities of ecclesial character and to the truth towards which the Holy Spirit leads us. The primary consideration now is not in terms of orthodoxy and heterodoxy as isolated doctrinal questions and neatly distinguished conceptual categories and propositions, but in terms of the guidance of the Holy Spirit and the unfolding of the truth in the appointed moments within the various levels and members of the Body of Christ.

Reception is an act of the whole Church, the Body of Christ. The highest authority to discern the issues of faith is the whole Body of Christ which is animated by the Holy Spirit. It is quite obvious to us that the problem with a document like BEM is that it runs the risk of remaining a theological text handled by the theologians, accepted or rejected by the visible structural authorities in the Church, without being examined by the authority of the whole Church. This is a real danger for all the churches committed to the BEM document, but especially

for the Orthodox Churches because of their particular structural character. Father Theodore recognizes this fully when he emphasizes the "true consensus developed among the whole people of God" and not only "a theological convergence by theologians and church representatives alone." It is obvious that we should devise practical means of disseminating the document and inviting participatory study of it by the people at the various levels of the Church. What is of crucial importance here is the nature of ecclesial authority in the Orthodox Tradition. The BEM text offers a test for the traditional Orthodox understanding of authority as distinct from the Roman Catholic and Protestant patterns.

I think the two most important issues which are of specific concern to the Orthodox in relation to the reception of the BEM document are those of apostolic faith and Orthodox ecclesiology. Since Father Theodore has dealt with them in some detail, I will limit myself to two brief comments.

Firstly, apostolic faith is not simply a matter of the past. It seems our hearts and minds are inevitably turned to a historical past whenever we speak about the apostolic faith. If apostolic faith is only a matter of the past, then Christ to whom it bears witness is only a person of the historical past. A Church which believes in the one who has come and is to come and in the Holy Spirit who still guides us to all truth can never be chained to a few centuries of early Christianity. The dynamics of future opened by the Spirit and the Messiah who comes must be seriously taken into the very understanding of the apostolic faith. Then it becomes not only something given, but also a task, a promise and an expectation. No search for unity or reception can take off unless this vast space of freedom, promise, and possibility constantly created by the Holy Spirit is recognized in our field of ecumenical vision.

Secondly, while I fully agree with what Father Theodore says about the status of Orthodox ecclesiology in the WCC circles, I would also say that, taking into account the theological-historical context in which the World Council was originally constituted and the vast majority of the Protestant member churches which do not seem to have much concern with ecclesiology or at best consider it as one of the most peripheral of subjects, there is no immediate solution to the problem. For Orthodox Churches to stand back makes this situation only worse. Here is another test and challenge for the Orthodox Tradition. Only the quality of Orthodox witness in this matter, and no threat or complaint, can contribute positively toward the improvement of the situation. Only by our commitment to resolve the problems within the Orthodox family in line with our ecclesiological stand and by initiating a deep and extensive spiritual-theological renewal within our Churches can we be of

any help to the world fellowship of churches in witnessing together to the true ecclesia, the Body of Christ. This again is an immense task laid upon the Orthodox Churches and a great call by the Holy Spirit to look ahead to the seemingly impossible with genuine hope and love.



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Report

INTER-ORTHODOX SYMPOSIUM ON BAPTISM, EUCHARIST, AND MINISTRY

I. INTRODUCTION

1. WE GIVE THANKS to the triune God that we, hierarchs and theologians representing the Eastern Orthodox and Oriental Orthodox Churches, members of the World Council of Churches, were able to gather together at the Holy Cross Greek Orthodox School of Theology in Brookline, Massachusetts, USA. (A list of participants is appended to this report.) Our task was to help clarify a number of questions which might arise for the Orthodox Churches when they consider their official response to the document on *Baptism, Eucharist, and Ministry* (BEM) adopted in Lima (1982) by the Faith and Order Commission of the World Council of Churches.

2. We would like to express our gratitude to the hosts of the meeting, the Greek Orthodox Archdiocese of North and South America and the Holy Cross Greek Orthodox School of Theology, as well as to the Orthodox Task Force of the World Council of Churches and the Faith and Order Commission which made possible such a widely representative gathering. We are also grateful for the opportunity to meet with several Orthodox parishes in the Boston region.

His Eminence Archbishop Iakovos, Primate of the Greek Orthodox Archdiocese of North and South America, formally welcomed at the opening session the members of the Symposium together with other distinguished guests from the Orthodox and the other churches from the region.

3. The Moderator of the Symposium was His Eminence Prof Dr Metropolitan Chrysostomos of Myra (Ecumenical Patriarchate of Constantinople). Papers were presented on the following topics: "General Introduction on Baptism, Eucharist and Ministry in the Present

Ecumenical Situation" (Rev Dr Gunther Gassmann, Rev Dr Gennadios Limouris); "The Meaning of Reception in Relation to Results of Ecumenical Dialogue on the Basis of BEM" (Prof Dr Nikos Nissiotis, Response: Bishop Nerses Bozabalian); "The Significance and Status of Baptism, Eucharist, and Ministry in the Ecumenical Movement" (Archbishop Kirill of Smolensk); "The BEM Document in Romanian Orthodox Theology—The Present Stage of Discussions" (Metropolitan Dr Anthony of Transylvania); "The Question of the Reception of Baptism, Eucharist, and Ministry in the Orthodox Church in the Light of its Ecumenical Commitment" (Rev Prof Dr. Theodore Stylianopoulos, Response by Rev Dr K. M. George); "Tasks Facing the Orthodox in the 'Reception Process' of Baptism, Eucharist, and Ministry" (Rev Prof Dr Thomas Hopko, Response: Metropolitan Prof Dr Chrysostomos of Myra).

4. On the basis of these papers, plenary discussions on them, and deliberations in four discussion groups, the participants in this Symposium respectfully submit the following considerations and recommendations.

II. THE SIGNIFICANCE OF BEM AND THE RESPONSIBILITY OF THE ORTHODOX

1. It appears to us that we, as Orthodox, should welcome the Lima document as an experience of a new stage in the history of the ecumenical movement. After centuries of estrangement, hostility and mutual ignorance, divided Christians are seeking to speak together on essential aspects of ecclesial life, namely baptism, eucharist, and ministry. This process is unique in terms of the wide attention which the Lima document is receiving in all the churches. We rejoice in the fact that Orthodox theologians have played a significant part in the formulation of this document.

2. In general we see BEM as a remarkable ecumenical document of doctrinal convergence. It is, therefore, to be highly commended for its serious attempt to bring to light and express today "the faith of the Church through the ages" (Preface to BEM, p. x).

3. In many sections, this faith of the Church is clearly expressed, on the basis of traditional biblical and patristic theology. There are other sections in which the Orthodox find formulations which they cannot accept and where they would wish that the effort to adhere to the faith of the Church be expressed more accurately. As often stated in the document itself, in some areas the process needs to be continued with more thinking, further deepening, and clarification.

4. Finally, there are sections in which a terminology is used which is not that to which the Orthodox are accustomed. However, in some

such cases, beneath the unfamiliar terminology, one can discover that the meaning is in fact close to the traditional faith. In other parts of BEM we notice a terminology which is familiar to the Orthodox but which can be understood in a different way.

5. We also think that the Orthodox Churches have the duty to answer responsibly the invitation of the Faith and Order Commission mainly for three reasons:

- a. because here we are concerned with a matter of faith—and it has been the insistence of the Orthodox Churches for some time that the World Council of Churches should focus its attention especially on questions of faith and unity;
- b. because the Orthodox have fully participated in the preparation of the text from the beginning and made a substantial contribution to it;
- c. because it is important to have the response of all the Orthodox Churches, and not just some of them.

III. RESPONSE AND RECEPTION

1. Both at the Sixth General Assembly of the World Council of Churches at Vancouver (1983) and at the last meeting of the Central Committee (1984) of the WCC, the Orthodox undertook to respond to BEM as a matter of obligation and commitment with a view to furthering the ecumenical movement.

2. We would like to distinguish between the immediate response of the individual Orthodox member Churches of the World Council of Churches to the BEM document and the long-range form of the reception of the text in the Orthodox tradition. We hold that the notion of reception of the BEM document here is different from the classical Orthodox understanding of the reception of the decrees and decisions of the Holy Councils.

3. Reception of the BEM document means that we recognize in this text some of the common and constitutive elements of our faith in the matter of baptism, eucharist, and ministry so that we may stand together as far as possible to bear witness to Jesus Christ in our world and to move towards our common goal of unity. Thus reception at this stage is a step forward in the "process of our growing together in mutual trust . . ." towards doctrinal convergence and ultimately towards "communion with one another in continuity with the apostles and the teachings of the universal Church" (Preface to BEM, p. ix).

4. Reception of the BEM document as such does not necessarily imply an ecclesiological or practical recognition of the ministry and sacraments of non-Orthodox churches. Such a recognition would require a special action of the Orthodox Churches.

5. As an initial step towards this kind of reception we would wish to see official action on the part of the Orthodox Churches to facilitate the use of the BEM document for study and discussion on different levels of the Church's life so that the Church evaluates the document with a view to the ultimate unity of all churches.

6. In this process of discernment the Orthodox Churches should be sensitive to the similar process of evaluation of the text and of the process of bilateral dialogues in the member churches of the WCC and the Roman Catholic Church. Thus our evaluation will be fully informed of the ecumenical reflections and experiences stimulated by this text.

IV. SOME POINTS FOR FURTHER CLARIFICATION

1. We Orthodox recognize many positive elements in BEM which express significant aspects of the apostolic faith. Having affirmed this initial appreciation of BEM, we offer some examples among the issues which we believe need further clarification and elaboration. There are also issues which are not addressed in the text.

2. In the section on *Baptism*, we note:

- a. the relationship between the unity of the Church and baptismal unity (para. 6);
- b. the role of the Holy Spirit in baptism and consequently the relationship between baptism and chrismation (confirmation), linking water and the Spirit in incorporating members into the Body of Christ (para. 5, 14);
- c. the role of exorcism and renunciation of the Evil One in the baptismal rite (para. 20);
- d. the terms "sign," "sacramental sign," "symbol," "celebrant" (para. 22), "ethical life" and other terms throughout the text.

3. In the section on *Eucharist*, we note:

- a. the relationship of the eucharist to ecclesiology in the light of the eucharistic nature of the Church and the understanding of the eucharist as "the mystery of Christ" as well as "the mystery of the Church" (para. 1);
- b. the relationship between participation in the eucharist and unity of faith;
- c. the role of the Holy Spirit in the eucharist, with special reference to *anamnesis* in its relation to *epiklesis* (para. 10, 12);
- d. the relationship between the eucharist and repentance, confession, and reconciliation to the eucharistic congregation;
- e. the meaning of sacrifice (para. 8), real presence (para. 13),

ambassador (para. 29), and the implications of “for the purpose of communion” in regard to the reservation of the eucharistic elements (para. 15);

f. the participation of baptized children in the eucharist.

4. In the section on *Ministry*, we note:

- a. the link between ordained ministry today and the ministry of the apostles and apostolic succession (para. 10, 35);
- b. the distinction between the priesthood of the entire people of God and the ordained priesthood, especially in light of Pauline teaching on the different functions of the members of the one Body of Christ (para. 17 & commentary);
- c. issues related to the ordination of women to the priesthood (para. 18), including the way in which the problem is formulated in the text of BEM;
- d. the relationship between bishop, presbyter, and deacon;
- e. the relationship between *episcopé*, the bishop, and the eucharist.

V. TASKS FACING THE ORTHODOX CHURCHES

In view of future work in connection with BEM, we offer the following considerations and recommendations.

1. Steps should be taken to enable translation and distribution of the BEM document in the languages of all Orthodox Churches.

2. Orthodox Churches should see to it that the BEM document is studied and discussed in clergy and laity groups, theological faculties and seminaries, clergy associations, as well as in interconfessional groups.

3. Orthodox Churches should be open to reading BEM and to responding to it in a spirit of critical self-examination, particularly in the area of current practices in churches and parishes. They should also use this process as a stimulus and encouragement for the renewal of their life.

4. In studying and evaluating BEM, the Orthodox should move beyond the theological scholasticism of recent centuries by reappropriating the creativity and dynamics of biblical and patristic theology. This will enable them to move towards broader perspectives and to think more deeply about certain issues.

5. In their ongoing bilateral conversation, Orthodox Churches should take BEM into account.

VI. PERSPECTIVES FOR FUTURE FAITH AND ORDER WORK

In view of the future work of the Faith and Order Commission and the WCC as a whole, we recommend the following perspectives for a

proper interrelationship between BEM and the Faith and Order study projects "Towards the Common Expression of the Apostolic Faith Today" and "The Unity of the Church and the Renewal of Human Community."

1. The process of an ecumenical reappropriation of the apostolic faith and tradition as it was begun in the BEM document should be consciously continued in the two other study projects.

2. There should be a clear understanding that baptism, eucharist, and ministry are essential elements of the apostolic faith and tradition. At the same time, they are fundamental expressions of the witness and service of the Church for today's world and its needs, its concerns, and its renewal. Renewal of both the life of the Church and of the world cannot be separated from the liturgical and the sacramental life of the Church nor from its pastoral responsibility.

3. These two other projects should also be open to insights and suggestions expressed in the responses of the churches to BEM and profit from them.

4. The Lima document highlights the important relationship between the "rule of faith" and the "rule of prayer," to which the Orthodox are so deeply committed. Therefore, we hope that in the two other study projects of Faith and Order this significant insight is seriously taken into account as well.

5. We further recommend that one important point in future work of the Faith and Order Commission in relationship to BEM should be the clarification of theological terminology and of linguistic problems in translation. This seems to be necessary in view of the heading "Ministry" of the third section of BEM and terms such as "sign," "reception," and "believer's/adult baptism."

6. Starting from a clarification of the vision of the Church which undergirds BEM, the future work of Faith and Order should concentrate on ecclesiology by bringing together the ecclesiological perspectives in BEM, in the responses of the churches to BEM, and in the other study projects of Faith and Order.

* * * * *

We, the participants in the Symposium, experienced this meeting as an occasion for exchanging our views and clarifying common perspectives. We saw in it also an important means for furthering contacts and cooperation among the Orthodox Churches and thereby promoting our conciliar spirit.



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on earth which our Orthodox churches should be is also encouraged to read this book. And anyone wishing to travel in Greece should consider this book an essential! This is one of the most valuable texts that the Holy Cross Orthodox Press has produced.

Archimandrite Chrysostomos
Center for Traditionalist Orthodox Studies

Research Guide to Religious Studies. Sources of Information in the Humanities, No. 1. By John F. Wilson and Thomas P. Slavens. Chicago: American Library Association, 1982. Pp. 192.

In recent years many colleges and universities have established religious studies for a deeper understanding of religion. This book is a significant guide to the scholarly study of religion as a cultural interpretation of human society.

The book is divided into two parts. In the first part the authors give excellent essays on religious studies and scholarship. The first essay offers a definition of the concept of religion as well as the development of the field of religious studies as a scholarly endeavor. It gives an analytical interpretation of religion and an anthropological development of the meaning of life. In this essay the several schools of interpretation of the origin of religion are represented. In the second essay, the history of religions is discussed. The phenomenon of religion is deeply rooted in human nature as "homo religious." The essays discuss the religions among the preliterate peoples, the oriental religious traditions, the Near Eastern, and classical religions of the Mediterranean. Also, essays analyzing the development of Judaism, Christianity, and Islam are included. In the third essay the religious traditions of the West are discussed. The medieval as well as the modern study of Judaism and Christianity and the American religious history are examined. The fourth essay concerns religious thought, ethics, and the philosophical study of religion. The fifth and last essay is about the scientific study of religion. Following each essay and subsection the authors give resources to guide the student in his search for information on religions. The titles that are suggested here are of great importance to a deeper study of religion.

The second part of this book includes an annotated bibliography of major reference works. It includes atlases, bibliographies, biographies, dictionaries, encyclopedias, directories, guides, handbooks, indexes, journals, and quotations of particular religions. The recommended works are carefully annotated for the student's greater enrichment and understanding of the world's religions.

The book's importance and usefulness for the student of religion

is further contributed with author-title and subject indexes, which increase the value of this study.

This guide is well organized and is indispensable for every student of religion. In today's pluralistic society where Eastern and Western religious communities live side by side, the scholarly study of religion has as goals the enhancement of human life and increased understanding for emotional and intellectual fulfillment.

The book covers the religions of the world including Christianity, Roman Catholicism, and Protestantism not, however, Orthodox Christianity. By ignoring a large part of Christianity that is Orthodox, I think scholars do great harm to their readers because they leave an important void in the education of students and their understanding of an important religious tradition which is predominant in Eastern Europe, the Balkans, the Middle East, and is becoming an important force in the West. This is a critical deficiency in the present volume.

In spite of this important omission, this is a valuable volume for everyone interested in religious studies. I especially recommend this work for students of religion as a guide to the best resources in the field of world religions.

George C. Papademetriou
Hellenic College/Holy Cross

Εισαγωγὴ στὴν ἐπιστῆμα τῆς Θεολογίας [Introduction to the Science of Theology]. By Constantine D. Frangos. Thessalonike: Melissa Press, 1984. Pp. 87.

Professor Frangos authored this small book to introduce beginners and non-professional theologians to the discipline of theology. In the prologue the author states that this book is a product of his long experience as a theology faculty member and is a practical guide for beginning students in the study of theology. In addition, it is intended for all those who would want a brief introduction into the theological field regardless of their area of studies. It also could be useful to any intellectual who would want a brief introduction to theology, and is useful to anyone who is self-taught.

I congratulate Professor Frangos for his accomplishment. In such a small volume, he succeeded in his task: to introduce the student to theology. He begins with an outline of the topics necessary for the study of theology and gives an extensive bibliography on the introduction to the study of this field. In the bibliography he includes titles in Greek, English, French, and German. The bibliography is of great importance giving the student a direction for further studies in theology.



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Response to Nikos Nissiotis: "The Meaning of Reception in Relation to the Results of Ecumenical Dialogue on the Basis of Faith and Order Document 'Baptism, Eucharist and Ministry'"

BISHOP NERSES BOZABALIAN

OUR CATHOLICATE AND BISHOPS have received with great appreciation the BEM document. We realize the great importance and value of the step taken in BEM by the fellowship of churches in the ecumenical movement in the WCC on the road to the eventual realization of the visible unity for which we all aspire in order to manifest our oneness in the Lord Jesus Christ and to witness for the glory of his kingdom.

This initial consensus, which is the gift of the Holy Spirit to the universal Church in our time, fills us with hope for solid progress in the coming decades. It gives us courage to go forward together for making our mission effective in bringing the Gospel to our people.

Our Church has been engaged in the ecumenical endeavor of the Faith and Order Commission to the extent of its ability in the difficult circumstances in which it has found itself in the course of the decades since the beginning of the emergence of the ecumenical movement of this century.

In receiving BEM we feel our bond with other churches in the ecumenical fellowship strengthened. Of course, much greater work still lies ahead to be done, particularly in the field of ecclesiology, which appears to be the crucial problem to be taken up for an eventual solution.

Our conversations with the Eastern Orthodox and with the Roman Catholics (Vienna 1968, 1971, 1973, 1978, and in the United States) have brought forth the fact that our separations are not of depth and substance, but rather of a terminological nature, accentuated by political, social and cultural adverse factors.

However, we are grateful for the success achieved in the production of BEM, which makes us feel closer to traditions and confessions other than ours in the apostolic faith and makes us realize more vividly our fundamental unity with them in orthodoxy and orthopraxy.

Our estrangement with other ancient church traditions of East and West goes further back than the eleventh century. Yet we are deeply gratified in finding, in the course of our modest involvement in the ecumenical movement, that the gap between us has been rather more like cracks on the surface than on the bedrock of the Orthodoxy of the wholeness of the conscious Church universal.

BEM, in a way, reinforces our consciousness of the reality; we receive BEM in this spirit.

It is our expectation that in continuing the work with BEM, the Faith and Order Commission will strive to clarify our vision of the nature of the unity we should seek, a unity which will operate as an effective council of churches that will give guidance on matters concerning the whole of Christendom in the proclamation of the Gospel of Christ. That is, a council of churches in communion with one another, a conciliar fellowship which will be neither a legislative body nor an executive body, but rather an evangelizing body giving guidance with a unified voice to churches and their peoples in the proclamation of the Gospel of Christ for the salvation of mankind. We receive BEM as a stepping-stone in the direction of such a goal and hope that BEM consensus will gradually, if slowly, permeate the thinking and attitude of teachers and preachers of all the member churches of the World Council.

The reception of BEM will inform us in our relationships, conciliar fellowships and cooperation with other churches. We find BEM in general in harmony with the apostolic faith. Therefore, we shall include BEM in our instructional literature for consideration.

BEM will be an important instrument in our common witness for the apostolic faith within the environment of the secular society where we find the Church.

BEM reinforces our consciousness of the fact that our estrangement and division of long centuries has not produced any fissure of significance in our common apostolic faith in the Church universal. BEM makes us discover the superficiality of our divisions which have been of a political, social and cultural nature.

BEM, in the method of its preparation and production, should and, we believe, will, be a model to follow in the bilateral and multilateral consultations and dialogues between churches, with a view to making them more productive in giving impetus to the work of unity.

In many instances when we put our differences in their proper context they appear in reality not divisive but rather as only different facets

of the experiences of different traditions in their peculiar local life situations.

BEM shows us where we now stand in our common understanding of the fundamentals in certain areas of the faith in common with one another.

BEM is also very important in indicating the stepping-stones for further progress in convergence, for, in a sense, it maps out for us the direction to be taken on our dialogues with one another.

BEM is certainly not an additional credal formula to be attached to the ancient statements of faith, nor a new step forward from them. But rather a new initial meeting ground between differing church traditions, from which to start afresh our march towards the unity which we have been seeking in the past with more or less zeal and persistence, in order to respond to the call of the Lord Jesus, impelled by the Holy Spirit.

Unity is not a static concept embedded in formulas, but rather a dynamic conciliar fellowship in the pursuit of common goals for the promotion of the kingdom of God in Christ informed by the Holy Spirit. The reception of BEM will be such an act of fellowship in mind and spirit.

It is unrealistic and even hypocritical to think that the unity mandated by the Lord Jesus can or will be achieved by the conversion of the constituencies of one tradition to the other. Unity can be envisaged only as a progressive convergence of points in christology and ecclesiology on which we do and can stand together as churches.

We are inclined to think that in view of the involvement of the laity in the apostolate of the Church and the necessity of the active participation of lay persons in the upbuilding of the social and corporate life of the faithful in the Church, it is healthier to speak of the charismatic nature of the ministerial order rather than speak of its authoritarian aspect.

We have read carefully the study of Dr. Nissiotis with deep appreciation. His comprehensive analysis of the nature of "reception" in the modern ecumenical situation, to which BEM is addressed, appears to us thorough and persuasive. We hope that in the light of this study and in the sense in which reception is understood and described in it, BEM will be received generally and it will be, as a "pre-consensus document" and an effective instrument for the promotion of the work of the Faith and Order Commission in its pursuit of the visible unity of the churches in the future according to the Lord's will.



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Response to Thomas Hopko: "Tasks Facing the Orthodox."

METROPOLITAN CHRYSOSTOMOS OF MYRA

I COMMEND THE REVEREND PROFESSOR Hopko because in his comprehensive and succinct paper he has set before us the basic theme: that we ought not merely to give a "response" to the BEM document, thereby exercising a critique on what is correct and acceptable and what cannot possibly be acceptable from an Orthodox perspective. Rather, we must also be critical of ourselves, so much so as individual local churches as well as individuals. We must study and clarify with realism and humility those aspects of our inner life and practice which necessitate a healthy re-evaluation and re-orientation, not aiming toward something new but—as I would hope—toward that which is authentically ancient and genuinely Orthodox.

I must say that with regard to such an honest and candid position my beloved colleague finds me in agreement, at least with regards to its general outline. I congratulate him, therefore, and thank him for the paper which he has presented to us.

Professor Hopko states that BEM constitutes a serious challenge for the churches. Of course, this challenge is directed towards Orthodoxy as well. Certainly, this is the case. For this reason, even the Orthodox Churches, as the individual local Churches of the one Orthodox, are obliged—as members of the World Council of Churches (WCC)—to give a foresighted response and to offer an opinion concerning its "reception," or at least on the form and extent of this document's reception on their part.

Such is the goal of this Consultative Inter-Orthodox Symposium on Baptism, Eucharist, and Ministry; and we are grateful to all those

responsible for convening it.

What, then, is the challenge of the BEM document to the Orthodox Churches?

Certain Orthodox theologians with good reason have responded to this question by speaking about repentance (*metanoia*) and by trying to determine the extent to which this *metanoia* ought to apply to us Orthodox. If we consider that self-examination and self-criticism are natural for others with regards to BEM, why ought not this apply to us Orthodox as well?

I believe that BEM offers us this twofold opportunity: 1) with the theological theses which it presents us and upon which, as a voice coming from our Tradition and traditions, we are being called upon to define our own positions; and 2) with the four questions which the authors of BEM's prologue place before the churches. We will have an opportunity to return to these two points presently.

Let us now consider more analytically Professor Hopko's positions. He states, in a categorical way, that on the fundamental issue of whether or not we accept baptism outside of Orthodoxy, there ought to be much self-examination. I agree. He says: Some Orthodox exclude baptism outside of Orthodoxy. The Church officially has followed one course on this matter, although this included many "nuanced and discriminating" elements. The fathers, on the other hand, as well as the canons and the practices of the Church present a variety of facts which are contradictory in various ways, at various times. Even "economy," which covers all things, and notably, not only "pastoral concerns," but also "the economy of ecumenism" comes forth to add recently its altered circumstances.

Examples in this instance are cases of rebaptism and reordination of particular Roman Catholics (or even of others from other confessions) coming into Orthodoxy. Several inter-ecclesiastical misunderstandings are thus created, objections from the concerned church toward the Orthodox Church are provoked, and the latter's stance is conditioned to confront the situations thus created according to the dictates of an ecumenism which is, more or less, narrowly or broadly put into practice. Thus, the issues are accommodated in each case with the desired intention that the dialogic relationship of love and theology, which has been resumed by both sides, is not disturbed. The matter is not simply an internal one confined to Orthodoxy or to its relations with Roman Catholicism. The subject is broader and is placed before us most emphatically by the BEM document.

I agree with Professor Hopko when he is so insistent as to demand that our Churches clarify their position on this subject and define the more general criteria which can possibly be maintained in this instance.

I would like at this point to refer to two specific instances from my own experience. The Pan-Orthodox Preparatory Commission in Geneva—of which I was president—investigated the question of “economy.” During the first phase of its deliberations on the subjects initially placed before it, among the first and more fundamental problems set forth to which we were invited to give a pan-Orthodox response was the use of economy with regards to the recognition of the baptism of non-Orthodox; its allowable use from an Orthodox perspective in this case; the limits of this economy; and furthermore, the extent to which this economy may be used by the Church without undermining the principle of *akribēia*, given that the theology of baptism, which is the pre-eminent sacrament of Christian initiation, must be founded upon and established in an exact ecclesiology. Ours was a good attempt at that time to define the general criteria for the theology of baptism. As is known, however, this subject was excluded from the agenda of the Great and Holy Synod, and thus, a good opportunity was lost.

The second instance refers to the well-known attempt of the Orthodox Churches to have baptism in the name of the Holy Trinity recognized by the WCC as the “minimum” requirement for admittance of the churches to the WCC; that is, those churches or groups which seek admission to the WCC ought at least to believe in and practice trinitarian baptism. This suggestion of ours quite rightly provided the opportunity to posit the question to the Orthodox Churches: whether their request at the same time meant also the acceptance of baptism of the other churches and confessions, which, precisely speaking, are considered “heretical” by the Orthodox Church. You must realize what kinds of and how many difficulties we find ourselves in, as long as we do not delineate most precisely the basic criteria for the authenticity of baptism of the non-Orthodox. Professor Hopko is right in what he says concerning this.

The general criteria must be determined with regards to another subject as well: that of baptismal rites. This theme is also important and touches upon the theology of baptism. I do not believe that the issue of rebaptism today can be posited for those cases in which “ecclesial presuppositions” of the baptized, as well as of the church from which he comes, exist. Certainly, as BEM emphasizes, the more perfect rite is that of the thrice immersion and emersion. Its absence, however, and its substitution by other rites, such as those of pouring or sprinkling, do not directly raise an issue of the validity of the rite. What is of primary importance is that the ecclesial presuppositions of baptism be determined. Thus, the entire weight of Professor Hopko’s paper is rightly found in paragraph five in which he speaks about the ecclesial element after which the non-Orthodox seek. I consider this need to be

fundamental, and this work must be carried out with fervor on the part of the Orthodox.

I come to what my beloved colleague has said concerning the recognition of these criteria. He enumerates four criteria: the *faith* of the candidate, the *manner* of baptism, the ecclesial suppositions of the *church* from which he comes, and the *will of God*. This fourth point troubles me—not because the will of God is not of decisive importance to the entire subject of baptism and man's salvation, but because it cannot be placed on the same level of inquiry with the rest of the more external criteria found in baptism. One asks: How can we judge if the will of God is expressed in the circumstance of the candidate of this or that church? "The Spirit searches all things, even the deep things of God" (1 Cor 2.10).

In contrast, I would like to add yet another element to these criteria enumerated by Father Hopko: that of the celebrant of the sacrament. This is a most basic element which indeed plays a primary role in the recognition of the criteria of baptism's validity, and which is closely connected to the subject of baptism in relation to the priesthood.

I consider as correct all that my colleague says about the relationship between baptism, chrismation, and eucharist as well as the manner of one's admission into the eucharistic community (*koinonia*) as soon as he receives baptism and chrismation. I share his anxiety in all that he says and in the questions that he raises concerning the relationship between baptism and chrismation as well as the more profound meaning of chrismation in comparison to the *confirmatio* or the *impositio manus* of the non-Orthodox.

Of fundamental importance is his question: what will become of the one who is baptized Orthodox but who, for whatever reason, does not receive chrismation? The rubric of Orthodox practice with regard to these matters is wise. It confers these first three mysteries, all in common and together, to the one who is baptized, and naturally, to infants who have been properly guided to baptism as well. In this manner, the difficulties are alleviated. Moreover, Father Hopko's conclusions are correct (paragraph 13); namely, that a church which does not offer the three mysteries together to the candidates is not recognized as a true church, and that a church which excludes definite elements from the sacraments for particular classes of people is likewise not a true church.

I shall not give a critique here on what is stated about the "baptism of the faithful." My colleague's observations on this are correct.

However, I cannot fully agree with all that he says concerning the alteration which he claims exists today in baptism (as well as in the other sacraments which will be considered below), within the Orthodox

Church, and specifically, the manner or manners by which they are celebrated (paragraph 14). I make note of the following. Perhaps certain foreign and secular elements have been added externally. But the essence remains one and the same; the teaching moreover does not change. On these points BEM does not constitute a judgment or indictment of Orthodoxy. Rather, it must be considered an expression of the ancient Orthodox tradition, which it also seeks to restore to those churches of the West in which that tradition either does not exist or has fallen into disuse.

I now come to the subject of the eucharist. I belong to that group of theologians which considers this second edition of BEM to be less substantial than that on baptism, just as the section which pertains to the ordained ministry is weaker than either of the first two. Consequently I am in disagreement with Professor Hopko on certain of his points concerning this matter.

It is very easy for one to speculate—and this has been said by many Orthodox and Roman Catholic theologians until today—what the Protestant contingent will think and do in light of BEM's recommendation that the eucharist must be celebrated by them also every Sunday (paragraph 15). The issue is certainly not trivial. Undoubtedly, a document like BEM, when and insofar as it poses such a question to those churches, which for one reason or another, either do not have or do not preserve such a tradition, assumes a particular significance in and of itself, as well as for our Church, under the light of whose teaching we come to examine the BEM document. The text, however, raises other weak points, mainly with respect to the ordained ministry. This, indeed, must principally occupy the critic's attention.

I draw attention to paragraph 16 of Father Hopko's paper in which he describes the characteristics of the Church as eucharistic in its life and practice. I am absolutely in agreement. I do not consider, though, that those designations of eucharistic ecclesiology from an Orthodox perspective are simply *rhetorical*, and that they do not correspond to ecclesial reality. I do not think that what has been said by the fathers and is expanded upon today by all of us theologians concerning the episcopocentric eucharistic ecclesiology is hyperbolic; that it does not correspond to Orthodoxy's teaching, life, and practice. Nor do I think that the ecumenism which is exercised in Orthodoxy is detrimental to the fundamental principles of Orthodox ecclesiology.

For this reason, I cannot agree to what is stated in paragraph 18 concerning the manner in which those outside of Orthodoxy perceive us. First, they no longer see us as something static, archaic, and dead. On the contrary, there exists an intense nostalgia for Orthodoxy which necessarily passes from the contemporary expressions and leads back

to the sources, about which those outside of Orthodoxy desire to know. Second, those things which can be characterized as "fossilized remnants" or as "museum pieces" are precisely those things which define the Orthodox faith in the received truth and practice of the early Church. Our innovations bring us closer to the West and toward its forms. One asks, however, what are we looking for? That we conform to the prototypes of the West in order to avoid the characterization of "fossilization," or that we bring our spiritual treasures forward so that by means of them we can attract the non-Orthodox West toward us?

In the same spirit, I do not concur with what our beloved colleague states in his lengthy paragraphs 19, 20, and 21 wherein he finds in Orthodoxy terrible antitheses between its teaching and practice, as well as many exaggerations and unacceptable conditions. I believe that all these hyperboles and anomalous circumstances do indeed refer to us. But the Church has assumed them as such within the framework of her renewing effort. Proceeding from the agenda of the Great and Holy Synod, this effort extends to the new generation of enlightened local bishops and of the analogously enlightened clergy, and moreover, is evidenced in the renewed spirit of the laity, and so the picture is other than that depicted by Father Hopko.

He will, I think, agree with me that a spirit of renewal blows within the governing Church and its individual members—one spirit which in fact differs from the Church's and its people's way of thinking that prevailed before the Second World War. This is lived daily in contemporary Orthodoxy, even in those individual local churches whose living conditions for political and societal reasons—well known to all of us—are not ideal, but on the contrary, harsh and negate any renewal. Those outside of Orthodoxy see this new spirit and recognize it today, perhaps more so and indeed more objectively than those of us who are still entangled in that familiar complex of perceiving our circumstances to be bleaker than they actually are. Indeed, as Professor Hopko states, the section on the Ministry (paragraph 22 et seq.) is the most discussed of the three that comprise the BEM document. His observation concerning the two fundamental omissions of this section is correct. He asserts the following: 1) The threefold ministry (bishop-presbyter-deacon) within the historical apostolic succession is not discussed at any length—a subject which in fact constitutes the most fundamental criterion for the recognition of any Christian body as a church; 2) the section does not refer in any way to the subject of the bishops and the presbyters possessing rights and particular characteristics, other than those conferred upon them by baptism, chrismation, and the eucharist. These rights and particular characteristics, which are applicable to them, give them the right to exercise their priestly function, as this is described

and defined by the biblical, liturgical, and canonical tradition of the Church.

When these very basic themes, however, do not find a place in the pages of the BEM document, it is self-evident how difficult it is for the Orthodox Church to find its teaching and its tradition reflected in that text.

Besides this, there are also other omissions in the BEM document which are noted by Professor Hopko.

The observations and formulations which he makes in paragraph 24 are correct, and the themes which he posits are also justified. He states, and I quote: “If the Orthodox are clear about affirming the ministry of bishop, presbyter, and deacon in the Church, we are certainly not clear about the relationship of these ministries to each other, and to the ministries of all of God’s people, either in past history or at the present time. How ‘fluid’ were and are these titles and terms? What specific service is called for in these ministries? What ‘authority’ do they possess, and how is it to be actualized in the Church (and in the ‘world’) in a God-befitting manner? Why do the traditional, scriptural and canonical qualifications exist, and what is their significance and relevance today?”

The Orthodox answer which will be given to BEM will want to underscore all those elements and to offer a precise description of the ministry and its theology in Orthodoxy. In any case, I cannot agree with what is said in paragraph 25 about the influences which the Orthodox Church’s teaching encountered with regards to its priesthood and its teaching on the ministry, from the beginning, as the “theocracy” of the Byzantine years, or the degrading view of the ministry that characterized the Ottoman period (“Turkokratia”) or the negative mirrorings of Reformation and Counter-Reformation prototypes upon the Orthodox clergy. Perhaps there were such influences, but it is not by chance that one pure teaching and practice concerning the ministry and the ordained priesthood was preserved in the midst of all these antithetical tensions and inclinations. This fact lives on and needs to enjoy its proper interpretation and depiction to those outside, to the non-Orthodox.

I come now to the contestable, yet extremely interesting matter, the ordination of women. This is placed in the correct perspective from what is stated initially by Professor Hopko.

Inasmuch as BEM does not speak directly about the ordination of women, nevertheless, it does raise the basic question of what their function can be within the Church. Professor Hopko also properly places the issue of “function” (*hypourgema*) which applies to all the members of the Church in general, that is to both the ordained and

the non-ordained (paragraph 28). The theology on this point is of the greatest importance in and of itself, just as much as for the continuation and advancement of Orthodoxy's theological dialogues. From this perspective, too, anyone can understand that the concrete and precise formulation of the Church's teaching on this matter is one of the more fundamental responsibilities of contemporary Orthodox theology, and that it must also be expressed within the parameters of tradition, of canonical order, and of the Church's broader practice.

Even if, however, all these issues are correct and justified, and are correctly emphasized in Father Hopko's paper, I do not believe that his tendency to set the issue in terms of triadological terminology for Orthodoxy today, especially within a perspective of human sexuality, is a correct one. If there is need of Orthodox "metanoia," this is required in many other areas, but not in those to which our colleague refers. Does he exaggerate at the end of paragraph 28 of his paper? I quote: "How we respond to the questions involving human sexuality will provide, in my view, the major criterion in times to come for evaluating the orthodoxy or heterodoxy of our theology and life."

Now I come to the last part of Professor Hopko's work where in paragraphs 29ff. he states that "the reception" of BEM by the churches will not be by thought or word, but by action, that is, by concrete decisions and analogous efforts.

Perhaps before proceeding to this point, we should clarify once more the difference between "response" and "reception."

The framework within which the churches work out every type of "response" is well known. The response is made by analyzing and critically evaluating those points in the BEM document which refer to the Church's teaching and practice with regards to three subjects under investigation: that is, baptism, eucharist, and ministry. Furthermore, the response is made by having each church clearly place on the positive or negative side certain "theses" which the document emphasizes or supports. The response is made, finally, by underscoring the degree to which the life, teaching, and practice of each church coincides with or is at a distance from the ecclesiological, sacramental, liturgical, pastoral, practical and ecumenical principles which are formulated in the document. Thus, the churches are led to answer the four basic questions found in the document's prologue. This is what the working out of the "response" means in the present instance.

In contrast, "reception" presupposes an acquisition and appropriation of the various principles presented by the document, as well as an adaptation of the teaching and practice of each church to all that is presented or suggested by the document. Naturally, "reception" cannot mean for Orthodoxy what it might mean for other churches and

confessions.

BEM includes elements which the Orthodox Church, after precise theological examination, can admit as acceptable within the parameters of the "rationale" of her theology, as for example, chrismation with the Holy Myrrh or the laying on of hands; recognition of the baptism of non-Orthodox or their rebaptism under certain circumstances; regular or frequent receiving of holy communion; the ordination of the deacon and the function of deaconesses. The Orthodox Church, however, cannot accept what is said concerning the bread and wine as being signs of the Body and Blood of Christ, or what is said about the conception of the *metousiosis* of the elements into the Body and Blood, or what is said concerning the forms of the priesthood as a functional or ordained ministry.

For the other churches, however—and here I have in mind the churches of the Reformation—"reception" means that they would recognize in practice and accept certain elements which do not exist in their traditions. These are, for example, baptism by triple immersion and emersion; chrismation in and of itself; the meaning of the three sacraments of initiation, which together enroll man into the fellowship (*koinonia*) and the kingdom of God; the change (*metabole*) of the elements into the Body and Blood of Christ; the meaning of these antitypes not as signs of remembrance of the eucharistic supper of the Savior, which occurred once, but as the elements of sacrifice offered once and for all time on behalf of our salvation; the reception of the Holy Eucharist on Sunday or even more frequently with the same fervor as currently exists in the reception by those churches of the Word through the reading and preaching of Scripture; the existence of the ordained priesthood based upon solid biblical and traditional data; and the distinction of gifts and charisms pertaining to the threefold ministry. While all these things are for the Protestant churches elements which require "reception" on their part, were they to accept the BEM document, the process of reception is different for the Orthodox. Under no circumstances can Orthodoxy be called to accept those elements which it possesses naturally, which it practices, and which in fact constitute the essence of its tradition, teaching, and practice.

This is where the meaning and content of the terms "response" and "reception" are differentiated, according to the Orthodox understanding. This point is basic for future proceedings which will follow among the individual local Orthodox Churches.

No one doubts the truth that BEM is capable of contributing to Christian unity. For this reason, I also view the document as one, absolutely positive element along this road.

All the churches have to reflect on all that the document states.

Their work will turn to the area of *orthopraxia*, as stated by Professor Hopko. But the question is will it not turn to the area of Orthodoxy as well?

I believe that these cannot be separated from one another in an absolute manner. Nevertheless, for us Orthodox, BEM will certainly be judged from the side of its orthodoxy, namely, from the perspective of Orthodoxy which it represents; and after that is done, its practical dimensions will be assessed in light of the ecclesiastical life and practice of each church.



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Revelation and Metaphors: the Significance of the Trinitarian Names, Father, Son and Holy Spirit

Deborah Malacky Belonick

It is a dogma of the Orthodox Christian Church that efforts to describe the divine nature of God are ultimately inadequate, since God is ineffable and essentially unknowable. Even on the Feast of Epiphany when Orthodox Christians celebrate the revelation of God as Trinity, they are reminded of this in the hymnography of the Church: "Great art Thou, O Lord, and marvelous are Thy works: no words suffice to sing the praise of Thy wonders."¹ Both Scripture and the patristic writings echo this transcendence of the Deity. Solomon, in the Book of Kings (I Kings 8:12), says God desires to "dwell in thick darkness" beyond the comprehension of human beings. Gregory of Nyssa spoke of the impossibility of adequately describing God's Divinity: "This inability to give expression to such unutterable things, while it reflects upon the poverty of our own nature, affords an evidence of God's glory, teaching us as it does, in the words of the Apostle, that the only name naturally appropriate to God is to believe Him to be 'above every name' (Phil. 2:9)."² Our difficulty in finding proper appellations for God is due to God's transcendence and inexpressible divine nature.

This is the principle of "apophatic" (or negative) theology common to the Eastern Christian tradition. All speculations about God are mere "idols" since God is incomprehensible in essence; all human imaginations are inadequate to God. One cannot know God by following "natural ways of thoughts and forming concepts which would usurp the place of spiritual realities."³

On the other hand, creatures do employ a myriad of terms in attempts to name God, and this is evidence of God's immanence. The hymnography of the Orthodox Church expresses this also in its exclamation that "God is the Lord and has revealed Himself unto us."⁴ Again, Scripture and the patristic writings concur: creatures do have access to some words relevant to God. John the Theologian writes in his gospel, "No one has ever seen God; the only Son, who is in the bosom of the Father, he has made him known" (John 1:18). Clement of Alexandria explains that by revelation humans are able to call God Just, Good, Mind, One, Lord, Rock, Love; yet all these

terms "are not to be taken in their strict meaning . . . we use these appellations of honor, in order that our thought may have something to rest on and not to wander at random. . . ."⁵

This is the principle of "cataphatic" (or positive) theology, also common to the Eastern Church. Although transcendent in essence, God bursts forth from His hiding place and is manifest to creatures. As noted from Scripture: "Ever since the creation of the world his invisible nature, namely, his eternal power and deity, has been clearly perceived in the things that have been made" (Rom. 1:20). God is gloriously manifested, like a "super-essential ray out of divine darkness,"⁶ said Pseudo-Dionysius, who excelled in explaining both the positive and negative ways of theology.⁷ Creatures know and experience God as wisdom, love, justice, truth. In fact, there are an inexhaustible number of divine names, "countless names of glory,"⁸ since God is inexhaustible goodness, and all this goodness is revealed constantly to, and experienced by creatures. Thus, "One can know God positively, attributing to Him the perfections which one finds in the created world: goodness, wisdom, life, love, being. One can also know Him negatively, through ignorance, denying to His subject all that pertains to the realm of being, since God is above being, above everything which can be named."⁹

Given these two apparent ways of knowing God in the Eastern Christian tradition, where do the scriptural names of 'Father, Son and Holy Spirit' fit? Are they (if one uses the "cataphatic" method) on equal ground with other scriptural terms and images for God such as Rock (Ps. 18:2, 31, 46); Shepherd (Jn. 10:11); Savior; Lord; Light; or Mother (Is. 66:13)? Are they (if one assumes the "apophatic" method) impoverished terms, incapable of adequately describing the Godhead, particularly in this era of women's concerns?

The Precision of the Terms 'Father, Son and Holy Spirit'

It is interesting to note that, during the fourth-century Christological and Trinitarian debates, the traditional doxology for God—"Father, Son and Holy Spirit"—also was debated. Patristic texts of that period reveal that these three terms fell outside the boundaries of both "cataphatic" and "apophatic" methodology. They were in a superior category and considered more precise than all other scriptural terms, not in the same category as "metaphors"¹⁰ for God. They also were considered to be the most adequate terms available for God; when all other concepts and names for God were negated, there emerged the personal God named 'Father, Son and Holy Spirit.'¹¹ A close reading of fourth-century texts explains why this was so..

Two fourth-century theologians, Athanasius and Gregory of Nyssa, were embroiled in controversies over the proper terms for God. Their disputes deserve attention, particularly today when some contemporary theologians (in particular, feminist theologians) assert that the traditional Trinitarian terms have deified "maleness" and have been non-inclusive toward women.

Athanasius defended the traditional Trinitarian names against the Arians, a group which called the first person of the Trinity 'Creator' rather than 'Father.' Arians

claimed that Jesus Christ was not the divine Son of God but merely a superior creature. Since Jesus was not Son, then God could not be Father; therefore 'Father' was a fleshly, foolish, improper term for God.

In reply to the Arians, Athanasius tried to illustrate the importance of the biblical divine names, 'Father, Son and Holy Spirit.' Using a term such as 'Creator,' said Athanasius, makes God dependent on creatures for existence. If creation did not exist, he asked, would this 'Creator-God' cease to be? If creation never existed, what would be the proper term for God? In addition, he argued, the word 'Creator' could be used to describe *any* of the members of the Trinity. It would be wrong to refer to the Father alone as 'Creator' because the Bible states:

In the beginning God created the heavens and earth. The earth was without form and void, and darkness was upon the face of the deep; and the *Spirit of God* was moving over the face of the waters. (Gen. 1:1-2)

In the beginning was the Word, and the Word was with God, and the Word was God. He was in the beginning with God; *all things were made through Him*, and without Him was not anything made that was made. (Jn. 1:1-3)

In Orthodox Christian thought, and according to Scripture, all of the members of the Trinity act in concert. Each person of the Trinity creates; each person saves (Jn. 5:21; Acts 2:24; Rom. 1:4); each sanctifies (Eph. 5:26; I Thess. 5:23). Athanasius argued that the names of God had to describe more than God's will or action toward creation. "There are, as it were, two different sets of names which may be used for God," explained Athanasius. "One set [Creator, Savior, Sanctifier] refers to God's deeds or acts—that is, to his will and counsel—the other [Father, Son, Holy Spirit] to God's own essence and being."¹² Athanasius insisted that these two sets be formally and consistently distinguished. He insisted that one use the terms 'Father, Son and Holy Spirit' when speaking about the existence of God as three persons in a community of love, when speaking about the relationships among members of the Trinity without regard to their economic acts toward creation. "God's 'Being' has absolute ontological priority over God's action and will. *God is much more than just 'Creator.'* When we call God 'a Father'—we mean something higher than his relation to creatures."¹³

Gregory of Nyssa faced similar problems when dealing with the Eunomians, who believed that Christ was unlike God the Father by nature and instead was a created energy. For this reason, Eunomians refused to call God 'Father.' Gregory, appalled by this new teaching, sought to explain the character of the Holy Trinity, the relationships among the persons of the Trinity and the Church's insistence upon the traditional terms 'Father, Son and Holy Spirit.'

First, said Gregory, there was no more adequate theologian than the Lord himself, who without compulsion or misdirection designated the Godhead as 'Father, Son and Holy Spirit.'¹⁴ Further, these names are not indications that God is a male or a man (any Orthodox theologian would be shocked by such a conclusion), for God

transcends human gender.¹⁵ Gregory himself insisted that the division of humanity into male and female had “no relation to the divine Archetype.”¹⁶ Rather, these names imply relationships among the persons of the Trinity, and distinguish them as separate persons who exist in a community of love. Even more crucial, the names lead one to contemplate the *correct* relationships among the three persons; they are clues to the inner life of the Trinity. Gregory notes:

For while there are many other names by which the Deity is indicated in the Historical Books, in the Prophets and in the Law, our Master Christ passes by all these and commits us to these titles as better able to bring us to the faith about the Self-Existent, declaring that it suffices us to cling to the titles, “Father, Son and Holy Spirit,” in order to attain to the apprehension of Him Who is absolutely Existent, Who is one and yet not one.¹⁷

Gregory states that it is through the terms ‘Father, Son and Holy Spirit’ that women and men can enter into the Divine abyss, somewhat equipped to understand the inner relationships and persons of the Trinity. He wrote a lengthy treatise on each term, explaining its connotations and relevance to Trinitarian life. Of particular interest today is Gregory’s explanation of the term ‘Father,’ which is under scrutiny by feminist theologians as a harmful metaphor that resulted from a patriarchal Church structure and culture. Gregory insists otherwise. The name ‘Father,’ said Gregory, leads one to contemplate two things: a Being who is the source and cause of all, and that fact that this Being has a relationship with another person—one can only be ‘Father’ if there is a child involved.¹⁸ Thus, the human term ‘Father’ leads one naturally to think of another member of the Trinity, to contemplate more than is suggested by a term such as ‘Creator’ or ‘Maker.’ By calling God ‘Father,’ Gregory notes, one understands that there exists with God a Child from all eternity, a second person who is co-ruling, co-equal and co-eternal with God.¹⁹ ‘Father’ also connotes the initiator of a generation, the inaugurator of all, the one who begets life rather than conceiving it and bringing it to fruition in birth.²⁰ This is the mode of existence (the way of origin and being) of the first person of the Trinity. How He acts in Trinitarian life is akin to the mode of existence of a father in the earthly realm. Before time, within the mystery of the Holy Trinity, God generated another person (the Son) as human fathers generate seed.

Nowhere does Gregory suggest that this ‘Father’ is a male creature: he notes, “It is clear that this metaphor contains a deeper meaning than the obvious one. . . .”²¹ The deeper meaning, from the Orthodox point of view, is found in a passage of Paul to the Ephesians:

For this reason I bow my knees before the Father, from whom every family [lit., *patria*, fatherhood] in heaven and on earth receives its true name. (Eph. 3:14-15)

This passage implies that God is the one, true, divine Father, whose generative

function human fathers imitate in a creaturely, imperfect way. When God generates a child, the generation is eternal, and transcends time and space; unlike human fathers who imitate this generative function but are bound in time, space, and creaturely "passions" as the patristic writers note.²² All patristic writers insist: God is not male, but God possesses a generative characteristic, for which the best analogy in the human realm is that of a human father generating seed. Hence, the word 'Father' for God is the human word most adequate to describe the first person of the Holy Trinity, who possesses this unique characteristic.

This divine Father is as different from and transcendent of earthly fathers as the divine is from the human. Nevertheless, it is *fatherhood* and not *motherhood* which describes His mode of life, His relationship to the second person of the Trinity, and even His personal characteristics. The first person of the Trinity does not just "act" like a father (though He sometimes acts like a mother!). Rather, He possesses divine fatherhood in a perfect fulfilled state. The Orthodox Christian interpretation of Matthew 23:9 explains precisely this—that God's fatherhood both transcends and is the perfection of human fatherhood: "And call no man your father on earth, for you have one Father, who is in heaven." Clement of Alexandria expressed this idea most aptly: "God is Himself love, and because of His love, He pursued us, and [in the eternal generation of the Son] the ineffable nature of God is father, His sympathy with us is mother."²³

All sorts of epithets for God are available to humanity through revelation—goodness, love, mother, fire—but none is exchangeable with or comparable to the revelation of God as Father, Son and Holy Spirit. These names neither indicate the divine essence of God which is undefinable (as claimed when using apophatic theology); nor do they indicate the attributes of God—love, comfort, justice, sanctification—which are experienced by humanity (which can be discovered by using the cataphatic method of theology). They are outside both categories. Gregory of Nazianzen explains: ". . . Father is not a name either of an *essence* or an *action*, most clever sirs. But it is the name of the *Relation* in which the Father stands to the Son, and the Son to the Father."²⁴ The terms 'Father, Son and Holy Spirit' are the personal terms by which humanity enters Trinitarian life to discover the unique persons of the Trinity and their distinguishing marks.

As a further example of this uniqueness of the Trinitarian doxology, in his explanation of the term 'Son'—another term often considered non-inclusive—Gregory of Nyssa reiterates its primacy over other scriptural terms. He says:

While the names which Scripture applies to the Only-begotten are many, we assert that none of the other names is closely connected with reference to Him that begat Him. For we do not employ the name 'Stone,' or 'Resurrection,' or 'Shepherd,' or 'Light,' or any of the rest, as we do the name 'Son of the Father,' with a reference to the God of all. It is possible to make a twofold division of the signification of the Divine names, as it were by a scientific rule: for to one class belongs the indication of His lofty and unspeakable glory; the other class indicates the variety of providential dispensation.²⁵

In the theology of the early Church, the traditional Trinitarian terms are precise theological terms. Therefore these terms are not exchangeable. Through them humanity encounters the persons of the Trinity, and through them relationships among members of the Godhead are defined. The respective characteristics of the Father, Son and Holy Spirit are: to be unbegotten, begotten, and in procession. In Western theology, it has become common to say the persons are defined by these relations, as Thomas Aquinas wrote: *Persona est relatio.*²⁶ But in the Eastern Church, the persons are prior to the relationship, the persons *possess* the characteristics of paternity, generation and procession. These are their personal ("hypostatic") characteristics, truths known about their persons.²⁷ The persons are marked, but not determined by these relations. The divine terms, 'Father, Son and Holy Spirit,' primarily name the persons, and secondarily describe the relationships among them.

The Context in Which the Terms Were Used

There is no historical evidence that the terms 'Father, Son and Holy Spirit' were products of a patriarchal structure, "male" theology, or a hierarchical Church. Rather, all those involved in the Christological and Trinitarian controversies—Athanasius of Alexandria, Basil the Great, Gregory of Nyssa, Gregory of Nazianzen, and Hilary of Poitiers—had one mission from God: to enable the Church finally to express the Divinity as Unity/Trinity.²⁸ The God of Apostolic tradition was not the God of the Neo-Platonists or Indian religions which dissolved all personal relationship into Nirvana; neither was the Christian God the totally "Unknown God" of the Athenians (Acts 17:22-32). The Christian God was the God Who transcended all human categories and was revealed in the personal names, 'Father, Son and Holy Spirit.'²⁹ It is not convincing to argue that the patristic writers had animosity toward women or femininity, or understood only human fathers to be the source of life, and therefore used masculine terms for the Trinity. Indeed, historically the opposite appears to be true.

First, the most fitting way to describe the Church fathers' attitudes toward women would be "ambivalence."³⁰ Although one indeed can find passages deriding women for their weak wills and for leading the whole human race into sin [John Chrysostom writes that "The woman taught once and ruined all"³¹], one also finds passages extolling women for being of great character and teaching the gospel better than men. Gregory of Nazianzen, in writing of his parents, explains that his father's virtue was "the result of his wife's prayers and guidance, and it was from her that he learned his ideal of a good shepherd's life . . . they [i.e. his parents] have been rightly assigned, each to either sex; he is the ornament of men, she of women, and not only the ornament but the pattern of virtue."³² Jerome says his readers may laugh at him for so often "dwelling on the praises of mere women . . . [but] we judge of people's virtue not by their sex but by their character, and hold those to be of the highest glory who have renounced both rank and wealth."³³

Second, it must be noted that in several historical instances the Church was much fairer toward women than the surrounding culture. Gregory of Nazianzen, a

great Trinitarian theologian, exemplified this fairness by upbraiding the men of his flock in regard to a civil law which called for strict punishment for wives committing adultery, but disregarded punishing husbands committing the same crime:

[Let me discuss] chastity, in respect of which I see that the majority of men are ill-disposed, and that their laws are unequal and irregular. For what was the reason why they restrained the woman, but indulged the man, and that a woman who practices evil against her husband's bed is an adulteress, and the penalties of the law for this are very severe; but if a husband commits fornication against his wife, he has no account to give? I do not accept this legislation; I do not approve this custom. Those who made the law were men, and therefore the legislation is hard on women.³⁴

This and other historical data regarding Church policies in conflict with State law or cultural custom prove that the Church was not a pliant object shaped by surrounding cultures. The Church was the Body of Christ, governed by truths of the Spirit of God, which often ran contrary to human philosophy *vis-a-vis* male/female relationships. Given instances in which the justice of the Church freed women from injustices of the neighboring culture, it becomes contradictory to assert that the names 'Father, Son and Holy Spirit' are products of a Church unable to rid itself of patriarchal influences.³⁵

Third, it is equally unconvincing to argue, as do some feminists, that the traditional Trinitarian doxology resulted from ignorance of the biological process of creation! That is, some feminists claim that in ancient times people were unaware of the biological processes involved in the creation of human life; it was thought that the father was the source of a child's life, and that the mother was merely a passive vessel in which to carry the fetus. Since all life sprang from the male's seed, it would be natural to name God, the ultimate Source of all life, 'Father' and not 'Mother.'³⁶ However, it can be shown historically that such a narrow, androcentric view of reproduction did not exist in the Eastern Church. It appears that the Eastern Church understood very well that mothers as well as fathers contributed as sources to the making of a child. John Chrysostom in the fourth century writes:

. . . a man leaving *them that begat him*, and from whom he was born, is knit to his wife; and that then the one flesh is, father, and mother, *and the child, from the substance of the two commingled*. For indeed, *by the commingling of their seeds is the child produced*, so that the three are one flesh . . . Because so it has been from the beginning.³⁷

It seems implausible that inadequate knowledge of the reproductive processes was responsible for terming God 'Father.'

Fourth, it seems equally implausible that contempt for femininity caused the Church to call God 'Father' and 'Son' rather than 'Mother' and 'Daughter.' Patristic writers sometimes spoke of God as an archetypal pattern for human femininity. In many texts appears the idea that women are closely associated with the person of the Holy Spirit. In the Patristic Period, the fathers related the procession of the Holy

Spirit from the Father with the “procession” of Eve from Adam.³⁸ In later centuries this imagery remained. Anastasius of Sinai wrote: “Eve, who proceeded from Adam, signifies the proceeding hypostasis of the Holy Spirit. This is why God did not breathe in her the breath of life: she was already the type of the breathing and life of the Holy Spirit.”³⁹ Additionally, in Eastern tradition, women are always considered to be fashioned in the image of God and honored as such.⁴⁰ The “masculine” terms used in the Trinitarian names do not result from disdain for the feminine nor insistence upon a “masculine” god, since the mode of life of the Holy Spirit was associated with human femininity.

Fifth, women of the Church themselves proclaimed the theology of the Trinity, not out of coercion or unawareness, but out of devotion to three Persons whom they had experienced. Macrina, sister to two great Orthodox theologians, Basil the Great and Gregory of Nyssa, is referred to by her brothers as the ‘Teacher.’⁴¹ It was she who raised them in the faith and instructed them in the theology of the ‘Father, Son and Holy Spirit.’ Nina, Evangelizer of the Georgians, converted that entire nation by her teaching of Jesus Christ and the Trinity. Saintly women held a theology compatible with the rest of the Church, when they were under no compulsion to do so. To say only males practiced theology or named God would be historically inaccurate.⁴² The terms arose not from a male Church, but from saints who encountered the Godhead through revelation.

With this evidence, it is clear that the Church, particularly in the centuries during which the Niceno-Constantinopolitan Creed was framed, was interested in preserving the scriptural terms of ‘Father, Son and Holy Spirit’ as revelations from God, rather than preserving patriarchal culture. These terms are precise theological terms, keys to understanding the Trinity. They are not exchangeable with such feminist formulae as ‘Mother, Daughter, Holy Spirit,’ nor even exchangeable with other attributes and activities of God such as ‘Creator, Savior and Sanctifier.’ They have been revealed to humanity to serve as the most adequate language available to describe the three members of the Trinity. Another statement from Gregory of Nyssa summarizes these notions:

Since then this doctrine is put forth by the Truth itself, it follows that anything which the inventors of pestilent heresies devise besides to subvert this Divine utterance,—as, for example, calling the Father ‘Maker’ and ‘Creator’ of the Son instead of ‘Father,’ and the Son a ‘result,’ a ‘creature,’ a ‘product,’ instead of ‘Son,’ and the Holy Spirit the ‘creature of a creature,’ and the ‘product of a product,’ instead of His proper title the ‘Spirit,’ and whatever those who fight against God are pleased to say of Him,—all such fancies we term a denial and a violation of the Godhead revealed to us in this doctrine. For once for all we have learned from the Lord, through Whom comes the transformation of our nature from mortality to immortality,—from Him, I say, we have learned to what we ought to look with the eyes of our understanding,—that is, the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit. We say that it is a terrible and soul-destroying thing to misinterpret these Divine utterances and to devise in their stead assertions to subvert them,—assertions pretending to correct God the Word, Who appointed

that we should maintain these statements as part of our faith. For each of these titles understood in its natural sense becomes for Christians a rule of truth and a law of piety.⁴³

Conclusions

In the experience of the Orthodox Church, in regard to studying the names for God, as expressed in Scripture and later as part of the communal statement called the Nicene Creed, the following conclusions may be drawn:

1. The terms 'Father, Son and Holy Spirit' are revealed names, inspired by the Spirit of God, and inform humanity about the inner life of the Trinity. They do not define God's ineffable essence; neither do they describe an attribute or action of God toward humanity. Rather they are the personal names for the Trinity.

2. In the fourth century, the Church fathers were interested in preserving the terms 'Father, Son and Holy Spirit,' because these terms are scriptural; they are not products of a fourth century patriarchal culture interested in creating a creed with masculine language.

3. 'Father, Son and Holy Spirit,' being the personal names for God, are in a category superior to all other scriptural terms. The Eastern Church believes these names to be adequate to the Godhead, since they were given through Jesus Christ who was under no cultural coercion to do so.⁴⁴

4. It was stressed by all patristic writers that the term 'Father' for God was never meant to indicate that God was male. Neither was this term considered a metaphor, a figure of speech in the modern sense. The term 'Father' was used to express the generative property of the first person of the Trinity. To say God is 'Father' is to say that God possesses the properties of actual fatherhood, but in a transcendent, divine way.⁴⁵ Human fathers imitate the generative function of the Divine Father, although the Divine Father's method of generation transcends time and space. In addition, it is proper to say that the Divine Father possesses this fatherhood in relation to Jesus Christ, and therefore, through adoption in Jesus Christ, we are able to call God 'Our Father' (Gal. 4:5).

5. There is little convincing historical evidence that the traditional Trinitarian terms for God resulted from a patriarchal culture. During the great fourth-century controversies, when the names for God were debated, it was groups of *male clergy* who proposed names for God other than 'Father, Son and Holy Spirit.' The Church determined the names for God by depending upon Apostolic tradition and revelation, not by arbitrarily deciding that only men had the right to envision and name God. The historical context in which the terms 'Father, Son and Holy Spirit' were used does not support assumptions that these names were products of a male culture or hierarchy.

In view of all these historical factors, it remains unconvincing to assert that 'Father, Son and Holy Spirit' are outdated expressions of a patriarchal Church. It appears more reasonable to assert that this doxology is the one most adequate to the Godhead, the doxology which pre-eminently can draw humanity into the reality of the Trinity.

NOTES

NPNF refers to *A Select Library of Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers of the Christian Church* (Schaff-Wace), New York, 1886–1900, 28 vols. PG refers to *Patrologia Graeca* (Abbe Migne).

1. Hymn at the Great Blessing of Water on Epiphany.
2. *Answer to Eunomius' Second Book* PG 45.1108B-C; NPNF, vol. 5, p. 309.
3. Vladimir Lossky, *The Mystical Theology of the Eastern Church* (Crestwood, NY: St. Vladimir's Seminary Press, 1976), p. 42.
4. Hymn of the Matins service.
5. *Stromata*, PG 9.121B.
6. *De myst. theol. 1, 3*, See Vladimir Lossky, *In the Image and Likeness of God* (Crestwood, NY: St. Vladimir's Seminary Press, 1974), p. 41.
7. It is an Orthodox dogma that God remains unknowable in “essence,” that abyss of Divinity which forever is transcendent and unknowable. What is revealed to humanity are God’s “energies” (in Western terms, “attributes”). God bursts forth from hiding to communicate with human beings, to reveal something of the Deity. Pseudo-Dionysius authored works on both “cataphatic” (*Divine Names* and two lost treatises, *Symbolic Theology* and *On Hypotypes or Outlines of Theology*) and “apophatic” (*Mystical Theology*) methodology in the fifth century. His “two ways” were explained more fully in the fourteenth century by Gregory Palamas, according to Lossky, *Image and Likeness*, p. 23 *passim*.
8. Vladimir Lossky, *Orthodox Theology: An Introduction* (Crestwood, NY: St. Vladimir's Seminary Press, 1978), p. 49.
9. Lossky, *Image and Likeness*, pp. 52–53.
10. In modern usage, the word “metaphor” indicates the juxtaposing of two dissimilar objects, in which one thing is likened to another as if it were the other: “The child is a beautiful flower.” Patristic writers, however, did not view metaphors in this limited sense. Descriptions of God were “metaphorical” only in that they could not express exactly the full reality of the Divinity. In addition, the term “Father” was not on the same level as other “metaphors.” Gregory of Nyssa states: “. . . metaphors innumerable are taken from human life to illustrate symbolically divine things (e.g. hand, eye, eyelids, hearing, heart). As, then, each of these names has a human sound, but not a human meaning, so also that of Father, while applying equally to life divine and human, hides a distinction between the uttered meanings exactly proportionate to the difference existing between the subjects of this title . . . there may be, so far as words go, some likeness between man and the Eternal, yet the gulf between these two worlds is the real measure of the separation of meanings” (*Against Eunomius* PG 45.444A-B; NPNF, Book I:39, vol. 5, p. 93). Here, Gregory is not comparing two dissimilar objects, but a *similar* characteristic (in this case, fatherhood) shared by two objects, and separated only by the “gulf” between human and divine. There is a true “carry-over” (*meta-pherō*) of a quality from the divine to the human.
11. The fact that a personal God arises out of the “apophatic” methodology, that one meets God face to face after casting aside all human delusion, is stressed in all of the fathers and mystics of the Church. See Lossky, *Orthodox Theology*, pp. 32ff.
12. Georges Florovsky, “St. Athanasius’ Concept of Creation,” in his *Collected Works*, vol. 4: *Aspects of Church History* (Belmont, MA: Nordland Publishing Company, 1975), pp. 39–62 at p. 52.
13. Ibid. (emphasis added) and cf. Athanasius, *Against the Arians* PG 26.80A-81A; 1:33, NPNF, vol. 4, pp. 325–326.
14. *Against Eunomius*, PG 45.505A-516B; Book II:1 and 2, NPNF, vol. 5, pp. 100–101.
15. Gregory the Theologian also notes that the names of God have nothing whatever to do with human gender categories: *Homily 31.7* (= Theological Homily 5), PG 36.140C–141A.
16. *On the Making of Man*, 16.14, NPNF, vol. 5, p. 406.
17. *Against Eunomius*, PG 45.469A; Book II:2, NPNF, vol. 5, p. 102.

18. *Against Eunomius*, PG 45.469B-D, Book II:2, NPNF, vol. 5, p. 102.
19. Cf. *Against Eunomius*, Book III:2, 3, and 4, NPNF, vol. 5, pp. 140–146.
20. Feminist theologians argue that woman, as well as man, is the source of all life, and therefore this first person of the Holy Trinity may be called ‘Mother’ as well as ‘Father.’ The early Church was well aware that both male and female cells were required to create life, and that male was not the only source of life (John Chrysostom, *Homily XX on Ephesians 5:31*). The Church, however, always maintained a distinction between begetting and bearing, between the male and female contributions and modes of action in creating life. The male cell is the generator, inaugurator and impregnator; there are distinctions in the basic biological act of creation.
21. *Against Eunomius*, Book I:23, NPNF, vol. 5, p. 63.
22. *Against Eunomius*, Book IV:1, NPNF, vol. 5, pp. 153–155.
23. *Quis Dives Salvetur*, 37.
24. *On the Son*, XVI, NPNF, vol. 7, p. 307. Cf. Lossky, *Orthodox Theology*, p. 33.
25. *Against Eunomius*, Book III:7, NPNF, vol. 5, p. 150.
26. *Summa theologica*, Ia, q.29, a.4.
27. Lossky, *Mystical Theology*, pp. 57–58.
28. Lossky, *Orthodox Theology*, p. 38.
29. Ibid. pp. 32ff.
30. Elizabeth Clark, *Women in the Early Church* (Wilmington, DE: Michael Glazier, Inc., 1983), p. 15.
31. *Homily IX on Timothy 2:11–15*, NPNF, vol. 13, p. 436.
32. *Funeral Oration on His Sister Gorgonia*, 5, NPNF, vol. 7, p. 239.
33. *Letter CXXVII to Principia*, 5, NPNF, vol. 6, p. 255.
34. *On the Words of the Gospel*, 6, NPNF, vol. 7, pp. 339–340.
35. Cf. Stephen B. Clark, *Man and Woman in Christ: An Examination of the Roles of Men and Women in Light of Scripture and the Social Sciences* (Ann Arbor, MI: Servant Books, 1980), pp. 266–279.
36. As expressed at a World Council of Churches consultation: “The Ordination of Women in Ecumenical Perspective,” at Chateau Klingenthal, France, 1979. Referred to in a booklet emerging from that consultation: Constance Parvey, ed., *Ordination of Women in Ecumenical Perspective* (Geneva: World Council of Churches, 1980), p. 57.
37. *Homily XX on Ephesians 5:31*, NPNF, vol. 13, p. 146 (emphasis added).
38. Lossky, *Orthodox Theology*, pp. 69–70.
39. *On the Image and Likeness*, PG 89:1145BC; Cf. John Meyendorff, *Catholicity and the Church* (Crestwood, NY: St. Vladimir’s Seminary Press, 1983), p. 24.
40. Clark, *Man and Woman*, p. 288. Cf. Clement of Alexandria, *Pedaqoque*, I, 4; *Stromata*, IV, 8. Clement speaks of the dissimilarity of women and men *vis-a-vis* bodily function, but of their common access to grace and salvation.
41. *On the Soul and the Resurrection*, NPNF, vol. 5, pp. 430ff.
42. Feast day hymns to female Orthodox saints attest to this. The hymn to Euphemia (+304) (September 16 celebration) reads: “You have manifested reason . . . by the visitation of the Holy Spirit you instructed the assembly of the Holy Fathers.” A hymn of the feast of the Hieromartyrs Dionysius and Cyprian (October 3) refers to the virgin Justina: “When Dionysius had rejected the Stoic philosophers and became a disciple of the gnostics . . . then he was enlightened by the most beautiful virgin Justina . . . he fled the treachery of demons and after destroying the books of sorcery he became a herald of the Gospel.” Jerome records that the widow Marcella was the first in the Church to discover the heresies of Origen and to condemn them publicly: *Letter CXXVII to Principia*, NPNF, vol. 6, p. 256ff.

43. *Against Eunomius*, PG 45.468C–469A; Book II:2, NPNF, vol. 5, pp. 101–102.

44. Particularly since the personal name for God, 'Father,' was not used by the Jews exclusively as an appellation for the Almighty, many feminine scriptural references also existed, and the surrounding Gentile world would have had little problem with accepting a feminine name for the Deity. Cf. Louis Bouyer, *Woman in the Church* (San Francisco, CA: Ignatius Press, 1979), pp. 12–14.

45. *Ibid.* pp. 29–32.



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Lapides and Moltmann make "A Common Declaration" at the end of the dialogue. The following is stated as a common goal for Christians and Jews: "We should live in this concord as an example to our splintered, self-torn world, for only then will our confession of the God of the Bible be accepted as true" (p. 92). This dialogue is a delight to read and an opportunity to meditate on important issues and to learn about our own faith commitment and our loyalty to the triune God of our Fathers.

It is time for us Orthodox Christians to take steps to correct some of our liturgical texts that are offensive and detrimental to the Jewish people. This was recommended by the late Professor Hamilkar Alivizatos in an article in Greek entitled "The Need for the Correction of the Liturgical Texts" (*Orthodoxos Skepsis* [1960] 5-8). Alivizatos recommended a commission be appointed by the Ecumenical Patriarchate to expurgate the offensive language in the hymns of the Orthodox Church (see my study, *GOTR*, 21 [1976] 102).

This book is highly recommended as a guide to true understanding of both Christians and Jews and the authentic claim of each. Each must grant the right to the other to state the position of the heart of his religious faith commitment and to attain the pure experience of love (agape) in God.

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Sign of Reconciliation and Conversion: The Sacrament of Penance for Our Times. Message of the Sacraments Series No. 4. By Monika K. Hellwig. Wilmington: Michael Glazier, Inc., 1982. Pp. 157. \$6.95, paper; \$12.95, cloth.

The post-Vatican II Roman Catholic theology has opened new authentic creative community participation in the shaping of the Catholic Church's future life and order. This volume discusses the ritual practices and understanding of the sacrament of penance. It is intended to be useful to the professional theologian, the priest, the seminarian and the educated lay person.

Dr. Hellwig, who is Professor of Theology at Georgetown University, with great skill presents the rite, theology, and issues as well as problems of this important sacrament of reconciliation for the contemporary believer who seeks answers and direction in response to today's questions. In the introduction, the author discusses "questions we have today."

In the eleven chapters, the author treats the following important topics: "sin, repentance, and confession; growth of private and voluntary confession and reconciliation; merger of the tradition and consequent problems; theology of the sacrament—past and present; the efficiency of the sacrament; reconciliation and conversion; grace, satisfaction, and the problem of indulgences; the ministry of the sacrament; the role of the confessor; the worldly dimension; reconciliation and social justice."

In discussing sin and reconciliation of the penitent with God, Professor Hellwig offers the biblical illustration of the prodigal son (Luke 15.11-32). The sinner is represented as going away from home, leaving the Father and squandering his inheritance. It was not until he "came to himself or to his senses" that is, when he repented, that he thought of returning home to his loving and caring Father. This is the classical example of repentance and reconciliation in the Christian tradition; the sin of going away from the Father is traced historically to Adam in the book of Genesis, which is the story of disobedience. This followed a universal disorientation and lack of true center and focus of human persons or societies. According to Christian tradition, the return to the Father, reconciliation with God, occurs in Jesus who as a redeeming Word of God orients all human beings to the authentic fellowship with the Father.

The author goes to great pains to trace the sacrament of penance in the early Church. She does an excellent job in tracing the evolution of the Latin tradition and often gives illustrations of the Greek tradition. In the patristic Church the greatest of the sacraments of reconciliation was that of the Eucharist. It included sections in which the congregation offered repentance, that is, the heart of the penitent turned to the Father. In addition the author gives historical evidence of public and private *exomologenesis* in the early Church. The community gathered to offer the Eucharist and prayed in the Lord's Prayer for "forgiveness" and reconciliation of the whole community of God. *Exomologenesis* or confession, however, was offered before "the priest of God" or before the entire congregation. Finally private confession was instituted in the Church for practical reasons.

It is an interesting position that the author takes by rooting forms of penance and reconciliation in the early monastic community. In its vivid awareness of sin, the monastic community sought the reorientation of human life and society toward God. Monasticism saw the sacrament of penance as a second baptism or the state of reconciliation after baptism. For the monks there was one community, made up of both saints and sinners.

In the discussion of the role of the confessor the author makes the

point that the priest as an official of the institutional Church ministers the sacrament. However all Christians, including ordained priests, are called to apply the sacrament of reconciliation to one another and to the world. This means in prayer, in forgiveness of one another, in friendship and even in coffee fellowship. Our Christian vocation for our times is the reconciliation and conversion of the individual and society. The following statement is of great importance. The author says: "For both penitent and confessor there is a constant need to become aware, to 'tune in' to the sufferings of the world, and to become informed and critical about the role we as individuals, as interest groups, as political associations, as nations, play in those sufferings" (p. 146). All humanity is called to conversion and reconciliation, that is, a complete change of mind and heart, a transformation of both individual and society to live in the Kingdom of God.

The present volume is well written. At the end of each chapter it contains lists of books for further reading on the subject. It is well documented and points to the sources, both primary and secondary, for further reading on the important topic discussed in this book. I highly recommend this volume to priest-confessors, seminarians, and educated lay people to study for their spiritual edification and for expanding their knowledge regarding the important sacrament of penance.

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Tasks Facing the Orthodox in the 'Reception' Process of BEM

THOMAS HOPKO

THE WORLD COUNCIL OF CHURCHES' Faith and Order Commission statement on *Baptism, Eucharist and Ministry* presents many serious challenges to the Orthodox. These challenges have to do with the inner life and practices of the Orthodox Churches, as well as with the relationship of the Orthodox to other Christians—and to "the world"—especially within the context of the ecumenical movement. I will attempt to raise what I see to be the most compelling issues for attention, and to offer in some instances possible ways of approaching their resolution.

The Recognition of Baptisms outside the Orthodox Church

Although some members of the Orthodox Church (with many sectarians who call themselves "Orthodox") consider that all non-Orthodox Christians are not Christians at all, viewing their faith as counterfeit and their sacraments as void, if not plainly demonic, the position of the Orthodox Church over the centuries in this matter has been much more nuanced and discriminating.

While writings of Church Fathers and conciliar decrees can be cited which declare the baptism of the non-Orthodox, and their sacraments, generally, to be null and void, especially in those communities whose heretical and schismatical leaders were themselves personally once members of the orthodox, catholic Church, other Fathers and synods can also be found (sometimes involving the same Fathers and the same heretical groups) which were willing to affirm a baptismal, and so a certain sacramental and ecclesial reality, to these communities by accepting their members into Orthodox communion without baptizing (or 're-baptizing') them. (See, for example, Saint Cyprian, *Letter 70*;

Saint Athanasios, *Letter 30*; Saint Basil, *Letters 188, 199*; Laodicea Canon 8; First Constantinople, Canon 7; Second Constantinople (Trullo) 95.) This was especially true in cases involving people born into non-Orthodox communities and/or forced by circumstances to be in them against their will. (For example, see African Code Canons 48, 57, 69 concerning children baptized by Donatists; and the case of the Orthodox reception of huge numbers of uniates from Rome without baptism, chrismation or ordination of the clergy.) The issue here is not simply one of pastoral “oikonomia”—wrongly interpreted as a violation of strict ecclesiastical law and discipline. It is rather clearly an issue of spiritual discernment and theological truth.

What are we Orthodox to do today when encountering Christians of the West who have been estranged from Orthodoxy for centuries? What are we to do in this time of unprecedented theological and spiritual chaos, yet characterized by genuine theological and spiritual convergence, especially among committed praying and thinking Christian people in all traditions and confessions who are prepared to judge their communities in the light of the apostolic faith? Literally all Orthodox Churches on earth are members of the World Council of Churches, and all voted in favor of the rule that only those “churches” which confess Jesus Christ as Savior and Lord, and baptize in the name of the Holy Trinity may be members of the Council. What does such action say about the Orthodox appreciation of the baptismal, sacramental and ecclesial reality of such communities? It seems obvious to me that some sort of Christian and churchly character must be ascribed to such groups in view of the Orthodox attitude toward them in this matter. But in what way? On what basis? To what end?

If, for example, Pope John Paul II and Gunther Gassmann are considered to be baptized Christians and would not be baptized (or re-baptized) should they confess the Orthodox faith and enter the communion of the Orthodox Church, what does this say, if anything, about the ecclesial character of their respective communions generally? Can any conclusion be drawn in this matter, and should it? It seems to me that Orthodox practice to date has been to evaluate and decide about the baptisms on non-Orthodox only in instances of their possible reunion with Orthodoxy. Is this so, and is it in any way relevant to the “reception” process of BEM? And how generally is the determination of the acceptability or non-acceptability of non-Orthodox baptism (and so the other sacraments) made in the first place?

The usual answer, it seems to me, to this last question has been simply to say that the Orthodox Church is prepared to discern what exists of itself outside itself, and is ready—not with reluctance, but rejoicing; not grudgingly, but with genuine gratitude—to recognize and

embrace whatever is authentically "of the Church" wherever this is to be found. The difficulty obviously lay in the actual *discernment*. And it is to such discernment that we are being called in the "reception" process of BEM.

Forms of Baptism

The issue of baptismal recognition raised by BEM brings with it a particularly controversial issue now facing the Orthodox. This is the question of baptismal forms. Some Orthodox today question the reality and/or "validity" of baptisms not enacted by triple immersion in the name of the Trinity; the practice, incidentally, which the BEM section on baptism strongly recommends. While traditional Orthodox practice—scripturally prescribed, liturgically ordered and canonically legislated—is surely that of triple immersion in water in the name of the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit, it is also the case that baptisms performed in other ways, particularly by pouring or sprinkling water, have been accepted by the Orthodox not only when done outside the canonical boundaries of the Orthodox Church, but even within them.

I myself was baptized by poured water in a church canonically within the Ecumenical Patriarchate, together with thousands, if not millions of people who were baptized this way within Orthodoxy in recent centuries in Eastern Europe and America. How is this to be taken? Are we now to be "really baptized" as some have suggested, and that after years of baptizing ourselves, and offering and receiving the holy eucharist in the Orthodox Church? Such questions must be answered for the sake of peace and unanimity within the Church, for consistency and integrity in our pastoral practices, and for justice and truth in our ecumenical relations and missionary activities.

Surely the criteria for discernment in this matter include the *faith* of the people involved, as well as the *forms* of the ritual which they use. It also involves their actual possibilities, their knowledge, their freedom and their intentions in performing the sacramental rite. It also has to do with the nature of the God in whose name the baptismal act is performed. Can we really believe, for example, that God would require the "rebaptism" of those whose intentions were pure, but whose faith and/or ritual forms were defective at the time of their original baptism? The traditional reaction of the Orthodox Church to this question, in my opinion, has clearly been negative.

Baptism, Chrismation and Eucharist

According to a number of Orthodox commentaries to BEM, the statement on baptism is considered to be at its weakest when it deals with the relationship between baptism, chrismation and holy

communion. It seems to me that we Orthodox unanimously insist that two distinct rites are essential for entrance into the Church's eucharistic communion: baptism and chrismation. While avoiding scholastic nit-picking about the Spirit's role in baptism and Christ's effective presence in chrismation, we Orthodox generally relate our baptism to the death and resurrection of Jesus Christ, and our chrismation to the pentecostal coming of the Holy Spirit. We see the paschal event of baptism into Christ being fulfilled in the pentecostal sealing of the newly-baptized by God's Spirit. And we see both of these events as leading necessarily, in every instance, to eucharistic communion at the mystical supper of the Lord in the kingdom of God.

The BEM document raises several issues for us at this point. Do we consider the distinct acts of dying and rising with Christ and being sealed by God's Spirit as necessarily liturgically and sacramentally distinct, and even different? Are we prepared to identify our Orthodox chrismation with one or another form of western confirmation? Or do we see confirmation in the West as some other rite which we Orthodox do not have, which may or may not be considered as essential to apostolic faith and practice? Is this entire issue one of dogma? Or is it merely an issue of variable liturgical practices and pastoral, pedagogical action?

It seems to me, as I have already indicated, that at least in the responses to BEM which I have seen to date, the Orthodox are disposed to hold fast to the position that the initiatory rites into Church membership include baptismal rebirth, pentecostal sealing and eucharistic communion as a matter of essential, dogmatic principle; and, as such, the Orthodox are not at all prepared to recognize other practices as compatible with apostolic Christian tradition. The matter becomes further complicated when the specific issue of the eucharist is brought in.

The Orthodox Church is the only church in the last several hundred years in which all baptized and chrismated (confirmed?) people are immediately led to communion in the eucharistic supper, including infants in the care of believing adults. Some Eastern-rite Roman Catholics also follow this practice, especially since recovering their Eastern mentality and identity after Vatican Council II. And some Orthodox who were once united to Rome as Eastern-rite churches in the past still practice "first holy communion" for children reaching the "age of reason" which is usually seven or eight years of age. So again we have an issue. While tolerating ex-uniates who withhold holy communion from baptized and chrismated infants within the Orthodox Church, can the Orthodox reasonably and justly refuse to recognize, or at least to tolerate for the sake of possible recognition, such practices in others?

And if chrismation—or pentecostal sealing in some form—is insisted upon for eucharistic participation in the Orthodox Church, can the Orthodox possibly recognize as its own the practice of some Christian communions to allow, and even to defend as proper, the practice of eucharistic participation without or before confirmation—if this rite is to be considered as the western counterpart to Orthodox chrismation? And what about those who insist upon confirmation as a prerequisite for communion if, in fact, it is to be understood as something different from what the Orthodox understand by chrismation? And still further, what of those groups that have no chrismation and/or confirmation at all? Is there any hope that these communions can be viewed by the Orthodox as anything other than unacceptable? The complexity here is mind-boggling. It tempts one to think that there is no hope of formulating a position within the Church on this matter for its own sake, as well as for evaluating non-Orthodox positions and practices.

The easy way for the Orthodox would simply be to insist that no ecclesial community can be recognized as having the same faith as the Orthodox if it does not baptize, chrismate and give holy communion to all of its initiated members, including infants who are led to the mysteries by adult believers; and that the Orthodox certainly cannot recognize its own faith and life in any Christian community which in principle refuses the sacramental mysteries, including baptism itself, to qualified infants and children. In regard to baptism, Orthodox commentators on BEM unanimously denounce the practice of so-called “believers’ baptism” as wholly unacceptable, viewing the reason for not baptizing the children of believers as solely the fear of possible apostasy in later years which would defile the sacraments of the Church as well as the soul of the initiated, and exclude the apostate from eucharistic communion in the Church for many years if not until death. But is this “easy solution” the right one? Can it be theoretically and practically defended by the Orthodox when some of its own canonical dioceses are themselves judged wanting by the same measure of judgment?

Baptismal Practices

The BEM document presents a special calling to the Orthodox when it speaks of baptismal practices. The Commission’s call to have baptisms administered “in the setting of the Christian community” during “the church’s public worship,” preferably on “great festal occasions,” with proper catechetical instruction for the candidates and sponsors both before and after the baptismal event, is hardly the normal practice for the Orthodox today. While social and political conditions may make such practices difficult if not outrightly impossible in some places, the fact remains that most Orthodox baptisms even in the most

favorable of conditions are done privately and perfunctorily, with almost no spiritual and educational preparation and follow-up provided for the people involved, and with virtually no participation of the ecclesial community as a whole. The attempt in some Orthodox Churches in Europe and North America to have “baptismal liturgies” at which the initiatory sacraments are performed during eucharistic celebrations with the entire community assembled, usually before or during the “liturgy of the Word” has largely been met by the majority of church leaders with indifference, scepticism, fear and outright opposition and rejection. It is still the case that most Orthodox baptisms function as private ceremonies for invited guests where the celebrating minister hardly knows even the names of the people involved, and where the camera and the party are by far considered to be the most important elements in the entire operation.

The Church's Eucharistic Being

Most Orthodox to my knowledge would agree that the BEM statement on the eucharist is basically sound and remarkably adequate in its explanation of the eucharist as a sacramental rite. The hard issues at this point have to do with the application of the text to the actual faith and practices of the various churches. Most interesting for the Orthodox will be to see what the churches of the Reformation will do with this section, both in regard to eucharistic belief and eucharistic behavior. Will, for example, the document's virtual insistence that the eucharistic supper be celebrated “at least every Sunday” be received and implemented in the Protestant churches?

Two tasks surely confront the Orthodox with extreme urgency when they are faced with the BEM statement on the eucharist. One has to do with the Church's eucharistic being and life. The other has to do with the Church's eucharistic practice. Orthodox theology in our time has insisted on the eucharistic nature of the Christian Church as such. Applying the fruits of modern biblical, liturgical and patristic studies, and doing so largely in response to the demands of participation in the ecumenical movement, the Orthodox have had to explicate their understanding and experience of the Church as a mystical and divine, as well as human and historical reality within the time and space of this fallen world. The result has been the Orthodox affirmation that the one, holy, catholic and apostolic Church of Christ is fully present in its essential mystical reality when the bishop gathers with the presbyters, deacons and all the faithful people, in one place, at one time, to be filled with God's one Holy Spirit in order to attend to his one holy Word, and to eat of the one Bread and to drink of the one Cup at the one table of his kingdom at the eucharistic supper of his

one Son Jesus Christ—Israel's Messiah, the Church's Bridegroom and the Lord and Savior of the world.

Thus have the Orthodox stressed the liturgical, doxological character of the Church's being and life, her sacramental and eschatological nature, her conciliar and sobornal structure. Thus, too, have the Orthodox insisted that the Church's apostolic mission in and to the world, her evangelical witness and the social and political involvement of her members, must flow from her eucharistic essence and experience, and lead back to it, as the real presence in this age of God's coming kingdom; the source and goal and content of God's eternal life already given to the faithful in fulness in the person of the glorified Christ by the action of the Holy Spirit. The proclamation has been powerful; the teaching clear; the witness firm and unyielding. But the "gap" between the *rhetoric* and the *reality* in the actual life of the Orthodox Churches has been undeniably, painfully evident—especially to those directly involved in ecumenical activity.

We Orthodox must take up the challenge of actualizing the Church as the Kingdom of God in the sacramental structures of our ecclesial communities, which means in the actual manner in which our churches, dioceses and parishes are organized and administered in this world. As it is now, we Orthodox generally appear to others, to the non-Orthodox Christians and to "the world," as a fossilized remnant of times long gone; a museum piece of long-dead dogmas and rituals, devoid of power and purpose in the contemporary world; a cluster of retarded and isolated and self-interested ghettos of East European, Slavic, Hellenic and Semitic "ethnics" who can hardly relate to each other in a peaceful and civilized manner, not to speak of those who are not of their particular racial or religious heritage.¹ In a word, our ecclesiastical organization and activity is not formed by the eucharistic Body and Blood of Jesus Christ, but rather by the "flesh and blood" of the fallen world which, according to the apostle, "cannot inherit the kingdom" (1 Cor 15.50), nor still less bear witness to it in this present age whose "form is passing away" (1 Cor 7.21). We will speak more about this below in our section on the ministry, but for now we must see how this broad accusation applies to our present eucharistic practices.

Orthodox Eucharistic Practice Today

Contemporary eucharistic practice in the Orthodox Churches betrays

¹A recent convert to the Orthodox Church writes that the common mistaken perception of Eastern Orthodoxy by western Christians is of an "unredeemably ethnic, nationalistic, sclerotic, rigid, unmoving, narrow tradition encrusted and imprisoned by the centuries, utterly lacking in life or dynamism and in a state of irreversible *rigor mortis* " H. Scott Trunk, "A Renunciation of the Ministry An Anglican Goes to Orthodoxy," *The Seabury Journal*, 2, 9 (1985) 15

not only a lack of identity between the eucharistic vision of the Scriptures and the saints on the one hand, and what is actually being done in most places in the Church today, on the other; but it also evidences the betrayal of what is prescribed for sacramental worship by the Orthodox Church's own service books and liturgical texts. In a discussion of BEM by Orthodox lay people in Hempstead, New York this past winter, a woman summed up the feelings of the group when she said that in her opinion the Orthodox ideal was the greatest and what the Commission's statement said was wonderful, but that it appears to her that the Orthodox Church leaders are doing everything possible so that what ought to be done is not being done. She said that it seemed to her as if "they put every possible obstacle in our way" when it comes to participation in the eucharist. When pressed on the subject, and with the help of others in the group, the following sorrowful picture was drawn.

Orthodox Church services are long, unexplained and uninspiring. They are conducted in a manner and language that virtually no one can follow and understand, including the clergy who lead them, even when this language is allegedly that of the people. The services are done in a hurried and unengaged manner—or else are shortened in a way that makes them misshapen and formless. Many of the prayers are read quickly or silently or not at all, thus rendering their concluding "exclamations" done aloud unintelligible and meaningless. The people are cut off from the clergy who are physically far off, often hidden behind a wall of icons. A choir, also often far off and hidden, sings for the people, again frequently in a manner which renders the psalms and hymns incomprehensible. The people stand or sit passively, watching and listening—or dreaming, sleeping or praying their own private prayers—as if they were attending a show. The lay people are not encouraged to receive holy communion; just the contrary. They are often told that they do not need to partake, except during certain seasons which are usually lenten and penitential. When they are thus urged to participate, therefore, it is usually in an atmosphere of duty and obligation, of sin and penitence, of fear and guilt. They are ordered to fast strictly for several days, abstaining from meat, oil and dairy products. They are forbidden conjugal relations, except in a spirit which insinuates that married love is generally sinful but tolerated for reproductive purposes. They are told to go to confession and to do penance, to make prostrations and to read through many prayers. Women who are having their "time of the month" are forbidden to approach and are often ordered not even to come to the church services, and surely not to kiss the icons or the cross. Those who participate in communion are then commanded to behave in a grave and serious manner befitting

the solemnity of the act. Children are not to play frivolous games. No one is to sing or laugh or dance or go to shows—not to mention whistling or spitting! Those who express the desire to receive the eucharistic gifts frequently, or even regularly on a weekly basis, which, of course would make it impossible for them to follow such a regime and to keep such rules (and so, as it is often quite seriously said, “they would only have to keep the rules for the priests”!) are considered pretentious, proud, arrogant, vain or—more benignly—overly pious, or—less benignly—dangerously fanatical. Pastors who encourage frequent and regular participation of lay people in holy communion are often labelled as themselves “fanatics,” or, more usually, as “misguided innovators” who are really “Catholics” or “Protestants,” having been spoiled, most likely by the ecumenical movement!

I honestly believe that this picture is not an exaggeration of the reality of the situation of the Orthodox in most places in the world today. And I believe that if something is not done about it immediately in the most forthright and courageous manner, the eucharistic life of the Church—including the proper understanding and use of liturgical worship, personal prayer, fasting, penance, sexual behavior—and generally all ascetical and devotional practices of the Christian spiritual tradition—will be discredited, disparaged and ultimately denied by the Orthodox people themselves. The fact that “other Christians” may be sinning in the opposite direction, with a lack of solemnity, reverence, spiritual discipline, and ascetical exercise in regard to eucharistic participation (not to mention apostolic faith and traditional moral behavior), is no excuse for the Orthodox to resist necessary renewal in their own Churches on the basis of their own teachings and texts. If such renewal does not occur, we Orthodox can forget about any credible witness in the ecumenical movement and any authentic missionary activity in the modern world. We can, in fact, forget about a future for Orthodoxy for the Orthodox people themselves.

Issues of Ministry

The BEM section on the Ministry appears to be the most generally problematic and unacceptable to the Orthodox. Responses thus far to this part of the document raise at least two points upon which virtually all seem to agree. One is that the ministry of bishop, presbyter and deacon in historical apostolic succession is not a negotiable issue for the Orthodox, and that no Christian body without such a ministry can possibly be fully recognized as Christ’s Church. This means, practically, that Christian communities possessing—or recovering—the apostolic faith must be organically joined to the Orthodox episcopate for full recognition and communion to occur.

The second point is that the ministry of bishop and presbyter may be exercised only by men possessing certain qualifications beyond those required for baptism, chrismation and eucharistic communion in the Church; which qualifications are found clearly formulated in the Bible and the Church's liturgical and canonical tradition. Both of these issues present the Orthodox with most difficult challenges and most urgent tasks for the immediate future.

Bishop, Presbyter, and Deacon

If the Orthodox are clear about affirming the ministry of bishop, presbyter, and deacon in the Church, we are certainly not clear about the relationship of these ministries to each other, and to the ministries of all of God's people, either in past history or at the present time. How "fluid" were and are these titles and terms? What specific service is called for in these ministries? What "authority" do they possess, and how is it to be actualized in the Church (and in "the world") in a God-befitting manner? Why do the traditional scriptural and canonical qualifications exist, and what is their significance and relevance today? Is the manner in which these offices now operate in Orthodoxy, as well as the manner in which they are understood and explained in our theology, particularly in the school manuals, truly representative of authentic Orthodox theology and practice—not to mention the points made on these issues in BEM?

We Orthodox must confront these issues directly. In my opinion we have not yet formulated an adequate theology of ministry generally, and of the ordained ministries in particular. We have sources and resources in the Bible, the early Church tradition, the patristic age, the liturgy, the canons . . . but our contemporary approach to the issues at hand are still almost exclusively determined by conditions of by-gone imperial and Turkocratic times; and categories of western Reformation/Counter-Reformation debates (such as validity, power, jurisdiction, honor, authority, means of grace, which are intrinsically alien to traditional Orthodoxy). We must recover the "mind of the Fathers" on these issues, which is the mind of Christ and the mind of the Church, not only, once again, for the sake of proper and responsible participation in ecumenical activity, but for our own daily life and work in the Church without which there can be no ecumenical witness or missionary action. How, for example, can we Orthodox defend our eucharistic, doxological, conciliar, emphatically "anti-papal," "anti-Protestant" ecclesiology when in the great majority of cases our bishops function, with theological justification, as despotic autocrats answerable only to God (and perhaps to some civil authorities), but to no one else, not even each other, not to mention the people of God? And how can it

be that in almost every Orthodox Church on earth the whole company of presbyters, deacons and faithful lay people are totally excluded from the process of electing, or even nominating, their bishops? Consultation in the Church is not conciliarity. And dialogues and discussion groups are not ecclesial structures for common decision making and action. Input is not *sobornost*.

The Church is hierarchical. And it is also conciliar. It is hierarchical, as Father Alexander Schmemann has written, because it is conciliar; and conciliar because it is hierarchical, in imitation of the Holy Trinity.² Father Alexander was not alone in his theological reflections, and he did not get them from nowhere. Karmiris, Florovsky, Popovich, Staniloae, Lossky, Meyendorff, Khodre, Nissiotis, Zizoulas, Verhovskoy, Vasileios of Stravronikita . . . and many others, in spite of all their differences and disagreements, have borne witness to the same truth on this issue. It is up to us now to develop their insights and to apply their vision to the actual organization and operation of the Churches. If we fail in our ecumenical obligations in this regard, and in our missionary duties, it will be because we have first failed in holding fast in a living way to the truth which we have received from the Lord himself within the Church “which is his body, the fulness of him who fills all in all” (Eph 1.23).

The Ministry of Women

While BEM is quiet and careful about the issue of ordaining women to the episcopate and presbyterate, there is no doubt but that the great majority of Faith and Order Commission members enthusiastically advocate such action. The WCC certainly does so as an institution, with the Orthodox being the only “confessional family” in the Council which does not ordain women to these offices and has no widespread movement calling to do so. Roman Catholics, we must remember, who have a significant number of theologians advocating the ordination of women, are official members of the Faith and Order Commission, but are not members of the Council itself.

It is evidently of greatest urgency for us Orthodox to clarify our position about the ministry of women in the Church, about the ministry generally, both of the ordained and non-ordained members of the Church. We must find adequate words to explain why we do or do not ordain women as bishops and presbyters, and why Christians should or should not do so as a matter of principle. We also must clarify the ministry of the diaconate, determining what happened with the order

²Schmemann, A “Toward a Theology of Councils,” *Church, World, Mission*, (Crestwood, 1979), pp 163-67

of deaconesses in the Church, and what should be done about this order today. In this effort we must be certain to hear all voices within the Church, including those, however faint and few, who find the present Orthodox practices in this area to be questionable, and the theological reflections offered to date to be inadequate, unclear and unconvincing. And we must be careful to develop our explanations in the light of the Church's already formulated dogmas of the Trinity and the Incarnation of God's Son and Word as Jesus Christ, perfect God and perfect Man. We must come to terms with the divine names of Father, Son and Holy Spirit, as well as with the whole cadre of traditional biblical words, images, symbols and metaphors with which our theology, liturgy, church art and spiritual life literally abound. And we must deal directly with the issue of human sexuality which, I am convinced, is the crucial issue of our time—our Arianism, Nestorianism, Iconoclasm . . . —which underlies and affects contemporary thinking on all issues: God, Christ, the Spirit, the Church, the sacraments and creation itself. How we respond to the questions involving human sexuality will provide, in my view, the major criterion in times to come for evaluating the orthodoxy or heterodoxy of our theology and life.

Orthodoxia and Orthopraxia

The "reception" of BEM by all Christian communities, and surely by the Orthodox, will be ultimately one of *action* and not of thought or talk. Theologians can speak. Bishops can decree. People can discuss. But how BEM enters the lives of the Christian communities and their members, and so how BEM will contribute, or fail to contribute, to Christian unity will finally depend on what is actually done with it in the churches.

A concept often employed in ecumenical meetings which is not at all adverse to Orthodox minds is that of *orthopraxia*: right action. In ecumenical circles the word is most often applied in the area of economic, social and political activity, but it need not be confined to these issues alone. There is also *orthopraxia* in sacramental, liturgical, ministerial and ecclesial matters. The WCC Faith and Order Commission statement on *Baptism, Eucharist and Ministry* is about *orthodoxia*: right belief, right opinion and right worship. It asks the Christian churches, communions, confessional families and individual believers to consider what is right and true about baptism and holy communion and church ministry according to their understanding and experience of apostolic Christian faith and practice. But BEM is also about *orthopraxia*: right practice, right behavior and right action. It asks the churches to consider what they are actually doing when they baptize, celebrate the eucharist and exercise Christian ministry.

I am personally convinced that the “reception” of BEM by the Orthodox in the area of *orthodoxia* is relatively easy and painless. We affirm most of what is said, together with the general thrust of the document. We question whether all understand the words in the same way. We pick out several issues for pointed criticisms. And we sit back and watch what others will do. The “reception” process in terms of *orthopraxia*, however, is in my view incomparably more difficult, painful, trying . . . and significant. Simply put, the question is whether or not we Orthodox are willing and able to let ourselves be judged by BEM in the light of our own tradition, and so to make the conscious and courageous attempt to do something about those areas of our churchly life which are out of keeping with the apostolic, and patristic, tradition of the Christian Church which we claim as our own. The point here is not about personal or corporate weaknesses and sins. The point has to do with our formal ecclesiastical life, our ecclesial structures, our very being as the Church of Christ which we confess to be the Kingdom of God sacramentally and spiritually present with us here and now within the conditions of this fallen world. The point has to do with our organization and operation as Church, our official behavior, our formal being and acting in the world. If our participation in the ecumenical movement, and in the “reception” process of BEM leads to nothing else but the purification and renewal of sacramental and spiritual life in the Orthodox Church, which necessarily means the purification and renewal of our institutional structures of church organization and administration and ministry, it will be justification enough for our ecumenical involvements and efforts over many years. And, when all is said and done, such purification and renewal may prove itself to be the single most important factor leading to the eventual “unity of all” for which the Church—and the ecumenical movement—exists, works and prays.



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The BEM Document in Romanian Orthodox Theology: The Present Stage of Discussions

METROPOLITAN ANTONIE PLĂMĂDEALĂ

THE BEM DOCUMENT (Baptism, Eucharist and Ministry: Convergence in the Faith) presented at Lima in 1982, has been received with much interest by theologians in Romania, even with a certain degree of enthusiasm and with optimistic expectations. It was examined at three *interconfessional conferences* (at Sibiu on May 18, 1978—the Accra version of 1974, and on May 17, 1984 and November 27, 1984—the Lima text) and by several though not many theologians who wrote about it.

The theme has somehow taken many by surprise and the feeling of surprise still persists. One would say: *It is too nice to be true!* and on the other hand: *It is too daring to get used to it at once!* After so many centuries of separation, suddenly before us stands a surprising, almost unbelievable formula of unity, particularly so as it comes from the Protestants. These were responses given at the first reading of the text. After a second reading, our theologians have compared their Orthodox faith with the the proposals put forward by the document and after examining them have discovered the differences which still persist. Nobody could agree with what the document *changes, innovates* and *interprets* in ways different from one's own traditional interpretation. Nevertheless, all have seen an invitation to reflection coming out of the formulas of the document and have expressed their hope that these formulas will be deepened both in the light of their common theological tradition—the one prior to the separation—and in the light of possible reinterpretations of the post-separation traditions of the confessions engaged in dialogue.

In what follows we shall attempt to make an assessment of the present stage of discussions on the BEM document in Romanian theology.

In fact, the first thing which gave rise to difficulties was the term *convergence* in the title of the document. What does *convergence* in matters of faith and doctrine mean? How far can convergence which is not identity go? What does convergence imply? Does it imply a common faith expressed in different formulas? Or on the contrary: a common formula for an article of faith but having different contents? These seem to be of both kinds. Since there are many ambiguities in the language of the document, the suggested convergences must be studied one by one, clarified, and then put forward for agreement. No step further can be taken before a clarification of and agreement on the language.

Theologians in Romania have not yet studied all the problems which raise such difficulties. One that has been debated refers to the term *Ministry* in the title of the document. What does it mean for the Orthodox and what does it mean for the Protestants? Does it mean the same thing? Does it have the same content? At a superficial and very general look the answer would be: yes. But when one proceeds to define concretely its content, he finds that the Orthodox give it one meaning, while the Protestants another. The translator of the document into Romanian was, naturally, confronted with this difficulty. After consultation with other theologians and even with several hierarchs, it was decided to translate *Ministry* (or *Ministere* in the French version) with *Slujire* (Service). The reason given for the selection of that term was that in a Protestant understanding and in the meaning given it by the authors of the document, *Ministry* is not limited to a sacerdotal priesthood, one based on ordination and apostolic succession, but it is more encompassing, containing also the priesthood of the believers and the social diaconia. This is exactly what *Ministry* means: ministerium, service. The Romanian translator wanted to give a faithful rendering of the word as it is currently understood by Protestants. It remains to be seen whether or not he made the right choice. But it is not the meaning of *Ministry* as service which interests us. We think that we have dialogued and must continue to dialogue in the document about *the sacrament of priesthood* and not about service in general. The Protestants may believe that we approve of their "priesthood" as Orthodox priesthood, when we actually approve only of their service in general in the form of preaching, missionary action and charitable institutions, etc. Our theologians have stated that on service in general we can easily agree. Things change when we come to the aspect of *Ministry* as priesthood. Convergence on this aspect must be defined as such and beyond any ambiguity.

Priesthood is not only diminished by the term *Ministry*, but also totally counterfeited. It is something else. Something that stems from

the general mandate of all Christians, or from the mandate of a community and not from a sacramental institution. In that case, as has been noted by some theologians, *Baptism* and *Eucharist* would also be greatly shadowed since they would be performed by a non-sacramental priesthood.

In general, sacramental priesthood is not sufficiently dealt with in the document. Discussion on that issue took up a good part of the interconfessional conference held in Bucharest on November 27, 1984. If we acknowledge *Ministry* to be equal with *Slujire* (Service) we can agree with the text and can easily achieve convergence with the Protestants, but then we would not speak about *the sacrament of priesthood* but about something totally different. Such convergences would be false convergences. It has therefore been required to first clarify the terms that are being used in the document. If we stick to *Ministry*, a term with such a wide range of connotations in the languages of the West and with a certain degree of ambiguity even in those languages, the term would have to be very clearly defined *even for Westerners*, so that they may know about what they are actually talking, and avoid furthering false convergences. The term *Ministry*, for example, could also encompass, in its broader meaning, the so-called ministry of women, on which a convergence could finally be reached, but if we speak about priesthood as sacrament, the service of women is no longer part of the term.

A clarification of terms is also a question of honesty. False impressions should be avoided. Convergence, when it is achieved, must be a real convergence. Otherwise, it would not reach farther than a conference room. It would not be received since the people of God would not receive ambiguous formulas.

One of the interconfessional conferences in Romania dealt also with the problem of *reception*. As it stands now, as a text on which convergence is to be reached—since it is not yet a text of convergence—the BEM document cannot be forwarded for reception by the churches in the sense in which the items of faith have been received in history. There is an impropriety about the term *reception* as it is being used in BEM. The document is subject to *discussion*, not to reception. We can talk about its authentic reception *only* after it has been given a definitive form and it has been accepted at a pan-Orthodox level, if we would reach that stage, and if our Protestant and Roman Catholic partners would also subscribe to the same text.

A request for its reception *now* would mean to anticipate *yes* and *no* responses as in a referendum. But this cannot be asked even from a conference or a symposium. The document is being discussed now in view not of its reception but of its improvement, and in order to methodically achieve a step by step, chapter by chapter convergence.

Reception will follow in the end and will be achieved through well-known and historically validated means, so that any discussion of it now would be premature.

I have mentioned these things here since they took up a good part of the discussions on BEM in the interconfessional conferences in Romania.

The Romanian Orthodox theologians have also proceeded to do an analysis of the document itself.

1. With respect to Baptism they have discovered many points of convergence but have nevertheless also noticed a few ambiguous sentences, which, if worked out, would gain greater clarity. Not all of the latter pertain to fundamental doctrinal issues. Several theologians have come up with more serious objections. They regard the term *sign* used in relation to baptism as not being a good choice. There are *signs* also in the Orthodox Church's baptism. The water, oil, the ritual gestures can be *signs, symbols*, but baptism is not just a symbol. It is also a sacrament, an incorporation into Christ, therefore something greater and of a different nature. BEM also speaks of an "incorporation" into the Body of Christ, but it does not properly connect *sign* with *incorporation*.

Our theologians have also found a certain openness towards the sacrament of chrismation, or confirmation, one that is greater than that existing in the Accra version (1974). Nevertheless, as it is being presented in the current text, the sacrament of chrismation is absorbed by the sacrament of baptism, which fact represents a divergence from the Orthodox doctrine.

In relation to Baptism, the document speaks about "the ministry of Jesus of Nazareth." Some Romanian theologians regard the use of this expression here as being inadequate, since it suggests a Bultmannian discontinuity between "Jesus of Nazareth" and "Christ the Lord."

2. With respect to Eucharist, appreciation has been expressed for the general importance given to the sacrament, as a sacrament, and for the recognition of its place in the center of Christian life and for salvation. Criticism has been voiced about the great emphasis on *justification* which is *external* and *forensic* as an act of *satisfaction* brought to the Father. The exclusive *memorial* character of the Eucharist has also been disapproved of since the emphasis is actually on *anamnesis*. Others have spoken critically about the fact that there is here an understanding of the sinner as becoming through the Eucharist a *justified sinner*, and therefore not completely restored, not being the subject of an ontological transformation which makes him not a *justified sinner* but a new, a renewed creature. Criticism was also expressed about the fact that although the document speaks of a real presence of Christ in the eucharistic elements, the theory of impanation (*in pane, cum*

(*pane, sub pane*) still persists. The bread and wine remain sacramental signs of the Body and Blood of Christ.

Objections have also been raised with respect to a lack of relation between eucharist and confession which if present here could lead to consensus on the sacrament of penance.

Roman Orthodox theologians believe that is possible to overcome these shortcomings through greater clarity and through a balancing of the document with the help of correct Orthodox statements which are abundantly present in the text. This is possible since the document does not omit the Orthodox affirmation of faith, but in order to also satisfy the Protestants, it attempts to make adjustments commensurate with certain Protestant theories. Even though it cannot remain in its present form, this document represents a praiseworthy ecumenical effort.

As in the case of Baptism, the use of the term *sign* in the text of BEM in relation to Eucharist is regarded as being ambiguous. More appropriate would be terms such as *element, matter, gesture*. These terms cannot be misinterpreted from a dogmatic point of view. As a matter of fact, the term *sign* is too frequently used throughout the document.

The statement according to which in the eucharist one receives “the assurance of the forgiveness of sins” is believed to be evasive. Why is it not stated more simply and in the words of the Scripture: “for the forgiveness of sins.” The same theologians, however, note with satisfaction the unambiguous affirmation of the real presence of Christ in the eucharist. In this light, the addition of its meaning as *memorial* can be accepted. Any ambiguity about this term is removed by its translation into Romanian as *pomenire*.

According to some Romanian theologians, the role and action of the Holy Spirit has been insufficiently shown in BEM with respect to all the three sacraments. For example, they find BEM to follow the western tradition when affirming that the transformation of the gifts in the eucharist takes place when the words of institution are being uttered and not as is the case with us, through the invocation of the Holy Spirit. The Lord’s suffering, sacrifice, death and resurrection occurred *after* the institution of the eucharist at the Last Supper and therefore not when the words of institution were spoken. The eucharist is the presence of Christ who suffers, is sacrificed, dies and rises from the dead. *The Last Supper* and the above events were not concomitant. These problems are not elucidated in the fourteenth chapter of the Eucharist section of BEM on *the Eucharist as invocation of the Spirit*. The final part of the section on Eucharist has also been objected to by Romanian theologians since it ushers in “the obsolete formula of intercommunion” prior to the achievement of unity in the faith.

3. The chapter on Ministry also contains theses which are not accepted by Romanian theologians. They do not agree with the fact that at the ordination of a priest, room is also left for the instituting (ordaining) role of the community, even though the ordination performed by the bishop is acknowledged in the document.

The community is also present in the Orthodox ritual having to answer when the bishop asks if the candidate “is worthy,” but it is not the community that performs the ordination. Some theologians believe that if at the ordination the essential role of the bishop is acknowledged and maintained, the BEM text may be regarded as convergent in this respect.

Still others see in the text, which states that *the Church institutes the priesthood*, a new and veiled form of *the mandate of the community* for which reason they suggest that any ambiguity should be avoided.

Objections have also been raised about those passages in BEM which affirm that the churches that possess apostolic succession recognize continuity in apostolic faith, worship and missionary action to the churches that have not maintained an episcopate of apostolic succession. This would represent a lessening of the importance of apostolic succession. A reconciliation with us has been considered unacceptable in such conditions of ambiguity. “Continuity in apostolic faith” is different from “apostolic succession.” Otherwise it should be explicitly stated that they are one and the same thing. The general priesthood of the believers (1 Pet 2.5-9), as is known, is not rejected by the Orthodox, but when it comes to the realization of Christ in the sacrament, that is being done through the sacrament of priesthood. This also gives meaning to the “priesthood” of the believers.

It has therefore been concluded that the BEM document is still hesitant with respect to the priesthood, to “the ordained ministry” in contrast to that which is called “general.” For example, the document attempts to derive the ordained ministry, the sacramental priesthood, from the general priesthood of the believers. It says that the churches should take as starting point “the calling of the whole people of God.” But we rather start from Jn 15.16: “You did not choose me; I chose you.” That is why a theologian has written: “There is no question of a *priesthood* in BEM. Its sacramental aspect is undecipherable and the predominantly descriptive character of the text with its numerous consolidations of Protestant positions shows that a forthcoming common formulation of the theme is not in sight.”

Our theologians have objected to the opinion of the BEM document on the threefold form of the priesthood of which it says that it has not always been present in the Church, but has been the outcome of an evolution, and the Church has the ability to restructure it. We know that it was already present in the New Testament and in the

writings of the apostolic Fathers. The question of restructuring it could regard only the Protestants.

Objections have also been stated about the opinions on the ordination of women, which opinions are too vague and leave the impression that the Orthodox have introduced an innovation by leaving it aside in the course of history.

On the other hand, Romanian theologians have expressed satisfaction with the great progress achieved through the Lima text.

Evidently, as Professor Nikos Nissiotis warned, no one should try to find in BEM one's own confessional faith (Geneva, July 1982). But during the time in which we still discuss, all of us must judge from the standpoint of our own confession. Even afterwards the document would have to correspond to our own confession and we would expect of it *the miracle* of corresponding also to the conscience of our partners in dialogue as they themselves would expect of us the same miracle. That is why the document must be made to be *everybody's*, no matter how difficult that may be. It would have to be everybody's or nobody's. There is no other alternative. Only as such it would not give rise to any triumphalism.

As has been noticed, in this presentation I brought up only a few points of convergence and consensus noted by Romanian theologians. There are, however, many more. It would have been interesting to deal with them also, but I thought it more useful to present the objections. Convergences will stand out by themselves. Divergences must be pointed out in order to solve them together with our partners of other confessions. They themselves will undoubtedly communicate to us their own divergences. Those we will have to examine again and only then make good use of our convergences and defend them.

Generally speaking, the Romanian Orthodox theologians consider the BEM document to be a major step forward and a courageous expression of the desire and hope for unity of all Christians. (The present assessment has taken into consideration views on BEM expressed by: His Eminence Metropolitan Nicolae Corneanu, Professors D. Stăniloae, I. Ică, I. Bria, D. Popescu, D. Radu, I. Fleca, Assistant Professor I. Sauca, Anca Manolache, and this speaker.)

For the answer to be sent to the World Council of Churches, the Romanian Patriarchate has set up a Commission made up of Metropolitan Antonie Plămădeală of Transylvania, Metropolitan Nicolae Corneanu of the Banat, and the following professors: Dumitru Stăniloae, Dumitru Radu, Constantin Galeriu and Stefan Alexe of Bucharest, Ioan Ică and Ioan Fleca of Sibiu. The Commission will present its observations to the fall 1985 session of the Holy Synod of the Romanian Orthodox Church. The conclusions of this conference will also be available and they will certainly be useful to us.



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Reviews

The Freedom of Morality. By Christos Yannaras. Contemporary Greek Theologians Number Three. Translated from the Greek by Elizabeth Briere. With a Foreword by Bishop Kallistos of Diokleia. Crestwood, New York: St. Vladimir's Seminary Press, 1984. Pp. 278. Paperbound, \$12.95.

Christos Yannaras is certainly well known as one of Greece's leading lay theologians, whose education in Greece, France, and Germany has enabled him to reexamine Orthodox theology in the light of the most recent and most challenging of Western historical, theological, sociological, political, and art-architectural discussions. As a philosopher and theologian, Dr. Yannaras finds no sharp dichotomy between the two. His book *The Freedom of Morality* was originally written in French as a contribution to a collective volume called *La loi de la liberté: Evangile et Morale* (Paris, 1972). A fuller version appeared in Greek in Athens in 1970 and a greatly expanded second Greek edition was published in Athens in 1979. It is from this last version that the present English translation was made. It is, of course, the focus on "morality" or ethics that provides Yannaras' book with its special appeal and value. For Yannaras "Ethics is the name customarily given to . . . systematic concern with the problems relating to the ethos or morality of the human being . . . a brand of the so-called 'human sciences,' which tries to find the most effective scale of values for the best organization of men's social co-existence" (p. 13). Yannaras' particular contribution is to connect the morality of man with the salvation of man. In this, he is being consistently Orthodox because in the Orthodox tradition "morality is not an objective measure for evaluating character and behavior, but the dynamic response of personal freedom to the existential truth and authenticity of man. The morality of man is first and foremost an existential event: the dynamic realization of the fulness of

existence and life, or else failure and the distortion of his true hypostasis" (p. 15).

What we soon are confronted with is that morality in the Orthodox tradition is related to man's salvation. The Church begins with the freedom of morality. That freedom means freedom "from any schematic valuation of utilitarian predetermination" (p. 15). It is in the personal existence of God that the comprehensive and exhaustive expression of the truth of being is found. God is the hypostasis of being, the personal hypostasis of eternal life. Yannaras explains that "the personal existence of God (the Father) *constitutes* his essence or being, making it into 'hypostases'; freely and from love he begets the Son and causes the Holy Spirit to proceed. Consequently, being stems not from the essence, which would make it an ontological necessity, but from the person and the freedom of its love which 'hypostasizes' being into a personal and trinitarian Communion. God the Father's *mode of being* constitutes existence and life as a fact of love and personal Communion" (p. 17-18).

Through his love God is shown by Professor Yannaras to give substance to his essence. Morality is the truth of his being. Man is created "in the image" of God. "In the image" of God in Trinity, *one in essence* according to his nature and *in many hypostases* according to his persons: "He sums up in his existence the universality of human nature, but at the same time surpasses it, because his *mode of existence* is freedom and distinctiveness" (p. 19). Human existence, Yannaras insists, derives its ontological substance from the fact of divine love, the only kind of love that gives substance to being: "Man was created to become a partaker in the personal mode of existence which is the life of God—to become a partaker in the freedom of love which is true life" (ibid). What man is, what really distinguishes him is the existential fact of communion and relationship with God and his fellow human beings, in the freedom of love. Man can accept or reject the ontological precondition of his existence but "man is an existential fact of relationship and communion"—"a hypostasis of the principle of personal distinctiveness and love free from any predetermination" (p. 20). "Each person is a sum of the characteristics common to all human nature, to mankind as a whole, and at the same time he transcends it inasmuch as he is an existential distinctiveness, a fact of existence which cannot be defined objectively" (p. 21). It is personal distinctiveness that forms the image of God in man and "love is the supreme road to knowledge of the person, because it is an acceptance of the other person as a whole" (p. 23). The other person is accepted on the basis of his or her personal uniqueness. Perhaps the most important statement in the whole book and its

principal thesis is, “What we call the *morality* of man is the way he relates to the adventure of his freedom. Morality reveals what man *is* in principle, as the image of God, but also what he *becomes* through the adventure of his freedom: a being transformed, or ‘in the likeness’ of God” (p. 24). Human morality is thus directly related to human individuality, to the existential realization of true life, to love and communion in freedom.

Not to be underemphasized in Yannaras’ analysis is the basic fact that “God is himself existence ‘in truth,’ the hypostasis of life, a hypostasis of personal distinctiveness and freedom; it is for this reason, and because man is created in his image, that God’s presence is a *judgment* for man” (p. 36). It is man’s task to free himself from the absolute claims of his individual biological nature and “through his liberation from a natural necessity that has become existentially autonomous . . . *exists* as a distinctive personality, putting into effect the *life of love*” (p. 37). It is up to man to recognize sin and thus the existential dimensions of his person and to begin to search God’s truth for living solutions and answers. In so doing, the individual will discover that the Church’s ethic is that of personal distinctiveness and freedom because the Church’s truth and the truth of persons is identical and the Church’s ethics is the basis of her faith and life, that is, the identification of life and existence with the fact of personal communion. The individual’s regeneration means the act of emptying out (*kenosis*) of every element of individual autonomy and self-sufficiency and realizing the life of love and communion—assent to Christ’s love as a person.

The twelve chapters of Professor Yannaras’ book take the reader through the Gospel, history, liturgy, the eucharist, asceticism, pietism, the ethical character of the mysteries, the church canons, the historical and social dimensions of the Church’s ethos, and the ethos of liturgical art (including worship, art, architecture, and technology) to demonstrate how his main reasoning and analysis can be applied to the contemporary world and society. The place of the eucharist is particularly important for the Orthodox perspective in all of this because “the Church’s eucharist is a *cosmic liturgy*: it sums up the life of the world in the ‘principle’ of man, in the human word glorifying God, the word which is made flesh in man’s life” and “Man is the celebrant of the eucharistic unity of the world: the restoration of life as communion, communion of the persons within human nature, as a communion of participation in the life of the world. And it sums up the oneness of the life of created things in a movement, an impulse which is eucharistic and loving, turning backwards towards God” (p. 86). It is within the eucharist that man, the world, and history can find true identity. It

is God who addresses to the human individual a call to communion and relationship, a call disclosed as a *trinitarian* energy, that enables humanity to attain love as the hypostasis of life. God thus intervenes and acts in history.

In a brilliant analysis of asceticism, Professor Yannaras effectively and cogently indicates unreservedly that the aim of asceticism is to transfigure our impersonal desires and needs into expressions of the free personal will which brings the true life of love into being. It is important to understand and appreciate that “bodily asceticism defines in a tangible and concrete manner the eucharistic character of the Church’s ethos, the way in which the eucharist, the holy communion, is extended into everyday life” (p. 117). It is also important to realize, as Yannaras reminds us, that the Incarnation offers human nature the possibility of realizing the divine mode of existence, the relationship between the Son and the Father. The cross of Christ in the end presented an end to the law and offered transcendence of the law.

There is so much in Yannaras’ provocative book that deserves noting that the reader has to be encouraged to study the book intensively. There are so many details of life itself that are closely examined in this work, but always within the context of the overall thesis. It is virtually unavoidable to point out that the Church is a fact of communion and a dynamic realization of communion and that the truth of communion is the ethos or “morality” of the Church. In this contemporary age of individual rights, tastes, and demands, it takes unusual courage, in addition to Christian knowledge, to assert that “the one catholic eucharist means giving absolute priority to the ontological truth of the person, freeing life from the centralized totalitarianism of objective reality” (p. 263) and concluding unhesitatingly that “the bounds of the Church’s ethos, the Church’s morality, are those of personal freedom, concrete and yet unlimited; they are the universal bounds of life in the only way it can truly be realized, which is hypostatic and personal” (p. 265). The achievements of true freedom, of salvation, of the existential realization of the true life, of individual distinctiveness, in this Orthodox Christian view, means the rejection of superficial individuality.

The Freedom of Morality is a powerful book that unashamedly, comprehensively, and brilliantly presents an Orthodox Christian analysis of a central philosophical and theological issue that bears directly on the meaning of every human act and life itself.

John Rexine
Colgate University



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sections of the book. And in the final division of the book, Cody suggests that 40.1-2, 43.4-7a, and perhaps 47.1-12 are the original nucleus of the visionary passages. Scholars who belong to the new literary approach to biblical texts have suggested that subjectivity is one of the weaknesses of isolating individual units within the text, and Cody's descriptions confirm their suspicions.

While there is evidence that this book was written by a scholar, the author never writes in such a way as to distract from a meaningful presentation for students and lay teachers. For example, he carefully explains that the English words "wind" and "spirit" are derived from the same Hebrew root. And English translation is thus destined to lose the Hebrew word's "pregnant ambivalence" (p. 25).

These careful and meaningful explanations suggest that those who are seeking the *obvious* footprints of a scholar will be disappointed. After the translation of Ezekiel 2.1-3.15, Cody neglects to discuss what some will consider significant terms for Ezekiel: "son of man" and "River Chebar." There are other places where one might wish for more material, but Cody's objective is primarily to allow his readers to hear the Word of God more forcefully. The commentator does succeed here. This is seen most clearly in a statement concerning the literary pattern of chapter 4. After hinting that there are some problems with vv. 7-8, Cody candidly admits that "there is no point in quibbling about small points like this" (p. 36).

The author is to be commended for using inclusive language. The commentary would be practical for priests, ministers, students, and lay persons who are interested in Ezekiel and who are seeking a better understanding of this extraordinary Hebrew prophet.

Kenneth M. Craig, Jr.
The Southern Baptist Theological Seminary

The Future of the Methodist Theological Traditions. Ed. M. Douglas Meeks. Nashville: Abingdon Press, 1985. Pp. 224. \$9.95.

Scholars of history and patristics will know well the names of Geoffrey Wainwright and Albert Outler, authors of two of the four major essays in this volume. However, the entire series provides a very useful discussion of the largest ecumenically oriented Protestant body in the United States at this turn in its theological history. The essay by Wainwright on the ecumenical place of United Methodism is very significant in relating Methodism to the Catholic/Orthodox vision of the ecumenical movement. Methodism, with its roots in Anglicanism, has

theological resources for a deep sacramental life, and an appreciation of tradition along with Scripture, reason, and experience as sources for reclaiming the heritage of the great church. The solid scholarship of Wesleyan studies by Dr. Outler and his ecumenical hopes for rooting Wesley in the wider tradition, likewise disclose a side of Methodist scholarship not often available in the ecumenical dialogue.

While the Methodist spiritual tradition often appears quite activist and American to the Orthodox and Catholic spiritual writer, Ariarajah's discussions of evangelism and Fowler's thoughts on Wesley's spiritual and faith development point to resources that all American Christians can appreciate, in developing a liturgical and biblical spirituality in this context.

Liberation theology has been a peculiarly Roman Catholic development to most observers. However, United Methodism is the largest communion in Latin America to have developed important scholarship in this area. Elsa Tamez' essay on "Wesley as Read by the Poor" gives good insight into this Protestant reflection on Third World concerns in the social order. For the entire ecumenical movement, and for those who would understand the responsible theological developments within Protestantism, Meeks' introductory essay on the future of Methodist theology and the reports of the working group at this Oxford conference provide very helpful resources.

If the hopes for Christian understanding are to be grounded on a firm foundation in the apostolic faith, reflection by all Christians seeking to root themselves in a theological basis for ecumenism is most important. While the categories of Protestant thought, and particularly American thought, often seem removed from the great tradition, essays of the sort included in this volume are helpful to begin to bridge the gap in understanding. This book is a useful introduction for the theologically trained scholar as well as a welcome ecumenical contribution in understanding faith among separated Christians.

Brother Jeffrey Gros, F.S.C.
Director, Commission on Faith and Order

Gathered for Life. Official Report, VI Assembly, World Council of Churches, Vancouver, Canada 24 July—10 August 1983. Ed. David Gill. Geneva: The World Council of Churches; Grand Rapids: William B. Eerdmans, 1983. Pp. viii, 355. Illustrated.

Besides David Gill of the United Church of Australia, other persons served as editors (in other languages, such as French, German, and Spanish) of the Sixth Assembly of the World Council of Churches.



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The
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Thirtieth Year



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In Memoriam

†ARCHBISHOP BASIL KRIVOCHEINE (1900-1985)

THE RECENT DEATH of Archbishop Basil of Brussels and Belgium is a great loss for Christian Orthodox theology and spirituality. Born in Petrograd (now Leningrad), Russia in 1900, he completed his studies at the Moscow Philological School. In 1920, Archbishop Basil left Russia. He first went to Constantinople and then on to Paris where he continued his philological studies at the Sorbonne. Later, he pursued philosophical studies in Munich. In 1925, he went to Mount Athos where he began his monastic life at the Russian monastery of Saint Panteleimon. Tonsured in 1927, he lived on Mount Athos for twenty-two years. There he learned Greek extremely well. Armed with this tool, he delved into the depths of the mystical theology of the Fathers of the Church. He wrote his first work, *The Ascetical and Dogmatic Teaching of Saint Gregory Palamas* (in Russian), published by the *Seminarium Kondakovianum* (Prague, 1936). Later this work was translated into English in *The Eastern Churches Quarterly*, 4 (1938) and into German.

In 1947, he left Mount Athos and went to Oxford where he worked with others in the publication of patristic texts. Meanwhile, he continued his own study of patristic texts in the large libraries of Europe. He also participated in the composition of the important Patristic Greek-English Lexicon. The fruit of his long study was the critical edition of the thirty-six *Catecheses* of Saint Symeon the New Theologian, published in three volumes in the series of *Sources Chretiennes* (Paris, 1963-65).

In 1951, he was ordained deacon and priest by Bishop Eirenaios of Dalmatia. In 1959, in London, he was ordained auxiliary bishop under the jurisdiction of the Patriarchate of Moscow with residence in Paris. In 1960, he was elected by the Holy Synod of the Church of Russia archbishop of Brussels and Belgium where he remained until his death on September 25, 1985.

Archbishop Basil participated in numerous international conferences including those held in Rhodes and Geneva, as well as in various ecumenical commissions of Orthodox in dialogue with non-Orthodox. He also participated in numerous international scholarly symposiums on patristic and Byzantine studies. I personally had the honor of meeting him at the Second International Conference of Orthodox Theologians at St. Vladimir's in 1972 where I had the opportunity to discuss various aspects of the theology of Saint Gregory Palamas. He impressed me with his humility and deep knowledge of Orthodoxy and the Fathers.

Archbishop Basil wrote scores of studies on Orthodox theology and ascetism. Most of his writings deal with the theology of Saint Symeon the New Theologian and Saint Gregory Palamas. His writings were published in Russian, English, German, French, and Greek.

Archbishop Basil was one of the most eloquent exponents of the Orthodox spirit in the West. He offered a true Orthodox witness to the Communist and Western societies. In 1971, he spoke openly against government iniquities aimed at the church in Russia. He became known as a strong advocate of Orthodoxy and a spokesman for the Church's freedom. He will be greatly missed by the Church for his intellectual honesty, competent scholarship, and commitment to Orthodoxy and Christ. May his memory be eternal.

George C. Papademetriou
Hellenic College/Holy Cross

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Lawrence Barriger. *Good Victory: Metropolitan Orestes Chornock and the American Carpatho-Russian Orthodox Greek Catholic Diocese*. Brookline: Holy Cross Orthodox Press, 1985. Pp. 187. 40 photographs. \$12.00, cloth.

Bishop Anastasios of Androusa. *Εἰς ἔργον διακονίας· Ἐκθεσις πεπραγμένων Ἀποστολικῆς Διακονίας τῆς Ἐκκλησίας τῆς Ἑλλάδος ἀπὸ Αύγουστου 1977 ἕως Αύγουστου 1980*. Athens: Apostolike Diakonia, 1982. Pp. 108. Paper.

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George Poulos. *Πνοή Θεοῦ: Μία βιογραφία τοῦ Ἀρχιεπισκόπου Ἰακώβου.* Trans. Panagiotis Gazouleas. Athens: Hellenike Euroekdotike, 1985. Pp. 253, 52 photographs. \$12.95, cloth.

John Rexine. *An Explorer of Realms of Art, Life, and Thought: A Survey of the Works of Philosopher and Theologian Constantine Cavarnos.* Belmont, MA: Institute for Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies, 1985. Pp. 184. Paper.

Margaret A. Schatkem and Paul W. Harkins (trans.). *Saint John Chrysostom Apologist.* The Fathers of the Church. A New Translation. Washington, D.C.: The Catholic University of America Press, 1985. Pp. 298. \$29.95, cloth.

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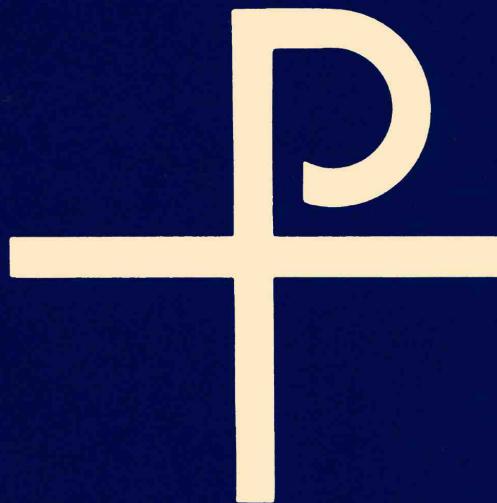
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The
Greek
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Review

Thirtieth Year



Volume 30
Number 3
Fall 1985

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Editor's Note

The year 1985 marks the *Thirtieth Anniversary of The Greek Orthodox Theological Review*. To highlight this anniversary, we had asked the eminent scholars, the members of the *Review's* Editorial Advisory Board to submit a study for publication for the third number of the *Review*. The Rt. Rev. Dr. Demetrios Trakatellis (Bishop of Vresthena), Distinguished Professor of Biblical Studies at Hellenic College/Holy Cross Greek Orthodox School of Theology and Visiting Professor at Harvard Divinity School; the Very Reverend Dr. George Dragas, Lecturer in Patristic Theology, Durham University, England; the Very Reverend Dr. Demetrios J. Constantelos, Professor of History and Religious Studies, Stockton State College; Dr. Deno J. Geanakoplos, Professor of Byzantine History and Orthodox Theology, Yale University and Yale Divinity School; and Dr. John E. Rexine, Charles A. Dana Professor of the Classics and Chairman, Department of the Classics, Colgate University graciously responded to this invitation. The *Review* owes them special thanks for their present contribution as well as for their invaluable services rendered over many years. Thanks are also due to the other members of the Editorial and Advisory Board for their important contributions over the last thirty years. Finally, thanks are owed to His Eminence Archbishop Iakovos for his continuous and steadfast support of theological scholarship in general and of *The Greek Orthodox Theological Review* in particular.

N. Michael Vaporis
Editor

‘Basilian’ definition per se of charismata in Saint Basil’s works, it is obvious that this great father follows the Pauline interpretation which points towards the events of the incarnation, death, and resurrection of Christ and man’s participation in them, as well as man’s participation in the fate and sufferings of others and the rendering of services to his neighbors (1 Cor 12.7; Rom 11.29; 1 Cor 7.7, 17f.). Unity in diversity and diversity in unity are the basic “charismatic” characteristics of the Christian Church. Although there is no egalitarian principle which governs the distribution of the charismata of the Holy Spirit, there is a special emphasis by Saint Basil on the harmony which unites all the faithful in the love of Christ and leads them to a true “spiritual communion” (*πνευματική κοινωνία*), thus completing together the body of Christ in the unity of the Holy Spirit, and rendering to one another the needful aid that comes of the charismata (*On the Holy Spirit*, ch. 61). This communication with each other and the sharing of the material and spiritual goods through the mutual or social exchange of services are described by Saint Basil in a long quotation which Professor Fedwick offers to his readers:

Shining upon those that are cleansed from every spot, the Holy Spirit makes them spiritual (*πνευματικούς*) by fellowship (*κοινωνία*) with himself. Just as when a sunbeam falls on bright and transparent bodies, they themselves become brilliant too, and shed forth a fresh brightness from themselves, so souls wherein the Spirit dwells, illuminated by the Spirit, themselves become spiritual, and send forth their grace to others. Hence come foreknowledge of the future, understanding of mysteries, apprehension of what is hidden, distribution of charismata, heavenly citizenship, a place in the chorus of angels, joy without end, abiding in God, being made like God, and, what is most desirable, being made God (*On the Holy Spirit*, ch. 23).

Along this line, Fedwick is right in pointing out Saint Basil’s concept and faith in “Communal Christianity” (p. 2). I would have called this the ecclesiological character of the Christian community. Indeed, Saint Basil makes it very clear that only in the Church, which he calls the “great house” or the special “city” which is “fortified by the faith encompassing it” and a “dwelling,” “made joyful by the inflowing of the Holy Spirit,” can we join together harmoniously in the close links of one body in the Holy Spirit. Only in the Church can we preserve the mutual relation and service of the members one to another and our subjection to our one head, which is Christ (*Detailed Rules* 2.929C). Saint Basil proceeds even to the point of rejecting the usefulness of the

solitary life, which becomes fruitless and idle unless it is understood and practiced in the spirit of love and sacrifice within the perimeters of the Christian Church (*ibid.*, 929b). This is why Saint Basil indiscriminately applies the term brotherhood (ἀδελφότης) to both the ascetic community and the local church, because both are modelled on the pattern of the first Christian community of Jerusalem, in which all things were common and whose members were united by the same faith and brotherly love (*On the Justice of God*, 4.660D). Moreover, Saint Basil is absolutely conscious of the importance of the universal Church, that is the union and brotherhood of all local churches spread throughout the *oikoumene*, but united in Christ as one people under one Lord, one faith, and one hope. The endless theological squabbles, the personal rivalries, the strong partisanship, the mutual hatred among the local churches and their clergy, all these cannot reduce the importance of the reality of the existing union and unity among all the believers of Christ, who are members of the one and same body of Christ.

In their ecclesiological context, the question of leadership in the Church is discussed by the author most pertinently. It is true, of course, as our author points out, that Saint Basil tried during his lifetime to establish a close cooperation between the *Imperium* and *Sacerdotium* and showed deference to civil servants and avoided direct confrontation with the secular power. On the other hand, he was far from either displaying blind subservience to the will of civil authorities or offering only passive resistance to their mistaken rulings. On the contrary, Saint Basil, both in the theological disputes as well as in the pastoral implementation of his episcopal authority, stood up to protect his flock and provide true leadership and paternal care. So, Saint Basil is led to the conclusion that people need to be led by reason of the charismatic structure of the Church. The necessity of spiritual leaders with special charismata is thus established by Saint Basil. The most common name Saint Basil gives to the highest ranked member in the church is that of *proestos* (προεστώς). The term *episkopos* designates the single head of a church community (p. 47). The presbyters are also called *proestotes* (προεστώτες) and act on behalf of the bishop. Recognition or acknowledgement (ἔγκρισις) was necessary either by the neighboring brotherhoods as far as the ascetic communities were concerned, or by the neighboring bishops and the members of the local church in the cases of local ecclesiastical communities. Professor Fedwick appears to be distressed by this methodology of electing the leaders of the Church, but he fails not to mention that according to Saint Basil the leader of the church is a “vessel” (σκεῦος) of divine election whom the Lord himself calls and chooses in a manner similar to that of kings, prophets, and apostles. The leader is chosen as an instrument and used by the

Lord for the ministry (λειτουργία) of the saints and the sacred things. He is charged with the care of (ἐπιμέλεια) and the pastoral solicitude of (φροντίς) Christ's flock. To him is entrusted the ministry of the altar and the dispensation (οἰκονομία) of the sacred mysteries. Like the apostles, the *proestos* is sent (ἀπεστάλη) by Christ to guide and teach (καθηγέομαι) and he is the voice of the Church, the guardian of the institutions, and in the last analysis he is the center of ecclesiastical and Christian communion (κοινωνία) first through the prayers and the eucharist, and secondly by letters and visits. Without its leader—dead or banished—the church becomes orphaned (pp. 48-49). Of course humility and the sense that he must serve the people of God are requirements for the true Christian leader. The ecclesiastical leader is, of course, the defender of Orthodoxy, and we all know that Saint Basil was proven to be one of the most staunch defenders of the Orthodox faith in the fourth century. It is indeed most appropriate that Fedwick devotes a whole chapter on the charisma of the leader of the word according to Saint Basil. The task of the leader of the word (προεστώς τοῦ λόγου) is described by Saint Basil himself in a beautiful passage in his homily *On Psalm 28*:

[Like the rams] such are the leaders of the disciples of Christ (οἱ τῆς ποίμνης τοῦ Χριστοῦ προεστῶτες). They lead them forth to the blooming and fragrant nourishment of spiritual doctrine, water them with living water with the concurrent assistance of the Spirit, raise them until they produce fruit; then they guide them to rest and safety from those who lay snares for them.

The ultimate purpose of the leader of the word is the edification of the Church, the refutation of errors, the formation of real piety, and the building of the Church as a community of complete Christians. In his last chapter, Fedwick speaks about the importance of pastoral solicitude for the communion of all the churches. Because of the moral and dogmatic anarchy prevailing in the East during his lifetime, Saint Basil felt most strongly the need to impress upon his fellow-clergymen and his fellow-Christians the fact that self-sufficiency (αὐτάρκεια) cannot be the main characteristics of the ecclesiastical life. *Agape* is the principle of cohesion among the various parts of the Church, the body of Christ, effecting the unity and order among the local churches as well as among the faithful. He cites common confession of the trinitarian faith, practical “tokens of love” (σύμβολα τῆς ἀγάπης) expressed in material and spiritual assistance, and then unity in eucharist and prayer, exchange of letters, and synods, as the theological presuppositions of Christian love, peace, agreement and unity (Ἔνωσις).

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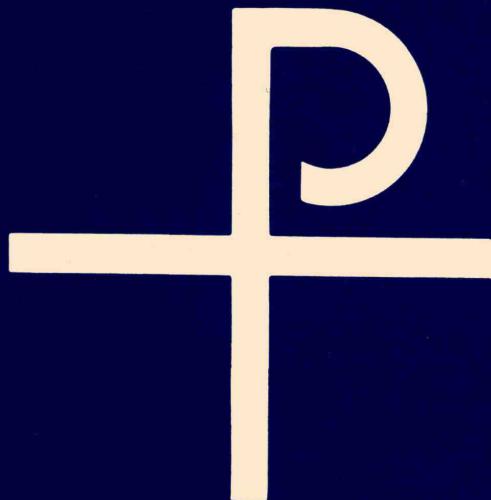
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The
Greek
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Review

Thirtieth Year



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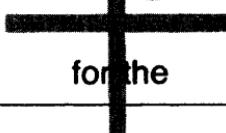
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Editor's Preface

The Greek Orthodox Theological Review is happy and, indeed, honored to publish the papers produced by the Inter-Orthodox Symposium on Baptism, Eucharist, and Ministry held on the campus of Hellenic College/Holy Cross Orthodox School of Theology from 11-18 June 1985.

The gathering of forty-five hierarchs and theologians of the Eastern Orthodox and Oriental Orthodox Churches to discuss the "Lima document" was a very important event for Orthodoxy as well as for the ecumenical movement. *The Greek Orthodox Theological Review* hopes that by publishing the papers of the Symposium, many others not present will be able to benefit from the theological dialogue that took place on the campus of Hellenic College.

At this point it is only proper to thank Archbishop Iakovos, Primate of the Greek Orthodox Archdiocese of North and South America and Exarch of the Ecumenical Patriarchate, for generously providing the funds for the publication of this volume.

The present number of the *Review* is also being published independently as No. 128 in the series: "Faith and Order Papers." This number was co-edited by The Very Reverend Dr Gennadios Limouris, Archimandrite of the Ecumenical Patriarchate and Executive Secretary, Commission on Faith and Order, World Council of Churches.

N. M. Vaporis
Editor

Response to Archbishop Iakovos' Welcome

METROPOLITAN CHRYSOSTOMOS

MANY THANKS TO YOU, Your Eminence, for your very kind words of welcome to this group of representatives of all the Orthodox and Oriental Church members of the World Council of Churches at this Consultation on BEM, being held in this great Greek Orthodox Theological School of your Archdiocese. Many thanks also to everyone who has had the kindness to greet us on this occasion.

Really, we are very happy for this opportunity to be with all of you, to receive your hospitality, to exchange experiences, and to discuss with the faculty, the bishops, clergy and theologians, who have a direct interest in our subject. This subject is one of the most important for the WCC, for the member Churches, and of course for the whole of Orthodoxy. Our Churches are awaiting from this Consultation fruitful and constructive results, that will provide the needed theological material for a response from the Orthodox Churches to the BEM text, and further clarification on what "reception" means for us Orthodox. We have a big job to accomplish here, during these days.

As you know, the Consultation is to hear a number of specific papers, which will be presented by theologians of the Orthodox and the Oriental Churches, which belong to the same family. Here, let me interject that, through the initiative of the Ecumenical Patriarchate, the dialogue between the Orthodox and Oriental Churches has been reactivated.

After having received and discussed the papers, the Consultation must come to some concrete conclusions and make some specific proposals to our mother Churches, with the view of facilitating their own responsibility for responding officially, by the end of this year, to the Faith and Order Commission, after further and deeper evaluations of the BEM text.

Let us hope that the Holy Spirit will lead us to productive deliberations. Towards this aim we ask—Your Eminence and beloved brothers and sisters—for your prayers and encouragement.

To you, Your Eminence, we want to express our deep gratitude for having the kindness to come here to greet us. We know that your time is very precious. We thank you for this, but also for all the manifestations of love and attention which you have expressed to us through the hospitality given to our group by Holy Cross Greek Orthodox School of Theology, through the assistance of yourself and of your collaborators, especially His Grace Bishop Methodios of Boston, the professors and staff of this theological school and all the others who will help us during our stay and study here.

Once more, Your Eminence, many thanks. Εἰς πολλά ἔτη Δέσποτα.

A Message to the Rev Dr Emilio Castro, General Secretary of WCC

METROPOLITAN CHRYSOSTOMOS

IT IS A PRIVILEGE and honor for me, as chairman of this Consultation, but also in my capacity as vice-president of the Central Committee of the World Council of Churches, to present to this gathering the Rev Dr Emilio Castro, General Secretary of the Council.

Dr Emilio Castro has had the kindness, being in the States, to come to Boston and greet us, representatives of the Orthodox and the Oriental Churches, in session here in this Greek Orthodox theological school, gathered with the main aim to study the BEM text and to achieve in some deliberations that which will be of great help for our Churches—in view of facilitating them, we hope, in their own responsibility of responding officially to the Faith and Order Commission after further and deeper evaluation of the Lima document itself.

Dr Emilio Castro, the new General Secretary of the World Council of Churches, has many and precious qualifications. Among them I want to underline his remarkable positive disposition in favor of Orthodoxy and of the Orthodox presence and participation in the life and activities of the WCC. I remember his first declaration after his nomination as well as his warm words during his first visit to the Ecumenical Patriarchate last January 6, when he expressed his own desire and determination to see the Orthodox participation in the activities of the World Council of Churches more and more effective and positive. Dr Emilio Castro is definitely a friend of Orthodoxy. We are grateful to him for that.

And with these sentiments we thank him for coming here and being among us today and I ask him to give us kindly the occasion now to hear from him a message of greeting from the WCC.



Seated, left to right: Metropolitan Chrysostomos, Archbishop Iakovos, Metropolitan Emilianos, and Bishop Maximos with participants of the Symposium.

A Message to Participants of the Symposium on BEM

EMILIO CASTRO

Your Eminence Metropolitan Chrysostomos,
Your Graces,
Honored Professors,
Beloved Brothers and Sisters in Christ:

GREETINGS TO YOU from the World Council of Churches, represented here by the Commission on Faith and Order for this symposium on the Orthodox Church's reception of the convergence document, *Baptism, Eucharist, and Ministry*. I am especially pleased to bring you my personal greetings and feel great joy at the coincidence of my being in the United States during your Consultation.

I want to underscore the importance of this symposium and of the Orthodox participation in the World Council of Churches. Since I have come to Geneva in this new position, I have often been asked what differences I find between the Church in Latin America and in Geneva. I respond again and again: Orthodoxy. In Orthodox liturgy, in Orthodox spirituality, in Orthodox theology—the rich gifts of Orthodoxy are unmistakable at the World Council. In particular, I treasure the theological perspective you bring. After all, the WCC is not “their” Council, it is “your” Council.

As I was reading through the documents which arrived in Geneva before this Consultation, I noticed that many of you seemed to be responding to BEM in a fashion reminiscent of Symeon: “My eyes have seen salvation!” At long last, you seemed to be saying, we can recognize ourselves in the work of the Council. This is no small step toward the unity at the heart of the Council’s work, and it is due largely to the patient work of Faith and Order. The maturity of the BEM document

represents many long years of dialogue and serious theological discussion.

But unlike Symeon, you cannot now rest. It is now time to help your Churches respond. This symposium is an important step toward that process of reception on which you are focusing your discussions this week. In one sense this symposium is an internal discussion. The BEM document raises many questions. Someone asked me, for instance, if because I was baptized a Roman Catholic, am I considered to be the first Catholic General Secretary of WCC? I leave that to you theologians and your counterparts in other communions; what does baptism mean in the context of our life together? One way in which those questions become most obvious at the World Council is in the work of the staff in Geneva. We have a good Orthodox representation, but we also hope that you will not turn aside when we ask for service from your sons and daughters.

However, because of BEM, these discussions are also not internal. Two weeks ago I was in Bulgaria and there received the Order of St. Cyril and Methodios. We might look lightly at such things, but in reality I am spiritually Orthodox now! In legal terms, the title implies the right to speak, so I will take that opportunity today! I will ask you to consider two things especially in your official response to BEM.

First, please be Orthodox in your response. As I understand your Church Fathers and your Tradition, yours is a particularly doxological communion. In our Roman Catholic and Protestant discussions, we have too often stressed the juridical and logical matters of theology. You have honored the mystery, the ultimately unexplainable quality of God. We Occidentals may have forgotten too often what you teach us in your liturgy: that theology is the expression of the mind of the people and the people expresses itself doxologically.

Secondly, do remember that the Church is the Body of Christ for the salvation of the world. In baptism and chrismation, when the Spirit is given it is given not solely for the individual but for the world. "Be my witnesses." Let us not lose our mission understanding in new situations, in the diaspora's marginalization. While you often grow weary of our Protestant sense that in the eucharist we may learn "along the way" toward unity by sharing the bread and wine together now, we Protestants also understand that you cannot agree to eucharistic sharing until the unity is visible in full. Let's keep that dialogue open. But let us also remember that our baptism involves us in the mission of Christ, that the eucharist constitutes us as the Church for others, and that the ministry equips the saints for mission in the world.

A Response

METROPOLITAN CHRYSOSTOMOS

Dear Dr Emilio Castro:

I WANT TO EXPRESS our warm thanks for your speech and message to us. I thank you for having the kindness once more to repeat the fact that you consider and recognize the Orthodox collaboration in the activities of the Faith and Order Commission. Really, the Council is our Council as it is a reality for the whole oikoumene. I can say that for the BEM text which we shall consider and try to evaluate here during these days in the best way from the Orthodox point of view, we will do our best on that.

Once more, many thanks, Dr Emilio, for your meaningful words of greeting and your message to us.

Metropolitan Chrysostomos



From left to right Frs Gennadios Limouris, Alkiviadis Calivas, Ion Bria, Dr Emilio Castro, Metropolitan Chrysostomos, Dr Gunther Gassmann, and Fr George Tsetsis

General Introduction

GÜNTHER GASSMANN

THE MOVEMENT (LATER THE COMMISSION) on Faith and Order had from its early stages the benefit of an active Orthodox participation. Already in 1919 all the major Orthodox Churches responded favorably to the invitation to prepare for a World Conference on Faith and Order. At the Faith and Order preparatory conference which took place at Geneva in 1920, several Orthodox Church leaders and theologians participated and used this opportunity to present and interpret the Encyclical Letter of the Ecumenical Patriarchate of 1920, one of the basic and most influential documents of the ecumenical movement. During this early period Orthodox representatives like Archbishop Germanos of Thyateira and Professor Alivizatos played a leading role in Faith and Order.

After the foundation of the World Council of Churches in 1948, Faith and Order became a Commission and after 1961 full Orthodox participation was again possible. I see a remarkable development in this participation. At first there was a certain reluctance on the side of the Orthodox to engage in doctrinal discussions in contrast to an openness for collaboration on social issues since these did not involve doctrinal aspects. The ecumenical discussions in the sixties and seventies, however, made all of us conscious of the fact that the social-ethical issues were also related to doctrinal presuppositions and, as a consequence, created deep tensions within the ecumenical community. Along with this there was the impression that the social-political concerns became a priority for the WCC over against its basic calling to serve the unity of the Church. This development may have contributed to an increasingly active interest and full participation by the Orthodox Churches in the work of the Faith and Order Commission. One sign of this involvement has been the fact that the last two Moderators of

the Faith and Order Commission came from Orthodox Churches: Professor Meyendorff (1969-1970) and Professor Nissiotis (1975-1983).

We in Faith and Order are grateful that within the WCC the Orthodox Churches are now among the most committed supporters of our work. We need this support in order to fulfill our fundamental task to call the churches to the visible unity which is given in Jesus Christ and which is an image of the unity of the Holy Trinity. We need this support and active participation also because without the contribution of the rich theological and spiritual treasure of the Orthodox tradition our theological perspectives would be limited to the Western tradition and its divided confessional expressions. Here, the insights and experiences of the Orthodox tradition can help us to look beyond our separate confessions in order to rediscover the fulness of the apostolic faith as it is witnessed in holy Scripture and further developed in the first centuries of Christ's Church in the East and the West.

The Orthodox participation in Faith and Order and the official representation of Roman Catholic theologians in the commission since 1968 have made this commission the most representative theological forum in this world. Yes, it is a theological *forum*, which does not have authority of its own. Accordingly the results of its work will have an impact on the thinking and ecumenical position of the churches only if these results are of a high theological quality and can be accepted by the churches as adequate expositions of the faith of the Church throughout the centuries. The Faith and Order Commission has been created by the churches; its members are appointed on the proposal or with the agreement of the churches; its work is done for the churches and the results of its work are submitted to the churches for their judgment. It is, therefore, not a commission which exists apart from the churches in its own right. It is a commission which belongs to the churches; it is *our* commission.

One of these results of the work of the Faith and Order Commission is, of course, the Lima document on *Baptism, Eucharist and Ministry*. In the short history of Faith and Order this was a most significant achievement after many years of theological dialogue. We cannot know yet how deep the impact of this document will be on the churches. But we notice already that BEM has become the most widely distributed and discussed ecumenical document in the history of the ecumenical movement. More than 300,000 copies in over twenty-five languages have been published and thousands of congregations, ecumenical groups, theological seminaries, theological and ecumenical commissions, etc. are studying this document. This is indeed a unique ecumenical event. So far twenty churches have sent their official response to the

WCC. They generally regard BEM as a most important step forward in our common ecumenical endeavor, but there are also critical questions concerning specific points in BEM. Such critical remarks are often used to make proposals for the future work of Faith and Order. Most of these responses emphasize that the reception process of BEM must also continue after the respective churches have formulated their responses.

I know that it is irritating to many Orthodox when we speak of a BEM 'reception-process.' To clarify this point will be a major task of this symposium, because misunderstandings can easily arise in this connection. It is not my intention to prejudge this clarification, but I would like to indicate that we in Faith and Order are using the expression 'reception process' not in a specific historical or traditional sense. Rather we would like with this expression to refer to the expectation that the churches are receiving this document in order to evaluate it on all levels. It is their task to judge how far this document reflects the faith of the Church through the centuries and where further theological dialogue is necessary. The churches should study this document also with the question in mind as to whether it contains theological perspectives which could enrich their theological thinking and spiritual life and which could help them to come to closer relations with other Christian traditions.

For us non-Orthodox, the contributions of the Orthodox tradition to the elaboration and text of "Baptism, Eucharist and Ministry" are clearly discernible. Many have already welcomed the way in which Orthodox theological and spiritual insights in BEM have the potential to deepen our Western thinking on the sacraments and the ministry. But BEM is of course not an Orthodox document written by Orthodox for the Orthodox. It is, therefore, a task for the Orthodox Churches to consider how far they can recognize the faith of the Church also in those parts of BEM which are not formulated in a traditional Orthodox terminology. This applies, of course, in an analogous way, to all the churches. It belongs to the special character of an ecumenical document that it does not simply reflect the thinking and language of one particular Christian tradition. Such a text is the result of an ecumenical dialogue which seeks to express the common faith. And the interpretation of such a text has to take this into account. Yet, I would like to stress once again the strong Orthodox impact on BEM which might be noticed by us non-Orthodox much more directly than by you yourselves.

In the ecumenical community there is quite widespread curiosity and expectation concerning the Orthodox responses to BEM. How will the Orthodox react? How will they evaluate this endeavor to lead the

churches closer to each other in their understanding and practice of baptism, eucharist and ministry? What are the main points of Orthodox critique? There is no doubt that the responses of the Orthodox Churches will be studied with special interest. This will certainly be the case with us in Faith and Order also. We consider the Orthodox responses of the highest importance for the present ecumenical situation as well as for the further work of Faith and Order. Therefore we are happy to be of help in arranging this symposium which, through your efforts and with the guidance of the Holy Spirit, will hopefully render an important contribution to the elaboration of Orthodox responses to BEM.

This is not the first time that representatives of the worldwide Orthodox Church come together in order to exchange their views on an important issue of common concern. The wish to arrange for such a symposium was expressed by Orthodox members of the Central Committee of the WCC. This desire was taken up by the Orthodox Task Force in the WCC which turned to us in Faith and Order for assistance in the preparation of the symposium.

Now you have arrived from all parts of the world, venerable and esteemed representatives of the Orthodox Churches. We are especially happy that both Eastern and Oriental Orthodox Churches are coming together at this symposium. The task of Faith and Order in helping to prepare this meeting is finished—it is now fully your meeting. But our interest in this meeting is not finished, and we are grateful that, together with the three guests from the American churches, we can be present at your deliberations. We are now observers, but our hearts and minds are with you, and we pray that God the Father, the Son and the Holy Spirit will inspire you and will grant his manifold blessings to all of us.

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The Old Calendar Orthodox Church of Greece. By Archimandrite Chrysostomos with Hieromonk Ambrosios and Hieromonk Auxentios. Prologue by Metropolitan Cyprian. Etna, California: Center for Traditionalist Orthodox Studies, 1985. Pp. iii + 108. \$4.50, paper.

There has long been a need for a literate, reasoned and reasonable exposition in English of the Old Calendar Orthodox Church of Greece, especially now that the presence of these Orthodox Christians in the United States and elsewhere is being felt. Both Orthodox and non-Orthodox Christians have very little accurate information about the Old Calendarists, either here or in Greece. The Center for Traditionalist Orthodox Studies, established in 1981 under the auspices of the St. Gregory Palamas Monastery, has sought to promote, publish, and disseminate studies of the Old Calendar or traditionalist Orthodox movement, to encourage and fund translations of patristic and liturgical texts into the English language and to collect materials pertinent to the history of the traditionalist Orthodox communities in the United States and Canada. *The Old Calendar Orthodox Church of Greece* is the most recent in a series of publications published by the Center under the very able leadership of Archimandrite Chrysostomos, abbot of the St. Gregory Palamas Monastery in Etna, California, a small dependency of the Holy Monastery of Sts. Cyprian and Justina in Fili, Greece.

The Old Calendar Orthodox Church of Greece basically consists of three chapters by three different authors—all three members of the True Orthodox Church of Greece (T.O.C.), and representing what could be termed a theological, a historical, and a personal perspective on the Old Calendar Orthodox Church in Greece by churchmen active in that tradition, namely by Hieromonk Amrosios, Archimandrite Chrysostomos, and Hieromonk Auxentios respectively, on what are subtitled “A Brief History”; “A Critical Evaluation”; and “A Personal Testimony.” Two addenda provide a short life of Metropolitan Chrysostomos of Pelagonia (to whom the late Patriarch Athenagoras I was deacon) and “An Ecclesiological Position Paper” by Metropolitan Cyprian and the Fathers of the Holy Monastery of Sts. Cyprian and Justina” (perhaps the most articulate contemporary ecclesiological document issued by any Old Calendarist group in Greece”). There is at the end of the book a very useful chronological table.

In his Introduction Father Chrysostomos expresses the expectation that the reader will see “the Old Calendar movement from a variety of perspectives, all of which—taken together—will, we hope, give the reader an accurate picture of the True Orthodox Christians of Greece,

the Church which they constitute, and the spirit which they guard" (pp. 5-6). Father Chrysostomos welcomes all readers to explore the contents of this book:

For those Orthodox Christians who have a Catholic view of the Church, who understand that the Church is a great mystery encompassing many views and many opinions within the confines of her dogmas, this small book should be enlightening. For those who love the great champions of tradition who have adorned the Church with their dedication, the book should occasion moments of real inspiration. For those who forget that the Church is never large enough to encompass hate, our book will mean little (pp. 6-7).

The Old Calendar Church of Greece tells us about the genesis of the Old Calendar movement as an historical and religious phenomenon now over a half century ago. It tells us about the theological and historical differences of the Old Calendarists with the State Church of Greece, its troubles, struggles, and sufferings in Greece and elsewhere, the divisions within the movement itself, the untidy relations with other Orthodox jurisdictions, the efforts made to combat what is considered ill-conceived ecumenism, and the attempts to make Orthodox Christianity itself better understood within the Orthodox world and outside of it.

Not all will agree with everything that is contained in this well conceived and well ordered book, but such a book as this should help promote a better understanding among all Orthodox Christians of each other and of the Orthodox faith which they hold in common. This is a book that can help clear up misunderstanding and promote irenic dialogue.

John E. Rexine
Colgate University

G O T R 30 (85)

Art and Eloquence in Byzantium. By Henry Mcguire. Princeton University Press, 1981. Pp. xxiii + 148. 111 Figures. Hardbound, \$32.50.

This book consists of a six-page Introduction (pp. 3-8), five chapters entitled "Rhetoric in the Byzantine Church" (pp. 9-21), "Description" (pp. 22-52), "Antithesis" (pp. 53-83), "Hyperbole" (pp. 84-90), and "Lament" (pp. 91-108), a three-page "Conclusion" (pp. 109-111), twenty-nine pages of notes (pp. 113-41), and 111 black and white illustrations, listed as "figures."



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The Question of the Reception of BEM in the Orthodox Church in the Light of its Ecumenical Commitment

THEODORE STYLIANOPOULOS

A FEW INTRODUCTORY COMMENTS on points raised by the title of this paper are necessary. First, I took the liberty of changing my own original title by using the singular "Orthodox Church" rather than the plural "Orthodox Churches," in order to underscore the unity of the Orthodox Church. While the plural certainly carries its own legitimacy, ecumenical discourse today seems increasingly to favor the plural, expressing an ecclesiological ambiguity which needs to be clarified. I discuss this matter in the last section of this paper.

Secondly, by reception I do not signify that ecclesial process through which the Orthodox Church has received the authoritative decrees of Ecumenical Synods or continues to receive today the decisions of the canonical synods of Orthodox bishops. Although this process itself is in some ways instructive to the question at hand, clearly BEM neither presupposes nor claims that kind of ecclesial authority. By reception I mean rather the general process of any tradition engaging, either from within or from without, new ideas, acts or practices, which are consciously or unconsciously assessed, and then in various ways accepted or rejected by the living tradition of a people. The most authentic kind of reception involves an active response, a critical reaction to something on the basis of a given tradition's own values. From the beginning of the history of salvation the people of God have inevitably been involved in such a broad, dynamic process regarding laws, customs, forms of worship, teaching, institutions and even the biblical canons—all of which have been subject to variety, revision and evaluation according to the mind of the people of God guided by the Holy Spirit. Critical

reception is decisive to authentic renewal: it is the power of a tradition to maintain itself as a living tradition and thereby to be able effectively to witness to its own deepest insights and truths.

And thirdly, one might ask in what way(s) the reception of BEM is a question. The Vancouver Assembly (1983) stated that the Lima text "is at one and the same time a challenge and an opportunity for the churches."¹ Many theologians as well have already written about the new ecumenical moment reached through the publication of BEM by virtue of half a century of patient labor within the Faith and Order Commission of the World Council of Churches. The bold hope of the Faith and Order Commission, according to J. M. R. Tillard, is "to make possible a new and universal Reformation embracing all the Christian traditions—Orthodox, Roman Catholic, as well as Protestant."² BEM is indeed a profound question to the divided churches, both stimulating and perplexing, a question which in future years will probe the depth of their ecumenical commitment at the heart of which is the willingness to walk together on the difficult road to unity.

However, in another way the churches have the right to question the question as a normal part of the reception process. That the BEM document has raised the issue of continuing membership in the World Council for some churches is not surprising. During the long process of reception, unless the goal of unity is set aside as unreachable, BEM will ultimately raise the same issue for all the member churches. The reception of BEM in the Orthodox Churches, although having raised no concerns about continuing membership, is nevertheless a matter of question for many complex reasons. One reason is the preliminary confusion over the meaning of reception. Other reasons have to do with the spiritual readiness, the theological vision, and the canonical ecclesiology of the Orthodox Churches.

As a major ecumenical document BEM does obviously not exist in a vacuum but bears the hopes and ambiguities of the whole ecumenical movement. Its reception in the Orthodox Church is intimately related to the ongoing problematic nature of the Orthodox membership in the World Council—with or without BEM—and specifically its own self-understanding of being the one, holy, catholic and apostolic Church, its place in the World Council, and its joys and frustrations arising from ecumenical engagement. As an ecumenical event BEM raises anew the issue of the relationship of the Orthodox Church to the World

¹ David Gill, ed., *Gathered for Life. Official Report of the Fourth Assembly of the World Council of Churches* (Geneva-Grand Rapids, 1983), p. 45

² J. M. R. Tillard, "BEM: The Call for a Judgment upon the Churches and the Ecumenical Movement," *Mid-Stream* 23, no. 3 (1984) 237

Council. My purpose in this paper is to examine some of the most important of the above reasons bearing on the reception of BEM in the Orthodox Churches in three closely related perspectives—spiritual, theological, and ecclesiological. I do so with the prayerful hope that the two-way questions of the reception process of BEM will cause the Orthodox Church both to renew and to deepen its ecumenical commitment in a hopeful and realistic way.

The Spiritual Challenge

The spiritual challenge raised by BEM has several dimensions such as the contents of BEM which have to do with Christian life and not merely with abstract theology, the implications of BEM for the mutual relations between the churches, and the spiritual readiness of any church seriously determining that church's quality of response to BEM. All these dimensions find their focus in the ecumenical reality which we have called a "fellowship of churches." What is the nature and depth of this fellowship? Has this fellowship matured to a point in which it is able to deal positively with BEM that the fellowship might grow deeper and stronger? Some broader remarks about this fellowship might be helpful.

The 1920 Patriarchal Encyclical, the spiritual breath of the ecumenical movement, challenged all the churches, despite their doctrinal differences, to join in a fellowship (*koinonia*)³ of churches which, on the one hand, would renounce all distrust, bitterness, polemics and proselytism, and, on the other hand, would allow themselves to be rekindled by Christ's love so that the divided churches "should no more consider one another as strangers and foreigners, but as relatives, and as being a part of the household of Christ"⁴ (cf. Eph 2.19). Thanks be to God that, beyond anyone's expectation, the hope of the Patriarchal Encyclical, and others as well, have been fulfilled in just over fifty years of ecumenical labor through the one ecumenical movement chiefly represented by the World Council of Churches. The dream of faith is now a reality: "a fellowship of churches which confess the Lord Jesus Christ as God and Savior according the Scriptures and therefore seek to fulfill together their common calling to the glory of the one God, Father, Son and Holy Spirit." This basis of the World Council is not only a constitutional declaration but also a spiritual affirmation. Membership in the World Council is not merely an act of ecclesiastical formality but above all a spiritual act—an act of ecclesial conscience informed by the Holy Spirit.

³ C. G. Patelos, ed., *The Orthodox Church in the Ecumenical Movement* (Geneva, 1978), p. 40

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 41

But what is the nature of this fellowship? A fellowship is an association of people with common interests and goals, a partnership of equals committed to free and respectful dialogue, a community of friends engaged in living contact—talking, listening, learning, working and growing together in a spirit of mutual trust and love. The heart of this fellowship of churches is the confession of faith in the Lord Jesus Christ. To confess Christ is a response to what he has already done for us. He has loved us first. He has shed his blood on the cross for our forgiveness. He has risen from the dead to renew us by his divine power. He has sealed us with the Spirit of adoption making us sharers of the new covenant. We confess and receive him as Lord because he has already received us as co-heirs of his kingdom. Our common faith in Christ leads us to embrace one another as he has already embraced us. The words of Saint Paul to Jewish and Gentile Christians in the first century ring with awesome ecumenical relevance to the separated churches today: “Therefore, receive (*proslambanete*) one another just as (*kathos kai*) Christ has received (*proselabeto*) you to the glory of God”⁵ (Rom 15.7).

Given the nature of our fellowship of churches, one might then ask to what degree has this fellowship matured in the ecumenical span of three generations? That is the spiritual challenge of BEM which must now be faced squarely because BEM is the result of an official charge of the member churches to the Faith and Order Commission working on their behalf. Let us seek to clear away all unnecessary confusions. BEM is presented to the churches for reception claiming neither exhaustiveness nor infallibility. BEM bears no ecclesial value except that which the member churches themselves may discover in one another through the process of reception. Reception at this early stage of the process by no means implies an official ecclesiastical act of an ultimate nature. The Vancouver Assembly clearly distinguished between, on the one hand, the “official response” of the churches “intended to initiate a process of study and communication” in each church as a body (rather than as individual or groups of individual theologians or church leaders), and, on the other hand, the long-range process of reception according to each church’s own tradition which “will require much time and wide participation at various levels of the church.”⁶ Any official ecclesiastical act pertaining to BEM or aspects thereof might be taken only at the end of this spiritual pilgrimage which could take considerable time.

⁵ See also Ulrich Kuhn, “Reception—An Imperative and an Opportunity,” *Ecumenical Perspectives on Baptism, Eucharist and Ministry*, ed., Max Thurian (Geneva, 1983), p. 171

⁶ *Gathered for Life*, pp. 46-47

Thus the question of the reception of BEM is a question of study, reflection, discussion, reaction and assimilation in the context of the spiritual and ecclesial freedom of the churches. The only authority of BEM is that it is not "their" text but "our" text—a common text of our fellowship. The truth of BEM is not truth deriving from some unquestioned source, or from any one Christian tradition, but truth which the churches themselves are willing to recognize as apostolic truth reflecting the faith of the Church of all ages under the assumption that the Holy Spirit is missing neither from any of the great moments of Christian history nor from any of the churches of the fellowship to-day. The process of reception involves what George Florovsky liked to call "ecumenism in time," not an all or nothing attitude of dialogical agreement in the light of the crystallized traditions of the churches to-day, but a circular process of listening to one another and of listening together to the common heritage of the apostolic faith.⁷ A critical reaction to BEM is not merely saying yes or no to this or that part of BEM but above all entering by means of BEM into a deeper dialogue within the fellowship of churches, giving serious alternatives to the positions of BEM and being willing to exercise self-criticism toward renewal for the sake of the goal of unity. The cutting edge of BEM's witness is less at the point of any of its theological insights and tactical suggestions, all of which can be reformulated in the future as the churches see fit, but more at the point of testing the maturity of the churches as they seek to advance toward unity in the presence of Christ. The burden of BEM lies paradoxically not on itself but on the churches as they are willing or not to develop gradually a true consensus through the long "spiritual process of reception" involving "prayer and meditation, with penitence, thanksgiving, joy and hope."⁸ The spiritual challenge of BEM for all churches is summed up by an invitation to "a genuine ecumenical conversion,"⁹ which would serve as the indispensable, renewed spiritual basis of the fellowship of churches seeking unity in Christ.

Are the Orthodox Churches ready to meet the spiritual challenge of the Lima text? Are we spiritually ready to begin to respond constructively to theological and ecclesial issues of tremendous ecumenical implications? Are we ready to begin to contemplate future ecumenical commitments suggested by the BEM document, as for example the

⁷ See Anton Houtepen, "Reception, Tradition, Communion," *Ecumenical Perspectives*, pp. 145-47

⁸ *Gathered for Life*, pp. 47-48

⁹ Max Thurian and Gunther Gassmann, "The Faith and Order Document on Baptism, Eucharist and Ministry," *Information. Faith and Order*, February 1985, p. 2.

mutual recognition of sacraments, which are of the greatest magnitude for the unity of the divided churches? To begin to deal seriously with these issues is above all a spiritual matter requiring spiritual readiness! By spiritual readiness I mean being alive to the presence of the Spirit, “not taught by human wisdom but taught by the Spirit” (1 Cor 2.13), and interpreting truths with “the mind of Christ” (1 Cor 2.16). To answer these questions yes or no would be presumptuous and unhelpful. Most important is the fact that the Lima text is a concrete ecumenical challenge calling the Orthodox to discern our own spiritual readiness by prayer, study, reflection and self-criticism in order that the Spirit of God may lead us to witness to the fulness of faith and life in Christ. Nicholas Lossky has succinctly described what the spiritual challenge of BEM means for the Orthodox in the first place by using the word *metanoia*/repentance, defining it as a permanent attitude of submission of the human will to the divine. The BEM document forcefully reminds the Orthodox Church, so Lossky puts it, of its vocation of permanent conversion to Orthodoxy truly understood as the fulness of the life in Christ.¹⁰ Authenticity in the fulness of the life in Christ is the indispensable convincing base for any other theological or ecclesial claims within an ecumenical fellowship.

One specific way in which the Orthodox ecumenical commitment will be tested is by the Orthodox readiness to use the Lima text as a study text at various levels and among various groupings in the life of the Church. Reflecting decades of ecumenical experience the BEM document clearly recognizes that the weight of church unity must rest not on a theological “convergence” by theologians and church representatives alone, but on a true “consensus” developed among all the people of God as well, understood as “that experience of life and articulation of faith necessary to realize and maintain the Church’s visible unity.”¹¹ We must admit that the Orthodox record in this respect is not at all encouraging. Ecumenical involvement has engaged: primarily theologians and hierarchs representing the Orthodox Churches in ecumenical meetings in Geneva or elsewhere; to some degree other Orthodox theologians and hierarchs back home; a few lay persons interested in theology and ecumenical relations; and finally and least of all (in some cases perhaps not at all), the Orthodox faithful. The reasons for this are many, among them administrative and spiritual inertia, and deep questions about the ecumenical movement which have

¹⁰ Nicholas Lossky, “A quelle ‘metanoia’ le texte de Lima appelle-t-il l’Eglise Orthodoxe?” *Unité des Chrétiens*, No 57, January 1985, p 23

¹¹ *Baptism, Eucharist and Ministry Faith and Order Paper No 111* (Geneva, 1982) p ix

much greater force back home than in ecumenical meetings. But the fact remains that, as in the case of other churches, we face an enormous process of communication, education and motivation.¹² Some Orthodox theological schools have already begun to use the BEM document as a text in appropriate courses. The Orthodox ecumenical commitment will surely appear formal and superficial unless the Orthodox Churches initiate and monitor identifiable ways of ecumenical education at all levels of church life, involving bishops, theologians, lay leaders, teachers, local congregations and even children in their catechetical schools, as the broader context of the reception of BEM. Given the hierarchical nature of the Orthodox Churches, the bishops of our churches must involve ecumenically all their people in appropriate ways, not only for strategic reasons, but also because the truth of all episcopal and ecclesial commitments must ultimately be accepted by the living experience and the conscience of the people of God.¹³

Another way in which the BEM document will test the spiritual maturity and the ecumenical commitment of the Orthodox Churches will be in our willingness to review and correct actual practices which do not reflect the fulness of faith and life in Christ. One of the key stipulations of the presentation of BEM to the churches by Faith and Order is "the guidance your church can take from this text for its worship, educational, ethical, and spiritual life and witness."¹⁴ BEM is not only an excellent educational text on such matters as the meaning of baptism, the social implications of the eucharist, the spirit of church leadership and many others, but BEM also challenges the churches to deal with lax or even erroneous practices and attitudes perpetuated by uncritical tradition. An early report on BEM by the Orthodox Theological Society in America,¹⁵ which is both positive and reserved in spirit, candidly points out several examples of such practices in the Orthodox Churches. One example is what BEM calls indiscriminate infant baptism, that is, baptism without effective nurturing of parents and baptized children to mature commitment to Christ. The Orthodox report from the United States tersely admits: "This criticism is valid."¹⁶ It goes on to state that "in some practices and attitudes we

¹²See also Jeffrey Gros, "Baptism, Eucharist and Ministry," *One World*, 103 (March 1985) 14

¹³See Kallistos Ware, "The Ecumenical Councils and the Conscience of the Church," *Kanon· Jahrbuch der Gesellschaft für das Recht der Ostkirchen* (Vienna, 1974), 2, especially pp. 22ff.

¹⁴*Baptism, Eucharist and Ministry*, p. x.

¹⁵"A Report on Baptism, Eucharist and Ministry," *The Greek Orthodox Theological Review*, 29 (1984) 401-18.

¹⁶*Ibid* , p. 406

Orthodox have fallen short of providing [an] 'environment of witness and service' (BEM phraseology), and that we must develop a baptismal catechesis in the life of the Church, especially for parents and sponsors, as a basis for effective Christian nurturing of those who are baptized as infants.'"¹⁷ Other examples cited by the same report include passive formalism in worship, an individualistic approach to Holy Communion, the diminishment of the diaconate including the extinction of the office of deaconess, and autocratic clerical authority, all of which cannot stand comfortably under the searching light of BEM seeking to witness to the fulness of the apostolic life.

Thus the spiritual challenge of BEM at its deepest level provides an opportunity for the Orthodox Churches to embark upon a deliberate course of self-renewal, led by the bishops, and consciously aiming at a recovery of the fulness of *orthopraxia*, as well as *orthodoxia*. Otherwise the arduous ecumenical efforts of the Orthodox Churches will not yield abundant fruit to the glory of Christ. The truth of the Orthodox witness, as hinted above, is to be convincingly conveyed not only through symposia, theological literature, and ecumenical encounters, but also through evidence of new life in Christ, sacrificial service to the needy in the world, and genuine Christian fellowship so that others may see and be persuaded by, and not merely told about, the quality of Orthodox faith and life. BEM, as has been stated, has to do with life, and not only with theological agreements or ecclesiastical arrangements. Integral to the reception process of BEM is a process of spiritual renewal within the churches. Giving evidence of the lively presence of the Spirit among us, such renewal would also establish the necessary groundwork for engagement with the difficult theological and ecclesial issues that we face.

Theological Challenge

In the report "Taking Steps Toward Unity" the Vancouver Assembly (1983) proclaimed that "what the churches are asked to receive in this text [BEM] is not simply a document, but in this document the apostolic faith from which it comes, and to which it bears witness" (emphasis is the report's).¹⁸ These weighty words sum up the theological challenge of the Lima text for all the churches: to work toward unity by arriving at a common understanding of the central sacraments of ecclesial life, namely, baptism, eucharist and ordained ministry, on the basis of the *apostolic faith*. The BEM document itself

¹⁷Ibid , p 407 See also Thomas Hopko, "The Lima Statement and the Orthodox," *The Search for Visible Unity*, ed. Jeffrey Gros (New York, 1984), especially pp 60-63, where Hopko writes about BEM's "judgment on the Orthodox "

¹⁸*Gathered for Life*, p 48

appeals to the apostolic faith, the apostolic tradition, and the apostolic ministry. BEM is a theological document but does not stand alone in the quest of unity. The churches agreed in Vancouver that a convincing witnessing unity would bear at least three marks not yet fully shared by the divided churches:¹⁹

- 1) reception of BEM looking to mutual recognition of baptism, eucharist and ministry;
- 2) a common understanding of the apostolic faith, with special attention to the Nicene Creed, through the current second great project of the Faith and Order Commission “Towards the Common Expression of the Apostolic Faith Today;”
- 3) and agreement on common ways of decision-making, ways of teaching authoritatively, and ways of corporate sharing and responsibility in the world.

Since Nairobi (1975) the above critical points have emerged as concrete steps which the churches can follow on the way to unity. Granted the seriousness of our will to unity, each church faces the burden of this question: if not these steps, then *what* steps?

As a theological challenge the BEM document does not seek to define the totality of the apostolic faith. It does not even claim to be an exhaustive theological treatment of the sacraments of baptism, eucharist and ministry. Rather its main purpose is to set down the essentials of the meaning, structure and place of these sacraments in ecclesial life in the light of the apostolic faith. A second important purpose is to lift up traditional points of disagreement, for example infant or adult baptism, and to *suggest* ways of overcoming them in the light of the apostolic faith and without illusions as to easy answers. Anyone who has seriously and honestly studied the New Testament and Church history must admit that in these two tasks the BEM document is on the whole eminently successful. BEM represents an amazing and unprecedented theological convergence which, given the spiritual will to unity as the call of Christ, can lead the churches toward a true consensus of faith and life in conjunction with the other desired marks of unity cited above. BEM is not chiseled on granite. Even essential points can be revised according to the mind of the churches. Indeed the whole document can, and most likely will, be reformulated in the long process of reception. But any church that is willing to attribute any serious theological and historical content to the word “apostolic” cannot evade

¹⁹Ibid , p 19

BEM's theological challenge: if not BEM, then *what?*²⁰

Thus the theological challenge of BEM converges on the meaning of the word "apostolic." One of the key ecumenical questions that has emerged from the work of Faith and Order is: what is the fulness of life in Christ according to the apostolic faith and order? The word "apostolic" is a critical reference to the common heritage of the churches. It would be both unwise and unhelpful to seek to define this word prematurely. It is up to the churches themselves, reflecting on the totality of the Christian ecclesial experience in history, to recognize each in its own life and practice, as well as in the life and practice of the other churches, what is truly apostolic.

However, this is not a vague, slippery word devoid of clear dimensions of meaning. For example, Montreal (1963) long ago set down the ecumenical principle of the centrality of the Gospel as inseparable from its reception by tradition: "Thus we can say that we exist as Christians by the tradition of the Gospel (the *paradosis* of the *kerygma*) testified in Scripture, transmitted in and by the Church through the power of the Holy Spirit" (*Montreal Report*, 2, 45). Similarly the Lima text appeals to the New Testament as well as to the writings of the Fathers (Baptism, 1). Although it does not name or quote any Fathers, its treatment of baptism, eucharist and ministry are anchored on the witness not only of the canonical Scriptures but also of the whole ancient Church. In fact some have expressed a wide opinion that BEM, because of its supposed heavy sacramental theology, primarily challenges those churches which resolutely hold to the supreme authority of Scripture and attach only secondary importance to sacramental life.²¹ But does not the New Testament testify to the importance of baptism (e.g. Rom 6.1-11, despite 1 Cor 1.17) and the eucharist (1 Cor 10.14-22; 11.17-34)? Has not modern scholarship informed us about the fact that the early Church was above all a worshipping Church centered on the eucharist? On the other hand do we not also recognize the supremacy of Scripture in the Church Fathers? Have we not come more and more to acknowledge that apostolic succession must be defined as the continuity of the whole life of the Church bearing testimony to the lordship of Christ by the power of the Spirit? The word "apostolic" is meant precisely to set us on the course of discussing such issues and within such framework in order to arrive at an agreement about the unifying

²⁰Tillard, p. 242, who writes these sobering words BEM "is an arrow at the crossroads Those churches who will not follow the sign will risk either arriving at a dead-end or discovering that they must return to the beginning of the ecumenical journey to see whether there exists another way."

²¹Lukas Vischer, "Unity in Faith," *Ecumenical Perspectives*, pp. 7-8

essentials of the Christian faith, life and order.

What is BEM's theological challenge to the Orthodox Churches? It is interesting first to note that the early patriarchal encyclical on the ecumenical movement actually counted on ecumenical cooperation and fellowship in practical matters and discouraged heavy involvement in doctrinal issues. For example the 1902 Patriarchal and Synodical Encyclical is doubtful about hope any of "union" because:

The Western Church and the Church of the Protestants, . . . having taken their stand as on a base hardened by the passage of time, . . . seem quite disinclined to join on a road to union, such as is pointed out by the evangelical and historical truth; nor do they evince any readiness to do so, except on terms and bases on which the desired dogmatic unity and fellowship is unacceptable to us.²²

The 1920 Patriarchal Encyclical, although replete with strong theological language about the proposed fellowship of churches, is content to suggest many ways of practical and friendly cooperation including "impartial and deeper historical study of doctrinal differences both by *seminaries* and in *books*" (emphasis is the writer's) but is eloquently silent about any face-to-face doctrinal discussions toward unity.²³ Even as late as 1952 another patriarchal encyclical clearly distinguishes between, on the one hand, "the principle aim of the World Council of Churches . . . the cooperation of the Churches on the plane of social and practical issues," and, on the other hand, "the 'Faith and Order' organization [which] still exists as a special Commission of the Council which is occupied exclusively with dogmatic questions."²⁴ The encyclical immediately goes on to warn:

It is meet that any participation by the Orthodox Church in the discussions and operations of this Commission should be avoided, inasmuch as this Commission has for its aim the union (of Churches) by means of dogmatic discussions between delegates of Churches separated from one another by the deepest issues; this should be plainly and categorically stated to the Central Committee of the Council. But it is also necessary that our Orthodox Church should also inform the heterodox about the content of her faith . . . through books written for this special purpose.²⁵

²²*Orthodox Church in the Ecumenical Movement*, p. 30

²³Ibid., pp. 40-43.

²⁴Ibid., p. 45.

²⁵Ibid.

I offer the above references not to pursue the reasons behind the expressed Orthodox reluctance to discuss doctrinal issues, which reasons probably are in the main the perceived lack of any possibility of any success and the risk of impeding cooperation even on the practical plane, but in order to point out that a fellowship of churches *can* exist and be worthy of its name for the purpose of practical cooperation and service to the world in many and immensely important areas. The Orthodox did not necessarily have to join in the work of Faith and Order or they could have joined only as observers. Yet the underlying desire for unity, the predilection of many Orthodox to discuss theology, as well as changing perceptions about the possibilities of unity have led many Orthodox in the last decades to *insist* that the World Council place theology and issues of unity at the center of its agenda, as we all know. This is entirely consistent with the constitutional basis of the World Council, the Orthodox ecumenical commitment, as well as the spiritual responsibility implied by that commitment. The World Council has fulfilled the request of the Orthodox. But now, if the Orthodox Churches show reluctance in genuine engagement with BEM and other Faith and Order projects, they would seem to be contradicting their own expressed desires. Then the fellowship of churches would have a right to say to us: "We piped to you, and you did not dance; we wailed (about unity), and you did not mourn" (Mt 11.17)!

However, given the nature of the process of reception, the Orthodox Churches have no theological reason to hesitate in responding to the BEM document but rather they have reason to rejoice because of the opportunity of witnessing to the fulness of their faith and life in Christ. We should be eager in the spirit of Christian humility, and not in the spirit of triumphalism, to help the other churches of the fellowship to understand the full meaning of the word "apostolic." For example a discussion of the Orthodox understanding of sacrament as *mysterion*, which is grounded in the life of the community of faith, which requires a living faith by the participants, and centers on the action of the Holy Spirit rather than human formulae, would help in BEM's efforts to overcome the false dichotomy between word and sacrament and would help relieve Protestant fears of quasi-magical sacramentalism. The eucharist itself is a fervent prayer of the community of faith, celebrating and appropriating the very content of the Gospel through liturgical action, and looking to Christ as the true High Priest who makes himself present in the whole eucharistic event by the power of the Spirit.

Because as Orthodox we feel that we have maintained over the centuries a remarkable consensus in theology, spirituality, moral teaching and ecclesial life, we can welcome BEM's appeal to the witness of the apostolic tradition and seek to support it on a greater scale. But we

will also be challenged in other ways by the BEM document, and especially by the specifics of what is essential to the apostolic tradition. While BEM strives to help the churches establish a theological coherence of faith and life, it also takes a strong position on behalf of the freedom of the churches regarding those things which are not absolutely essential to unity. Unity is not uniformity, so we have agreed. There is proper unity but there is also proper variety. Have not modern biblical and patristic studies shown to us an almost painful degree of development and variety in writings, forms of worship and practices in the ancient Church, a variety that could not be imagined by most theologians only a few generations ago? How the Orthodox react to the principle of variety when concretely applied, and how strongly we will support the effort to transcend the false dichotomies between Scripture and tradition, word and sacrament, clergy and laity, words of institution and epiklesis, and others, will partly depend on our willingness to absorb the results of contemporary biblical and patristic studies which are clearly presupposed by the Lima text.

One case in point is the long-standing controversy over infant and adult baptism (called “believer’s baptism by BEM with unfortunate connotations for baptized infants who would then seem to have no place in the community of faith). The ancient apostolic tradition witnesses to both practices! Although the practice of infant baptism eventually prevailed, the delay of baptism is also well known at least up to the fifth century. Granted that some of the great Fathers advised against it, and that infant baptism is desirable, but is it also absolutely required from the standpoint of Orthodox theology? Is it a theologically divisive issue? Another far more difficult case in point is that of the forms of the ordained ministry. BEM affirms the priestly, sacramental and constitutive character of the ordained ministry in ecclesial life. It also recommends the three-fold ordained ministry of bishop, presbyter and deacon as a welcome sign of unity but recognizes the variety of church order to which the New Testament and early patristic writings witness. *Episkope* is constitutive in the life of the Church but it can be exercised by means of different names and forms. Is the three-fold pattern absolute to unity? Must the ordained leader of a local church, who exercises the ministry of *episkope*, necessarily be called *episkopos*/bishop, rather than, let us say, *proestos*/president or even *poimen*/shepherd/pastor? Would such differences in vocabulary be theologically divisive? These and other similar issues will have to be thoroughly examined and discussed during the period of the reception of BEM in the light of the best historical and theological scholarship. The Orthodox cannot assume *a priori* that, when the ancient Greek, Latin, Syriac, and Ethiopian Churches had different biblical canons without for that reason being

divided, every aspect of the apostolic tradition must be repeated in ecclesial life today. For the sake of obeying Christ's call, and helping others also to obey it, not only unity but also legitimate variety must be held as equally important.

Another area in which the Orthodox Churches are challenged by BEM is that of the ethical and social implications of the sacraments (e.g., see Baptism, 10; Eucharist, 20,25; Ministry, 4,34). Vancouver (1983) also insisted that concern about unity and sacraments cannot be separated from concern about peace, justice, working against racism, fighting hunger and the like. The Lima text "has underlined for us that baptism, eucharist and ministry are healing and uniting signs of a Church living and working for a renewed and reconciled humankind."²⁶ A truly eucharistic life-style includes "a constant challenge in the search for appropriate relationships in social, economic and political life" (BEM, Eucharist, 20). These are strong words for the Orthodox who are conditioned by their own historical and cultural experience. But Orthodox ecumenical theologians have clearly acknowledged as integral to their own tradition the truth that the Church is the active supporter and defender of suffering humanity in any conditions of suffering on behalf of a loving God.²⁷ It remains a challenge for the Orthodox Churches to apply this truth in appropriate ways according to their particular situations. The Orthodox Churches have every reason to lift up not only the social ethical, but also the personal ethical, implications of the sacraments. Is there to be a new dichotomy between social and personal ethics? Too long Orthodox theologians have been ecumenically silent about grave issues pertaining to personal morality, sexuality and indiscriminate abortion on demand.²⁸ On the way to unity—are we as Orthodox to count the settling of the exact vocabulary of the ordained ministries as more important to God than the resolution of a grave moral problem costing tens of millions of unborn lives annually? Or, according to Orthodox theology, is unity in Christ and the sharing of a common eucharistic table possible among those who hold to diametrically opposite ethical values?

A final theological challenge to the Orthodox Churches arises not from the contents of the BEM document but from what the reception of BEM might mean for the Protestant Churches, especially those deeply impacted by the spirit modern liberalism. Underneath the growing

²⁶Gathered for Life, p 49

²⁷See especially *Martyria/Mission The Witness of the Orthodox Churches Today*, ed Ion Bria (Geneva, 1980)

²⁸This writer somewhat naively tried to raise this issue on the floor of the Vancouver Assembly as one worthy of study, and later was privately supported by a few Protestant representatives and Roman Catholic observers, but to no avail

ecumenical trust a deep anxiety smolders among the Orthodox, an anxiety reflecting the doctrinal hesitations of the patriarchal encyclical quoted above, that the Protestant world will not accept and will not be bound by any doctrinal agreements. Thomas Hopko expresses this Orthodox anxiety when he speaks about worries that "each church will interpret BEM in its own way," that "some churches will not treat [BEM] at all seriously because they consider the issues . . . secondary and unimportant," that the Protestant churches "are no longer capable of acting authoritatively as churches," and that "others may treat the whole effort with indifference, cynicism, or outright contempt."²⁹ These fears are not at all unfounded. Even Protestant ecumenical figures not infrequently make statements which are deeply disquieting to Orthodox doctrinal sensitivities. For example, after the celebration of the Lima Liturgy in Vancouver, in which the Orthodox did not receive Holy Communion for known serious theological reasons, a prominent Protestant ecumenical figure was quoted by the Assembly *Canvas* as saying: "At last, praise God, we can accept together the bread and wine, the body and blood, without those dreadful hangups we've had for so long." This ecumenical figure was obviously speaking about Protestants, but describing theological differences not permitting the sharing of the cup as "dreadful hangups" was not at all reassuring to Orthodox about Protestant seriousness over doctrinal issues. The seeming inertia of the Orthodox Churches in responding to BEM and initiating a process of reception among the Orthodox people is in part preconditioned by this sense of helplessness regarding the value of theological agreements in the face of Protestant freedom of opinion. In the ecumenical journey the Orthodox are likely both to appreciate and to engage more and more in practical ecumenism . . . but can the mainline Protestants ever do the same in doctrinal ecumenism on the basis of classic biblical and patristic categories of faith and life? One can be sure that the Orthodox in the coming years will be watching Protestant reactions not only to BEM but also, and perhaps with greater interest, the parallel project of Faith and Order "Towards the Common Expression of the Apostolic Faith Today."

The Ecclesiological Challenge

The ecclesiological challenge is equally sensitive and difficult. BEM's ultimate purpose is the mutual recognition of sacraments by the churches. Even now BEM gently encourages churches "to attain a greater measure of eucharistic communion" (BEM, Eucharist 33). Although it speaks about "the Church," "the apostolic Church," and

²⁹Hopko, pp. 56-57

“the Church of every time and place,” the Lima text does not explicitly deal with the doctrine of the Church. Therefore it leaves itself open to the criticism that the sacraments in BEM seem to be unrelated to one another and seem somehow to stand in mid-air. One Orthodox theologian expressed his concern about the precedence of the Church with this oral declaration in Vancouver: “Not where *sacraments* are, there also is the Church, but rather where the *Church* is, there also are sacraments.”

But it would be entirely unfair to expect BEM to begin with the ecclesiological problem. This problem can be addressed directly, at any rate for the Orthodox, only when the process of the reception of BEM matures and when the eventual process of reception of a common expression of faith is also completed. A common confession of faith is a prerequisite to the full reception of BEM and to agreement on any other particular issues of ecclesiological nature. Meanwhile we must rest on the principle that the only doctrinal criterion for joining the World Council of Churches is its trinitarian basis. Toronto (1950) affirmed that membership does not imply surrender of a church’s ecclesiology, nor acceptance of that of another. The World Council, as it often repeats to minimize confusion on this matter, has no ecclesial status or ecclesial authority of its own.

But of course that is not the whole story. A deep ecclesiological tension exists in the World Council of Churches, and is inevitably carried by BEM as a document of the World Council. This tension, which is felt most sharply by the Orthodox Churches, is in part intrinsic to the ecumenical venture and will not be resolved until the ecumenical journey reaches its goal. But the tension can be discussed, clarified and appropriately treated so as to remain a creative tension prompting the churches toward unity rather than a negative one generating unnecessary frustration. This tension is between, on the one hand, the *implied* ecclesiology of the World Council of Churches and BEM which is so loud, and, on the other hand, the *explicit* ecclesiology of the Orthodox Churches constituting the one, holy, catholic and apostolic Church which is so silent in the ecumenical arena. The fruits of this tension are misunderstanding and impatience for many Protestants and frustration and disillusionment for many Orthodox. Whatever the growing trust among ecumenical theologians and church representatives, the Orthodox Churches as churches will not be able to take the World Council seriously as *their* Council and BEM as *their* document, until the unnecessary and negative side of this tension is relieved, which is a responsibility of both the Orthodox Churches and the Council. Because this ecclesiological problem is one of the crucial factors determining the reception of BEM by the Orthodox Churches, it is necessary to deal

with it in the last section of this paper.

The entire family of canonical Orthodox Churches has not slackened but rather increased in recent years its ecumenical commitment to the quest for Christian unity through participation in the World Council of Churches and in bilateral dialogues. One might venture to say that Orthodox ecumenical involvement will continue on a more effective basis as Orthodox ecumenical participation matures and as the Orthodox people, clergy and laity, are appropriately informed about the true bases and goals of Orthodox ecumenism in all its forms. The Orthodox Churches owe an immense gratitude in particular to the World Council of Churches not only for innumerable spiritual, educational and material benefits but also for the Council's conscious or unconscious help in bringing the Orthodox Churches into the world context of the twentieth century as living rather than ancient churches. Not least of all the World Council has also helped in generating greater interaction among the Orthodox Churches themselves in our century. Notwithstanding these and many other benefits, the Orthodox Churches are deeply committed to the World Council of Churches for spiritual and theological reasons: 1) the call to fulfill Christ's will for unity; 2) the imperative of witnessing to the faith and order of the one, holy, catholic and apostolic Church; and 3) the urgent mandate of Christian cooperation in practical matters, common witness and service to the world. Whatever the obstacles, the Orthodox Churches cannot cease ecumenical engagement and remain true to their own mission in the world. Christ requires it. The very nature of the Church requires it. Christian love and truth require it. The needs of the world require it.

And yet, as we know, the Orthodox Churches have been experiencing an ecclesiological "discomfort" of considerable magnitude within the World Council of Churches (as have other churches for their own reasons). On a corporate level this sense of discomfort, at times perhaps suffocation, broke out through *The Sofia Consultation*,³⁰ an aggressive, even strident voicing of Orthodox feelings about the nature of Orthodox involvement in the World Council of Churches. Whatever the right or wrong claims of *The Sofia Consultation*, the discomfort must be effectively addressed. It was again felt in Vancouver (1983) on several occasions, especially when an issue of clear Orthodox interest was raised on the Assembly floor and unwisely brought to a vote, and then of course the Orthodox were simply overwhelmed by the Protestant majority. This was not merely defeat: this was humiliation, unintended and momentary as it was. A similar painful moment on a personal level,

³⁰ *The Sofia Consultation. Orthodox Involvement in the World Council of Churches*, ed Todor Sabev (Geneva, 1982)

if the writer is allowed a brief reference to his personal experience in Vancouver, occurred during the Lima Eucharist which was otherwise for him an impressive and inspiring event. At the time of Holy Communion, he was compelled, because the rows of chairs were so close together, to follow the immediate participants, and then to come before one of the many Communion Cups along the aisles, and thus having to *reject the Cup* according to his conscience—a personal moment of unprecedented pain and humiliation. Of course this “judgment” of conscience by compulsion was unintended but apparently those responsible for the arrangement of the reception of Holy Communion, although the worship committee included Orthodox, forgot all the hundreds of Orthodox Christians present and their own deep sensitivities pertaining to Holy Communion. In their enthusiasm the Protestants in many ways wanted to involve the Orthodox in the celebration of the Lima Eucharist without, of course, compelling them to receive Holy Communion. While some Orthodox did not seem to mind participating officially in the service, of course not taking Holy Communion, others were deeply disquieted by it and viewed the Protestant warm hospitality in this case as an expression of an embrace of overbearing love.

I mention all of the above with the conviction that, as a matter of sensitive ecumenical policy and courtesy, such things should not occur—and that includes some of the words and part of the spirit of *The Sofia Consultation*, too. My point is that the unnecessary and unhelpful part of the tension can be relieved only by finding a sensitive balance in the relationship between the Orthodox Churches and the World Council without compromising the integrity and the rights of either. When I speak of balance I mean that the Orthodox Churches are within the Council but also outside of the Council constituting one Orthodox Church in a unique way not applicable to other member churches. The memorandum from the Ecumenical Patriarchate in *The Sofia Consultation* clearly states: “The Orthodox Church is not the same as its other member churches and that local Orthodox Churches cannot be considered and treated simply as ‘ecclesiastical bodies.’ ”³¹ Without such a balance the Orthodox Churches will continue to feel at best as “guests” within the massive fellowship of churches and at worst as “co-opted” in various ways by it. It is not a question of dominance and control but a question of Christian love and freedom on both sides for the sake of authentic ecumenical engagement. The finding of this balance is the responsibility not only of the World Council but of the Orthodox Churches themselves truly working together as one Orthodox Church.

I want to make clear that I am not suggesting that the basic problem

³¹Ibid., p. 69

is simply administrative. It is rather ecclesiological. The overwhelming tone, literature and vision of the World Council as a “conciliar fellowship” both presupposes and seeks to give practical expression to a Protestant ecclesiology, one that simultaneously holds to the historical divisions and also the spiritual unity of all the Christian churches. Since all churches somehow share an essential unity in Christ, what remains is to *manifest this unity* more fully and visibly through theological agreement, practical cooperation, common witness and a consensus of faith and life among the churches that would lead to the desired common cup. Some of these ideas, at least in limited ways, are correct from the perspective of Orthodox theology because all the churches confess the Triune God and seek sincerely to serve him in spirit and truth. We must also recognize the right of Protestant member churches to voice such an ecclesiology within the World Council and to act with one another in ways that are appropriate to this ecclesiology. But the World Council *as a council* must not allow—and this is the crux of the problem—Protestant ecclesiology to dominate its spirit and documents, especially significant documents such as BEM, because as a matter of course and to an inverse degree the ecclesial witness of the Orthodox Churches being the one, holy, catholic and apostolic Church is silenced.³² Whether implicitly or explicitly both types of ecclesiology must be given attention and must be brought into positive dialogue in appropriate ways especially in key documents.

A subtle but powerful indication of the implicit dominance of Protestant ecclesiology, to give another example, may be discerned in the more or less official World Council terminology which applies the expression “the Church” (with capital “C”) to the assumed larger reality of the invisible Church somehow already existing and to be more fully manifested in the future, while the expression “the churches” (with small “c”) is applied to the divided Christian bodies, including the Orthodox Churches. That these expressions are more than stylistic matters is indicated by another equally subtle but powerful tendency in ecumenical language to refer to the Orthodox reality by means of the plural “Orthodox churches” rather than the singular “Orthodox Church” with obvious, if unconscious implications. In other words Protestant ecclesiology is so deeply assumed and so overwhelmingly prevalent in the tone and literature of the World Council that to many Protestants, in many cases because of unfamiliarity pertaining to the historic position

³²Thus in the context of responding to BEM the Orthodox Theological Society in America finds it necessary to explicate that “the Church of Christ, in its fulness, is not merely a spiritual reality reflected in a host of the Christian communities with differing confessions and liturgical practices. Rather, she is a concrete historical reality that we understand to be the Holy Orthodox Church,” p. 401

of the Orthodox Church, authentic Orthodox ecclesiological statements smack of "ecclesiological triumphalism," "theological imperialism," or a "theology of glory," unworthy of the Lord who washed his disciples' feet and offered himself on the cross for the life of the world. Thus in spite of the Toronto principle, and in spite of the clear principles of Orthodox ecumenism, the Orthodox Churches are placed by force of uncritical circumstances in a defensive position and our representatives are time and again pressured to surrender explicit expressions of their own ecclesiology by reason of the prevailing ecumenical dynamics.

Unfortunately we Orthodox representatives involved in the ecumenical movement not only have yielded to this pressure, undoubtedly not to risk raising extremely sensitive issues, but also have at times served as unwitting promoters of this assumed and prevalent ecclesiology. To give an example from a statement by Orthodox theologians drafted at the "Consultation on the Church's Struggle for Justice and Unity" in Crete (1975):

. . . all should strive in their churches [note small "c"] and traditions to deepen the fulness of the apostolic faith embodied in a fully ecclesial life . . . No church is therefore required to lose its distinctive character . . . The unity of the Church [note capital "C"] should be understood as common participation in the true Tradition . . . given by Christ . . . a unity which increases . . . a dynamic process . . . towards the perfect unity which will only be revealed at the end of time . . .³³

The above statement is tantalizingly ambiguous confusing two kinds of unity by means of theological "ecumenese." It is true insofar as a *spiritual unity* of hearts and minds is concerned, a unity that can wane and wax, a unity that should be pursued among the Orthodox themselves. But it is not true insofar as the *ecclesial unity* of the one, holy, catholic and apostolic Church is concerned, identified by objective doctrinal, sacramental and canonical boundaries, whatever the spiritual shortcomings of its diverse members.

Still more unfortunate are occasional liturgical instances in which Orthodox hierarchs and theologians seem to cross over proper guidelines of ecumenical worship. Yes, we are committed to ecumenical prayer

³³ *Orthodox Church in the Ecumenical Movement*, p. 117 The above words are quoted from several paragraphs in the original For another example of ecumenical ecclesiological ecumenese hesitating to identify the Orthodox Church as the one, holy, catholic and apostolic Church, see the Damascus Statement in preparation for the Vancouver Assembly (1983) in *Jesus Christ—the Life of the World*, ed Ion Bria (Geneva, 1982) pp 12-14

and ecumenical prayer services. Prayer gives us spiritual unity by the grace of God. Prayer is essential to our quest for ecclesial unity. But what happened in Vancouver at the Lima Eucharist, so at least this writer would strongly counsel, should not again occur. At the Lima Eucharist Orthodox hierarchs and priests officially participated in the great liturgical entrance, proceeded up into the area of liturgical action, recited liturgical prayers, read biblical readings, and then stepped down from that area in order not to take part in the eucharist proper and, of course, not to receive Holy Communion. But can the eucharist be divided in that fashion? Does not BEM itself instruct us that "the whole action of the eucharist has an 'epikletic' character" (BEM, Eucharist, 16)? Is not the whole eucharist one sacramental event? Did not participation in the Lima Eucharist blur, where it should have made clear by means of painful regrets, authentic witness to Orthodox ecclesiology on the part of the Orthodox themselves? To this writer, the act of "stepping down" at a crucial point in the Lima Eucharist seemed not only superficial but actually more offensive than official non-participation would have been. I also had mixed feelings about the Orthodox Liturgy as an ecumenical event, which was impressively celebrated amidst a throng of Protestants and Orthodox. Not only were the Orthodox cast in the role of being "observed" by the Protestants, but also some Protestants were pained and offended by not being able to receive Holy Communion. For all these reasons, I do not think that it is helpful to celebrate eucharists in such ecumenical contexts where some would receive Communion and others would not.

Therefore the Toronto statement and other basic ecumenical principles now and then clarified by the World Council do not of themselves relieve the ecclesiological confusion as far as the Orthodox are concerned, although the frequent articulation of these basic principles is a necessary reminder about the true nature of the World Council and the Orthodox Church. In addition careful steps must be taken in order to clear up this ecclesiological confusion which fundamentally weakens the Orthodox ecumenical involvement by blurring the authenticity of the Orthodox witness. The Orthodox Churches have sufficiently matured in the ways of ecumenism within the World Council to pursue these steps in a proper spirit and with proper leadership, steps which may initially appear challenging to the fellowship of churches but will in the long run strengthen it by means of genuine theological dialogue on the basis of the true positions of the member churches. What are, then, some of these steps?

The first step, as many Orthodox theologians have already suggested, is a more essential qualitative and quantitative participation in the work of the World Council, i.e., an actualization of the Orthodox

presence applying across the board and involving administration, finances, policies, commissions and programs. The twenty-three percent quota system for Orthodox representation is not of itself the answer, and Orthodox insistence on it would seem to make us both tiresome and impinging on the rights of other churches. A key structural answer is needed by which the Orthodox Churches can work as one Orthodox Church with respect to the World Council, without necessarily ceasing individual membership. Just because all the Orthodox Churches entered into the World Council individually, the future nature of their involvement and membership does not have to remain unchanged. Perhaps the establishment of a Pan-Orthodox Ecumenical Commission with a permanent office at the Patriarchal Orthodox Center in Geneva, coordinating Orthodox ecumenical priorities and strategies, could be a first move toward finding the right answer *within* the World Council. Perhaps a balanced answer may not be found until the Roman Catholic Church itself is engaged in this discussion in the hope of also joining the World Council. In any case it is imperative that the Orthodox Churches, along with the right of their individual membership in the World Council, should find ways of representing themselves and acting as one Orthodox Church within the Council, if their ecclesiological witness is to bear weight.

A second step is a more clear explication of Orthodox ecclesiology in an ecumenical context which would do justice both to authentic Orthodox ecclesiology and to the deep Orthodox commitment to contemporary ecumenism renouncing superficial triumphalism and traditional polemics. This task belongs primarily to Orthodox leaders and theologians themselves. Much has already been done in the area of eucharistic ecclesiology. Now there is a need for a clear articulation of the value of *canonical unity* as a sign of ecclesial unity from an Orthodox perspective. The ecclesial unity of the one, holy, catholic and apostolic Church has never been lost but endures in the ongoing history of the family of canonical Orthodox Churches. Orthodox ecclesiology holds to the principle that ecclesial unity can neither be historically existent nor theologically conceived except as a full communion of a family of churches united doctrinally, sacramentally and *canonically*. The reading of the diptychs is not merely a formal but rather an essential sign of ecclesial unity. Canonicity is not only a legal but also theological notion expressing a mutual sharing of the catholicity of the Church as an ongoing historical reality. To ignore or be silent about the fact that the one, holy, catholic and apostolic Church has a street address dismays the Orthodox, especially the Orthodox back home, and serves no purpose as far as an ultimate solution to the ecclesiological problem of the World Council of Churches is concerned.

A third step is the involvement of a more clear and properly balanced ecclesiological phraseology in all World Council affairs and documents in order to maintain the integrity of Orthodox ecclesiology while neither slighting other member churches nor suggesting necessary compliance by them to Orthodox ecclesiological principles, unless of course they become freely and inwardly convinced of the truth of these principles. The quality and timing of Orthodox initiatives in this regard are, to be sure, extremely sensitive matters. Superficial triumphalism is entirely out of bounds, one might even say, reprehensible to a true ecumenical spirit. The Christian principles of love and freedom do not allow even hints of demands of capitulation on any points but only genuine dialogue in mutual trust and respect with a prayerful seeking to persuade each other openly and without defensive attitudes about the truth of the distinctive positions of the member churches—in order that Christ himself may convert us to the one Truth.

But the ecclesiological problem cannot be silenced or confused without doing a disservice to true ecumenism within the World Council or other councils of churches throughout the world. How the ecclesiological problem is to be elucidated is the responsibility of all the member churches. The Orthodox should not again request the issuance of separate statements but rather seek a clearer ecclesiological phraseology and economically formulated expression of their distinctive ecclesiological and doctrinal views on key issues whenever these are treated in ecumenical documents. At the same time it should be made clear that the Orthodox are not in the World Council only to witness to the Orthodox faith but also to share in a common witness and to learn from other Christians as well. Thus, while the dynamic process of spiritual unity among the member churches toward a more perfect unity may be recognized, and while the truth that the Orthodox Churches, too, need to live the fulness of the apostolic life by ongoing spiritual renewal may also be affirmed, nevertheless the ecclesial self-understanding of the Orthodox Church that it is the one, holy, catholic and apostolic Church need not be held under a bushel but rather be humbly proclaimed as part of an ecumenism of truth in love. Too, this claim is a terrible burden on the family of Orthodox Churches to manifest convincingly their ecclesial unity in their mutual relations and common witness.

A fourth and final step in dealing with the ecclesiological problem is a courageous exploration on the part of the Orthodox pertaining to the ecclesial status not of the World Council as a Council, but of the member churches, i.e., an effort to articulate in what positive sense, wherever possible, a member church possesses ecclesial reality no matter how provisional or incomplete that reality is. That the Orthodox

Church is the one, holy, catholic and apostolic Church does not at imply that other Christian churches are nothing. Is acceptance of the trinitarian basis of the World Council an ecclesial sign in terms of doctrine? Is acceptance of the Lima text an ecclesial sign in terms of the sacraments? Are living faith in Christ, vigorous worship and true preaching of the Gospel by the power of the Spirit ecclesial signs? Are selfless love, effective mission and sacrificial service to the world in the name of Christ ecclesial signs? Yes, by all means!

Traditionally the Orthodox Churches have not developed positive means of relating to other Christian bodies but rather have looked upon them in the categories of schism and heresy which could be healed only by repentance and return to the Orthodox Church. But these categories are wholly inappropriate in the context of the World Council of Churches involving historic Protestant Churches with centuries of tradition, teaching and witness, and which were never related to the Orthodox Church. Wholesale renunciation of their tradition and massive capitulation to contemporary Orthodoxy would be as unrealistic as it would be wrong. The Orthodox need to realize that this avenue to Christian unity is closed. Rather the Orthodox need to accept the necessity of a long period of growth in a spiritual unity of hearts and minds through authentic dialogue and cooperation, and of witnessing to the key signs of the fulness of apostolic faith and order, while fervently praying for a day when by God's grace other churches may become ready to consider and to discuss communion with the family of Orthodox Churches without surrendering their autonomy. Meanwhile the Orthodox leaders and theologians need gradually to express themselves on the ecclesial status of other churches in the spirit of Vatican II or at least on the fundamental signs of ecclesial reality in any separated church, if the Orthodox ecumenical commitment is to have deep value, and if the Orthodox witness to the fulness of the apostolic faith, life and order is to carry ringing conviction.



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work being accomplished by the Commission's Desk for Orthodox Studies and Relationships was presented, and the creation of an advisory group for Orthodox Studies was proposed. Reports were also submitted by the sub-units on Church and Society and on Dialogue with People of Living Faiths and Ideologies.

Unit 2 on Justice and Service consists of reports from the Commission of the Churches on International Affairs, the Commission on Inter-Church Aid, Refugees, and World Service, and a report on the Programme to Combat Racism, as well as reports from the Commission on the Churches' Participation in Development and the Christian Medical Commission.

Unit 3 on Education and Renewal provides reports on the following sub-units: Education, The Programme on Theological Education, Renewal and Congregational Life, Women in Church and Society, and Youth. With regard to the Orthodox Church, it is noted that the sub-unit on Women in Church and Society "calls for a more thorough dialogue with Orthodox churches on their understanding of the role of women." Furthermore, the sub-unit on Youth has established working relationships with Syndesmos.

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The Resurrection of Jesus: A Jewish Perspective. By Pinchas Lapides. Trans. Wilhelm C. Linss. Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1983. Pp. 160. \$8.95, paper.

The resurrection of Jesus has been the point of separation between Christians and Jews throughout the centuries. The recent openness and ecumenical dialogue between committed followers of these two great religions gave the opportunity for an objective and sympathetic view of each other.

This volume was written by a committed and practicing Orthodox Jew. Professor Pinchas Lapides, a Jewish New Testament scholar who lives and teaches in Germany has been active for several years in promoting dialogue and good will between Christians and Jews. His numerous books, as evidenced by the themes that he treats, are of interest to both Christians and Jews and bring greater understanding among both followers. Professor Carl E. Braaten gives a succinct theological introduction to the book that should be very useful to the reader.

The importance of this volume is that the author openly states that he believes in the physical resurrection of Jesus as a historical event.

He goes into Hebrew sources to prove this thesis. I am delighted that an Orthodox Jew declares his faith in the Easter event as a Jewish faith experience. This declaration goes further than some liberal Protestant theologians and clergy do who preach the Gospel yet deny the empty tomb. That which makes Professor Lapides stop short of becoming a Christian is the issue of the messiahship of Jesus.

The author uses the Hebrew religious and biblical literature and typology to prove the resurrection of Jesus. I am convinced that he is right, that only within the context of Hebrew Weltanschauung is it possible to accept the bodily resurrection of Jesus. Within the Greek philosophical dualism and the concept of the body as "prison" or "evil" the resurrection is an impossibility. The author points out that there were two traditions within Judaism, the Sadducees who rejected resurrection, and the Pharisees who supported the resurrection of the dead, even of individuals. It is this tradition that persists in Judaism to this day and within this framework the resurrection of Jesus is believable among Jews. For Dr. Lapides the resurrection of Jesus is a "must" if the Jew is to continue to believe in the loving and caring God who is the compassionate and liberating Father. He says: "Jesus *must* rise in order that the God of Israel can continue to live as their heavenly Father in their hearts; in order that their lives will not become Godless and without meaning" (p. 89).

The author answers the ancient and modern objections (beginning with Celsus, second century A.D.) to why Jesus did not appear to the general public after the resurrection, by bringing to light numerous occasions from the Hebrew Bible and literature that give proof to the authenticity of the event. Professor Lapides states, "True faith experience has never been a mass phenomenon but a special gift of a few, of the clairaudient, of the metaphysically gifted, and of the sensitive" (p. 119). He enumerates countless examples beginning with Abraham, Jacob, Moses, Elijah, and more.

The author gives countless quotes of ancient and modern rabbis who expressed their opinion favoring the resurrection of Jesus. They contend that a great religion such as Christianity could not begin and spread based on a "lie" or an "illusion." For most Jewish scholars Jesus is the holy one of God who prepares the way for the Messiah. It is significant that the author boldly states, "The disciples of Jesus stood solidly within their native Judaism to which belongs also the unequivocal faith in the resurrection" (p. 136).

I see in this book a great step forward in the dialogue between Christians and Jews. For several years I have been personally involved in a meaningful dialogue with Jews. I have a slight hesitation in accepting the total thesis of the present book. That is, if we rid all the supposed

additional material or non-Judaic sources of the Christian faith, Christianity becomes a Jewish sect. It is evident that in the early embryonic stage of church history there were Jewish sects that were rejected by both Judaism and Christianity. One case is that of the Ebionites who accepted the supposed "Jewish" Jesus, but were not themselves accepted as normative. The Gospel need not be "dehellenized" but rather understood in its fullness as the message of salvation "to the Jew first and to the Greek."

In spite of this hesitation I find the book to be most helpful in promoting a genuine and honest, open dialogue between the two great religions that could find their ultimate fellowship in God the Father. I would recommend this book as a required reading for all Christians and Jews involved in dialogue in order to understand the similarities and differences in their faith commitment. In addition I would recommend this book to all Christians and Jews as a *must* reading to understand each other. Christians have a vague understanding of Jews through the reading of the Old Testament, but Jews seldom if ever have any knowledge of Christian doctrines. The opportunity is given to all, through this book, to acquire a greater knowledge of Judaism and Christianity. Clergy and educators especially must read this book in order to acquire a genuine knowledge by abandoning the "myths" and "rumors" and accusations that both Christians and Jews level against each other. This book is a classic that offers a lasting contribution to the dialogue between Christians and Jews. The end of the book includes a "glossary" and a brief bibliography that will be extremely useful to the reader.

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Jewish Monotheism and Christian Trinitarian Doctrine. A Dialogue
by Pinchas Lapides and Jurgen Moltmann. Trans. Leonard Swidler.
Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1981. Pp. 93.

Our age is known as the "age of dialogue." The dialogue method of conversation between equals was not known until the twentieth century. The contemporary definition of "dialogue" is that which occurs when two partners engage in discourse on equal grounds. The present state of dialogue especially between Christians and non-Christians and between different types of Christians has become commonplace. In the past, dialogue presupposed conversion from one idealism or religious affirmation by one partner of the dialogue who usually had the advantage



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The Resurrection of the Body According to Saint John of the Ladder

JOHN CHRYSSAVGIS

TO SPEAK OF THE RESURRECTION OF THE DEAD may prove a scandal to many. But an even greater scandal may be caused by speaking of a resurrection *before* our death as an indication of the resurrection after death, a resurrection of the *living* as a prefiguration of the resurrection of the dead, a resurrection *here and now* which would give one a glimpse of the eschatological resurrection (Ps 26.13). It is precisely the monks, according to Abba Serapion, who desire to anticipate, and who enjoy hearing of, this resurrection.¹ Gregory of Nyssa refers to the monk as “a kind of frontier between death and life,”² a reference which indicates the prophetic function of monks: they are prophets of the mysteries of the age to come.³ Although John of the Ladder does not, in fact, refer anywhere to Christ’s transfiguration as an anticipation of the final resurrection, the idea of an anticipated resurrection is clearly implied in his statements regarding the “resurrection of the soul before the general

¹ Ἐπιστολὴ πρὸς μονάζοντας 7 and 10; PG 40.932D and 936D. The notion of man’s resurrection can also be found in Pachomios’ *First Greek Life* 56, where Pachomios compares it to Christ’s resurrection. The pledge of our resurrection is Christ himself: cf. *Ἀποφθέγματα*, Theodora 10 (ed. Guy, p. 23) and Symeon the New Theologian, *Κατηχήσεις* 13. Barsanuphios 607 speaks of resurrection as of *now*. John Moschos, *Λειμών*, Kosmas 171 (PG 87.304B) says that the reward in heaven will be in accordance with man’s resurrection on earth. Other examples of a resurrection *here and now* can be found in *Ἀποφθέγματα*, Pambo 12 (PG 65.372A) and Nau 235 (1909, p. 362); Mark the Monk *Κεφάλαια νηπτικὰ* 26 (PG 65.1068B) and Abba Isaiah, *Λόγος* 29, 1. The hesychasts of the fourteenth century also spoke similarly: cf. Gregory of Sinai, *Chapter* 55 and Gregory Palamas, *Triads* 1.3.34-38 and 3.33 and 40.

² *Περὶ παρθενίας* 13 (PG 46.377AC).

³ Cf. Palamas *Ἀγιορειτικὸς Τόμος*, p. 188 (PG 150.1228A).

resurrection,”⁴ which reveal the potential spirituality of created nature. Mark the Monk notes that such a resurrection in no way detracts from the resurrection on the Last Day: “We have said these things neither excluding the future events nor limiting the universal retribution to the present life.”⁵ But in the words of Isaac the Syrian, one is able to “breathe from here of the air of that resurrection.”⁶ Symeon the New Theologian was to take up John’s terminology and speak of “the spiritual rebirth and resurrection of the dead souls in a spiritual manner,”⁷ but both he and John, although they do not deny the resurrection of the body, are not as explicit about it as Gregory Palamas was in the fourteenth century.⁸

For John, however, it is precisely the person who shows a comprehensive attitude towards the body, and who has a vision of God’s splendor in the body, that is said to “have risen incorruptible before the general resurrection.”⁹ John’s distinction between the two resurrections is not on the level of body-soul but rather on the level of before and after death. For the Fathers, the body tends to denote the whole person, and so does the soul. In the above quotation, John simply tells his readers that transfiguration is possible here and now. While yet alive on this earth, man can place his body on God’s throne—“man is rapt (Ἐξεστηκώς) as though in heaven.”¹⁰ These passages are found in the twenty-ninth Step of the *Ladder* which concerns dispassion (*apatheia*); and this is significant, because like dispassion the

⁴ 29 title (1148A), 2 and 4 (1148BD), 15 58 (892D) and 6 20 (796C-97B) The distinction between the two stages of resurrection—first of the soul and later of the body—is also found in Evagrios of *Gnostic Chapters* 5 19 and 22. For reference in other Fathers, cf Chrysostom, *Λογος παρανετικος εις Θεοδωρον ἐκπεσοντα* 1 13 (PG 47 295), Basil, *On Psalm 44* (PG 29 400CD), Makarios, *Ουιλαι* 5, 8 and 9, 11, 1, in this passage, Makarios speaks of “a twofold resurrection of souls and bodies”, Mark the Monk, *Περι τοῦ θειου βαπτισματος* (PG 65 1009BD) Cf also Symeon the New Theologian, *T G P* 1 76, *Κατηχησεις* 8, Gregory of Sinai, *Chapters* 38 and 47, Kallistos/Ignatios, *Century* 16, 100, 67 and 96

⁵ *Περι τῶν οἰομενῶν* 137, PG 65 952A Cf also Athanasios, *Bιος Αντωνιου τοῦ Μεγαλου* 91 (PG 26 972B) and Barsanuphios 607

⁶ *Mystic Treatises* (Amsterdam, 1923), p 211, cf also pp 305 and 377

⁷ Step 6

⁸ *Triads* 1 3 33 But for Gregory Palamas, too, the “first resurrection” is that of the soul cf *Περι τῆς κατα σαρκα τοῦ Κυριου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ οικονομιας*, *Hom 16* (PG 151 217A) and *Περι παθῶν και ἀρετῶν* (PG 150 1049D) Baptism is also regarded by many Fathers as a prelude to bodily resurrection cf Mark the Monk, *Περι τοῦ θειου βαπτισματος* (PG 65 1009A), Nilos, *Letter 3 135* (PG 79 445D) and *Προς την σεμνο-πρεπεστατην Μαγγαν* 50 (PG 79 1033B) Cf also J Danielou, *Platonisme et theologie mystique. Doctrine spirituelle de Saint Gregoire de Nysse* (Paris, 1953), p 57

⁹ 15 58 (893A)

¹⁰ 29 3 (1148C) The emphasis on the word “rapture” (Ἐκστασις) shows that it is a result of outgoing love for God

resurrection is something one continually strives for, something of which one can have a foretaste and which one can anticipate.

Even as Christ is God-Man in heaven, one can become man-God, by God's grace, on earth, though subject to death. The angel tells John that he cannot reach the state in which Christ is because he does not possess the "fire of incorruption."¹¹ It seems that man's "incorruption" on earth can only be tasted partially, incipiently, as first fruits or pledge. When one reaches dispassion, one has also attained to such incorruptibility,¹² but it appears that this is not a permanent state. John is not particular in explaining what the resurrection on the Last Day will be like, as distinct from the one we experience now. What matters for him is that here and now, in this life, man can transfigure his body and nature and the whole created universe into a gift for God, for his glory and beauty, into a true cosmos. It may appear somewhat morbid, but for the Fathers, just as the resurrection is anticipated, so, by analogy, is death.¹³ John emphasizes the significance of the remembrance of death (*μνήμη θανάτου*) which renounces the fallen body.¹⁴

What has been said so far also sheds light on the Orthodox veneration of the relics of saints and of pieces of their clothing as part of their bodies. There is no sharp distinction between the two: Saint Peter performed many miracles in the early years of the Church (Acts 3), but we are also told of others effected by his shadow alone (Acts 5.15). The bleeding woman was healed by touching Christ's garment (Mt 9.20). In the *Life of Anthony* many people want to touch Anthony and in the *First Greek Life* it is written of Pachomios that a woman with the issue of blood "touched the cowl on his head and was healed immediately."¹⁵ The idea is the same when John tells us of the monk Menas whose body, after death, gives off a sweet-smelling fragrance: "The whole place where the saint was resting was filled with fragrance. . . . We all saw that fragrant myrrh was flowing like two fountains from

¹¹27.ii, 13 (1109C).

¹²29.2 (1148BC).

¹³Regarding the death of the soul, cf. Basil, *Όμιλία δτι οὐκ ἔστιν αἴτιος τῶν κακῶν δ Θεδς 7* (PG 31.345A). Cf. also Gregory of Sinai, *Chapters* 34 and 37 and Palamas (*On Divine and Divinizing Participation* 8) who speaks of the death of the soul here and now.

¹⁴16.20 (929A).

¹⁵Ch. 41. The reference to the *Βίος . . . Αντωνίου τοῦ Μεγάλου* by Athanasios is 70 (PG 26.9410); cf. also 92 (972C-73A); cf. also Theodoret, *Φιλόθεος Ιστορία*; Palladios 7.4 (1365D); Aphraate, 8, 13 (1376D); and Peter 9.15 (1388B); *History of Monastics* 8; Apollo 6; 13 John 9; Palladios, *Λαυσαϊκά*, Domnenos 84; Barsanuphios 123 and 174; Cyril of Scythopolis, *Life of Sabas*, 63 and *Life of Euthymios*, 40; John Moschos, *Λειμών*, Kosmas 40 (PG 87.2893A) and John 87 (PG 2944CD); *Ἀποφθέγματα*, Arsenios 42 (PG 65.105D-08B). On relics, cf. Gregory Palamas, *Πρὸς Διονύσιον* 5 and *Triads* 2.2.12.

his precious feet.”¹⁶ Chrysostom has this to say about the effect of grace on the relics of the saints: “It flows from the soul to the body, and from the body to the clothes, and from the clothes to the sandals, and from the sandals to the shadows.”¹⁷ John’s theology of the body enables him to see in the transfiguration of the dead monk, a resurrection before the Resurrection. This is pointed out still more strictly in the example of the empty tomb of Hesychios the Horebite (cf. Gen 5.24).¹⁸ The monk Menas’ sweat and toil became like ‘myrrh’ anointing his body which, while still alive, was dying and being buried constantly for Christ in anticipation of its resurrection: “the sweat of his toils was offered as myrrh to God and truly accepted as myrrh by God.”¹⁹ Barsanuphios says of such ascetics: “They labored, they were magnified, they were glorified, they were illumined, they lived because they first died.”²⁰ In this respect, the Fathers transcend the Platonist *soma-sema* scheme in an extreme, nevertheless effective, manner: the monk does not treat his body as a tomb but is rather, together with his body, completely entombed in order to be completely risen. Thus death gives way to resurrection which is linked to, though not confounded with, the resurrection of the dead on the Last Day.

Although this transfiguration of the body, of the saints’ bodies, is not permanent, we are in a position to see more than a mere glimpse of the Uncreated Light. We experience other first fruits of the Last Things, other gifts which were lost with the Fall. This will be understood more clearly in considering an important section of the thirtieth Step where John describes the effect of God’s loving grace on the body: God’s love can consume and ravish the heart (Song of Songs 4.9) but it can also, and above all, be the cause of a bright and cheerful countenance.²¹ John’s ascetic theology is at one with his dogmatic theology. Following the patristic tradition, he closely links faith and moral behavior.²² He knows very well that corruptibility is a result of man’s fall and, technical though it may seem, this doctrinal point is vital for spirituality. It means that to the extent that man overcomes sin, in his deification through grace, corruptibility and illness can diminish. Here and now, the ‘outer’ man experiences the same as ‘the soul.’ The relation

¹⁶ 4.29 (697C).

¹⁷ *Ομιλία* 1, PG 63.469-70.

¹⁸ Cf. 6.20 (797A).

¹⁹ 4.49 (697C).

²⁰ Barsanuphios 120. Cf. also Theodoret, *Φιλόθεος Ἰστορία*, Symeon the Elder, 6, 9 (1361D).

²¹ 30.11 (1157AC).

²² Cf. also 30.14 (1157C).

between the two resembles “a mirror” (*esoptron*): “even his outward appearance in the body, as in a kind of mirror, shows the splendor of the soul.”²³ The classical example in patristic literature is the *Life of Anthony* in which Athanasios says that Anthony’s body had not deteriorated after twenty years of austere *askesis* and that his health was in good condition right up to the end of his life. The effect of God’s grace literally shone on Anthony’s face: “For since his soul was undisturbed, so too were his outer senses; and even his face shone as if from the joy of his soul.”²⁴ Moreover, the ascetic may also no longer wish to eat. This does not mean that his body is treated as less important than his soul or as a trivial part of the human person, but that his whole person is directed by *eros* to Another, an action which impels him to “forget” to eat or which makes food no longer necessary.²⁵ To understand this we only have to look at bodily *eros* and how it affects man. As the *Life of John the Hesychast* states: “God is able to prepare a feast in the desert” (Ps 77.18f.).²⁶ Barsanuphios says of saintly ascetics: “They are not grieved by hunger, thirst or by any other earthly thing; for they have been set free from every crime, passion and sin in life. Their food and drink and clothing is the Holy Spirit.”²⁷ Sleep, too, does not hinder our union with God in deification, when we have acquired what John calls “bodiless bodies” (*asomata somata*),²⁸ that is to say when our bodies are transfigured: “I sleep because nature requires this, but my heart is awake (Song of Songs 5.2) in the abundance of my love.”²⁹ What modern psychology from Breuer and Freud onwards says about sleep and the subconscious, John has said in his own way centuries ago. But John has not

²³30.11 (1157AC). A similar notion is found in Isaac the Syrian, *Mystic Treatises* (p. 349).

²⁴*Bίος Ἀντωνίου* 67 (PG 26.940AB); cf. also 14 and 93 (864 and 973AB). There are similar examples in other Fathers: cf. Makarios, *Ομιλία* 12, 8 and 17, 2. Theodoret, *Φιλόθεος Ἰστορία*, Markianos, 3,18 (1337A) and Julian Sabas, 2, 14 (1317A); *Ἰστορία Μοναχῶν* 2, Abba Or 1; 6, Theon 1; 8, Apollo 52; 1, John of Lykopolis 46; 11 Sourous 6 and 17, Isidore 3 which is also mentioned in Palladios, *Λανθαῖκα* 71, PG 34.1177D-78A; Diadochos, *Κεφάλαια* 25; Cyril of Scythopolis, *Life of Sabas*, 5; 24; 77; 71; *Life of Euthymios*, 40. Cf. also Kallistos/Ignatios, *Κεφάλαια* 90.

²⁵30.11 (1157AC). Cf. also *Ἀποφθέγματα*, Nau 149-50 (1908, p. 51) and 175 (1908, p. 266-68); *Ἰστορία μοναχῶν*, Prol. 7; *First Greek Life* 89; John Moschos, *Λειμών*, Theodore 54 (PG 87.2908D-09A). Cf. also Symeon the New Theologian, *Ἡθικός*, 1.

²⁶p. 211, 1-13. Cf. also *Ἰστορία μοναχῶν*, 11, Sourous 5 and 12, Helle 15 where ascetics are fed by an angel.

²⁷Barsanuphios 173 and 78. Cf. also Barsanuphios 36; *Ἰστορία μοναχῶν* 1; John of Lykopolis 17 and 46; 8, Apollo 5; 2, Abba Or 9; 10, Patermuthios 8; 13, John 4 and 25, Piammonas 3. All these passages refer to ascetics who do not eat much or are fed by angels.

²⁸30:6 (1156D). Cf. also 27:26 (1101A).

²⁹30:7 (1156D).

analyzed any particular person, let alone a sick person. He has 'analyzed,' 'observed,' and 'examined,' in his cell in the Sinaite desert, the deified, transfigured sinner, the genuine human person. And he assures us that we are all potentially like Christ on Mount Tabor. It is Christ who is the fully healthy man because he is God-Man. John's psychology is not 'pessimistic'; it is a psychology of light, grace and hope.

The seemingly dualistic statements in the *Ladder*, then, are to be seen in the light of the New Testament distinction between flesh and spirit, rather than in the light of any body-soul dichotomy. Even while using predominantly negative language, John's is basically a unitary view; to be more precise it is dialectical. The body is an adversary and a friend. Although marred by the Fall, the body remains God's creation and, following Christ's Incarnation, it is called to share in the glory of his Resurrection. It can be seen that the consideration of "the body" shows a configuration of divine and human acts in which Christ's Incarnation opens the way to man's conquest over the body in *askesis* and offers hope for the restoration of the stricken body in the final Resurrection.

While the monks in the prison (see Step five) may seem to us like "fools" for Christ, they know that if they have not undergone this death and resurrection to live truly, they will remain dead. Their effort to teach us something very fundamental by their extreme acts of 'folly' is a way of being punished for the sins in this life so as not to suffer the pains of hell thereafter (cf. Tobit 13.2).³⁰ They are aware that, after all, they lie in hell here and now. But as one anticipates hell and lives in it, one also anticipates and lives in paradise, in the light of resurrection. An Athonite monk once told me that one wears out one's body in *askesis* in order to tear away the flesh from the earthly and sinful desires; and in this 'wearing out,' in the continual struggle—day and night, with the endless services, hundreds of prostrations, fasting and bodily labor—one senses that "something heavenly occurs even within the body." It is felt that death is being conquered in the here and now. Death is life-giving; one lives out Holy Friday and Sunday of the Resurrection all in one. This monk was simply experiencing what hundreds of monks have done throughout the centuries, what John experienced in the desert of Sinai: the flesh is to be crucified with Christ (Mt 10.37-38, 16.24-25), buried and taken down to Hades; it is as odorous as "the four-day-old" corpse of Lazaros (Jn 11.39), so as to acquire the fragrant myrrh of grace in being resurrected with him (Rom 6.6-11; Gal 2.20). Resurrection is 'three-days-old' or 'threefold,' which for John

³⁰Cf. 5:5 (768Df.) and 7:66 (816B).

signifies a victory not over the body but over the flesh, over man's entire fallen nature—body, soul and spirit.³¹ He asks his reader: “I ask you to consider this question: who is greater, he who dies and rises again, or he who does not die at all? Those who extol the latter are deceived, for Christ both died and rose.”³² In other words, man's way of life should be that of Christ himself who is our Archetype. This idea is reflected in earlier authors: Barsanuphios says that Christ is our ‘type,’ and he wants us to ascend his cross.³³ The monk's life is a life lived out on the cross and the monk is the authentic ‘crusader’ (*stavrophoros*).³⁴ Abba Dorotheos asks: “What else is the cross but complete mortification which is achieved by our faith in Christ?”³⁵ In the same vein, Symeon the New Theologian states challengingly: “Die and live. Do you not want to? Well, then you are already dead.”³⁶ This offers us a concise and pithy conclusion to John's own view about the significance of the body and the flesh as realms of the divinely ordained fullness of the human person and at the same time of his liability to corruption. The body is an instrument of life (*soma*) and death (*sarx*) alike; and one can be alive even while being dead, and one can be dead even while being alive.

³¹ *Πρὸς Ποιμένα* 100 (1205B). Cf. also Dorotheos, *Discourses* 17, 177.

³² 15:30 (888A).

³³ Barsanuphios 156 and 48. Cf. also Mark the Monk, *Πρὸς Νικόλαον νοοθεσίαι ψυχωφελεῖς* 7 (PG 65.1040A).

³⁴ The word *stavrophoros* is used by Basil, *Ἀσκητικὰ* 1 (PG 31.625D) and Ps. Athanasios, *Βίος Ἀγίας Συγκλητικῆς* 17 (PG 28.1529D). For the crucifixion of oneself, cf. Basil, *Longer Rules* 6, 1 (PG 31.925C-28A); Gregory the Theologian, *Περὶ τῶν ἐτέρων* (PG 37.1451-77, esp. lines 3-4); Cassian, *Institutes* 4, 34 and *Conferences* 8, 3.

³⁵ *Discourses* 1, 17.

³⁶ *Ηθικὸς* 11.



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The Rise of the Independent and Self-governing Monasteries as Reflected in the Monastic *Typika*

JOHN P. THOMAS

THE BYZANTINE MONASTIC *TYPOPIKA*¹ currently being translated and annotated by Dumbarton Oaks with a grant from the National Endowment for the Humanities span a period of about six hundred years, from shortly after 800 to about 1400. Throughout this period, participation by lay benefactors in the erection of monasteries remained indispensable. Nevertheless, there was an important change in the form of organization of Byzantine monasteries, thanks in part to the ecclesiastical reform movement of the late eleventh century promoted by, among others, Leo, metropolitan of Chalcedon, John, patriarch of Antioch, and Nicholas Grammatikos, patriarch of Constantinople.² The reformers were able to convince many lay benefactors that it was improper for them to insist on the financial perquisites which their

I have employed the following abbreviations in the notes. *BZ*: *Byzantinische Zeitschrift*; *IRAIK*: *Izvestia Russkago Archeologicheskago Instituta v Konstantinopole*; *OCP*: *Orientalia Christiana Periodica*; *REB*: *Revue des études byzantines*; *ZRVI* = *Zbornik radoba Vizantioloskog instituta*. Canonical citations are from G A Rhalles and M. Potles, *Σύνταγμα τῶν θελόν καὶ iερῶν κανόνων*, 6 vols (Athens, 1852-59) = R&P. Some monastic *typika* and patriarchal documents are cited from F Miklosich and J. Muller, *Acta et diplomata graeca medii aevi sacra et profana*, 6 vols (Vienna, 1860-90) = MM

¹ K A Manaphes, *Μοναστηριακὰ τυπικά—Διαθῆκαι* (Athens, 1970), pp. 178-92 provides the most complete list of these documents, though it does not include all of those included in the Dumbarton Oaks/N E.H. translation project. Older lists by R. Janin, "Le monachisme byzantin au moyen age. Commende et typica (X^e-XIV^e siècle)," *REB* 22 (1964) 5-44, and Placide de Meester, "Les typiques de fondation," *Studi bizantini e neoellenici* 6 (1940) 498-508 are still worth consultation.

² See my "A Byzantine Ecclesiastical Reform Movement," *Medievalia et Humanistica* n.s. 12 (1984) 1-16; for the leaders of the reform, see P. Stephanou, "Le proces de Léon de Chalcédoine," *OCP* 9 (1943) 5-64, Paul Gautier, "Jean V l'Oxite, patriarche d'Antioche, notice biographique," *REB* 22 (1964) 128-57, Jean Darrouzes, "Dossier sur le charisticariat," in *Polychronion, Festschrift Franz Dolger* (Heidelberg, 1966), pp. 150-65.

ancestors had seen as their just reward for the considerable expense of erecting and managing religious institutions.

The traditional proprietary form of organization for monasteries and other philanthropic institutions gained great popularity because it enabled benefactors to establish credit for the creation of a religious foundation while simultaneously setting up a sort of perpetual trust, sometimes abetted by imperial grants of tax immunity, which could be counted upon to pay financial dividends for themselves and their descendants.³ While canon law, insofar as benefactors respected it, prohibited conversions of religious facilities into secular dwellings,⁴ the owners of private monasteries could always expect to retire to their foundations at the conclusion of their careers, and many prominent individuals did just that, especially when they fell out of favor at court.⁵

Proprietary foundations by their very nature remained very dependent upon the prosperity, piety and longevity of their founding families. As celibates committed to lives of apostolic poverty, founders who were themselves monks faced even more difficult problems in planning for the well-being of their foundations after their own deaths. So even before the reform, monks were in the forefront of those private benefactors who had begun to search for an alternative form of organization that would be more supportive of the religious functions of their foundations.⁶

A long tradition of rivalry between the founders of private religious institutions and the local bishops evidently foreclosed the possibility these foundations could be entrusted for administration to the ecclesiastical hierarchy. Since the late sixth century, some benefactors had sought out the patriarch of Constantinople as a spiritual overseer, but

³For the importance of monasteries as sources of revenue, see Paul Lemerle, "Un aspect du rôle des monastères à Byzance. Les monastères donnés à des laïcs, les charistiaires," *Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres. Comptes rendus des séances de l'année 1967, janvier-mars* (Paris, 1967), 9-28, esp. 13, n. 2

⁴C. Chal. (451), c. 24 (R&P 2.271), C. Trull. (692), c. 49 (R&P 2.423), C. Nicean. 2 (787), c. 13 (R&P 2.612).

⁵E.g., Philippikos, brother-in-law of Emperor Maurice (582-602), who retired to his monastery upon the murder of his imperial relative, for which see Theophanes, *Chronographia* a.m. 6086, 6098, ed. Karl de Boor (Leipzig, 1883), pp. 272, 293. The *protovestiarios* Symeon, a courtier of Constantine VIII (1025-1028) who fled to his monastery when he fell out of favor with Michael IV (1034-1041) provides an example of this use from the early eleventh century, for which see John Skylitzes, *Synopsis historiarum*, ed. J. Thurn (Berlin-New York, 1973), p. 396.

⁶For some interim solutions, see Emil Herman, "Ricerche sulle istituzioni monastiche bizantine. Typika ktetorika, caristicari e monasteri 'liberi,'" *OCP* 6 (1940) 293-375, esp. 335-38.

this was more a device for circumventing the canonically-sanctioned oversight of the local bishops than a genuine resort to patriarchal protection.⁷

The submission of private foundations to the emperor or high imperial officials came to appear a more palatable alternative.⁸ The emperor, like the patriarch, was powerful enough to be counted upon for occasional, effective intervention, but also sufficiently distant as to preclude constant meddling in the affairs of these foundations. It is less clear why founders would prefer, as they apparently did, the protection of an imperial governor (*στρατηγός*) or judge (*κριτής*) to that of a local bishop or metropolitan.

As it transpired, it was out of the milieu of monasteries under imperial patronage that the essential innovations were developed from which a new category of monastic foundations arose, neither private nor imperial in the traditional sense, nor constituent parts of the public church system.⁹ In his *typikon* for the Lavra Monastery (datable to 973-75),¹⁰ Saint Athanasios the Athonite claims that it was at his own urging that Emperor Nikephoros Phokas (963-69) inserted the following language in the chrysobull he granted for that imperial foundation in 964:

We decree that after us this *lavra* is to be under the mastery of the most pious monk Athanasios, except that while our majesty is still living we wish that his most pious monk is to be the undisturbed *kathegoumenos* of this *lavra* and of the eighty monks in the cells around the *lavra* . . . In no way at any time will we allow anyone from a foreign *lavra* or monastery to be made *hegoumenos* in it, nor after our death do we wish it to be permitted to be granted to a secular or ecclesiastical personage or monk or subordinated

⁷For patriarchal charters of foundation, known as *σταυροπήγια*, see Placide de Meester, *De monachico statu iuxta disciplinam byzantinam* (Vatican City, 1942), pp. 119-35.

⁸Nikon the Metanoite, *Διαθήκη*, ed. Sp. Lampros, *Νέος Ἐλληνομνήμων*, 3 (1906) 223-28, Nikodemos of Nea Gephyra, *Θεσμοί*, ed. D.A. Zakythinos, *Ἐλληνικά*, 15 (1957) 99-100

⁹Discussed by P.I. Panagiotakos, *Σύστημα τοῦ ἐκκλησιαστικοῦ δικαίου*, Vol. 4: *Tὸ δίκαιον τῶν μοναχῶν* (Athens, 1957), pp. 308-10, 325-26, 406-25, J. Moutzouros, “Τὰ χαριστικὰ καὶ ἐλεύθερα μοναστήρια,” *Θεολογία* 35 (1964) 87-123, 271-87, esp. 95-8, Meester, *De monachico*, pp. 104-06, 136-67, and Ioannes Konidares, *Tὸ δίκαιον τῆς μοναστηριακῆς περιουσίας ἀπὸ τοῦ 9^{οῦ} μέχρι καὶ τοῦ 12^{οῦ} αἰώνος* (Athens, 1979), pp. 173-79.

¹⁰Ed. Ph. Meyer, *Die Haupturkunden für die Geschichte der Athoskloster* (Leipzig, 1894), pp. 102-22.

to a secular or ecclesiastical personage or monk or subordinated to another monastery, but on the contrary it is to be free (ἐλευθέρα) and self-governing (αὐτοδέσποτος), in accordance with our intention and command.¹¹

Later in this same document, Saint Athanasios explains why he insisted upon these provisions:

For no other [reason] had we advised the thrice-blessed emperor to pronounce this than so the *lavra* would not be subject to some other person. Neither patriarch nor *sakkelarios* (treasurer) nor any other person of influence is to choose the *hegoumenos*, but this [*lavra*] is to be self-governing (αὐτοδέσποτος) and independent (αὐτεξούσιος), as we have said.¹²

Although generous and far-sighted imperial patronage made possible the innovative constitution of this monastery, there can be no mistaking the hand of private initiative in its inspiration.

A generation later the dangers to the well-being of traditional private foundations posed by the operation of the state-sponsored program of institutional renovations known as the *charistike*¹³ was to provide a powerful incentive for other patrons to adopt this new form of organization. It would appear that these new foundations were among the few which succeeded in escaping harm¹⁴ at the hands of this well-intentioned program, originally developed by Emperor Basil II (976-1025) and Patriarch Nicholas II Chrysoberges (980-92) for the improvement (βελτίωσις) and maintenance (σύσασις) of monasteries and philanthropic institutions in need of structural repairs. The developers hoped to make these renovations attractive to prospective benefactors by allowing them to keep the surplus revenues of the properties attached to the foundations. By the end of Basil II's reign, the greed of unworthy participants had overshadowed the original purposes,¹⁵ but the *charistike* had become institutionalized, the financial base for a new

¹¹ *Typikon*, ed. Meyer, p. 106, lines 31-36 and p. 107, lines 11-16 = Franz Dolger, *Regesten der Kaiserurkunden des ostromischen Reiches* (Munich-Berlin, 1924-32), No. 704.

¹² *Typikon*, ed. Meyer, p. 109, lines 6-11.

¹³ For the *charistike*, see Lemerle, "Charisticaires, pp. 9-28, Helene Ahrweiler, "Charisticariat et autres formes d'attribution de fondations pieuses aux X^e-XI^e siecles," *ZRVI* 10 (1967) 1-27, and my own "The Crisis of Byzantine Ecclesiastical Foundations, 964-1025," *Byzantinische Forschungen* 9 (1983) forthcoming

¹⁴ So John of Antioch, *Oratio de monasterius laicis non tradendis*, ed. Paul Gautier, "Réquisitoire du patriarche Jean d'Antioche contre le charisticariat," *REB* 33 (1975) 77-131, at 109.

¹⁵ Evident from Alexios Studites, *Hypomnema A'* (1027) (R&P 5.20-21)

class of influential courtiers like Michael Psellos and Constantine Leichoudes¹⁶ and hence unchallengeable without a fundamental change in attitude about the permissibility of diversion of the income of religious foundations for enjoyment by the laity.

Throughout the eleventh century until the 1080s when the stirrings of reform began to bring about just such a change of attitude, the independent and self-governing foundations stood as convincing demonstrations that it was possible for the Byzantine church to enjoy the benefits of lay financial assistance without tolerating the evils of private profiteering in monastic institutions. The benefactors who chose to set up new religious foundations in this period thus had a viable alternative to the traditional proprietary form of organization.

Two of the surviving *typika* from the close of this period illustrate the choice between the old and new forms of organization which face religious benefactors. The first of these is Michael Attaliates' *diataxis* (testament) of 1077 for the *ptochotropheion* or "almshouse" at Rhaidestos, a traditional private ecclesiastical foundation.¹⁷ The author's assertion of his consecration of the *ptochotropheion* to almighty God notwithstanding, it is clear that Attaliates viewed his foundation as an integral part of his personal estate which he intended to bequeath to his son Theodore. Moreover, Theodore was to head the foundation as its director or *ptochotrophos*.¹⁸ Subsequently, Theodore would be succeeded in office by the direct line of his heirs. He and the direct line were to have the right of *kyriotes* or "dominion" over the foundation.¹⁹ In default of direct heirs, collaterals were to succeed, but they were limited to the status of *ephors* or "guardians" of the foundation.²⁰ Only in the event that both the direct and the collateral lines of his descendants were to die out was Attaliates prepared to allow the foundation to fend for itself as an independent and autonomous institution.²¹

¹⁶See Ahrweiler, "Charisticariat," pp. 10, 16, 24-27

¹⁷Ed. Paul Gautier, "La Diataxis de Michel Attaliates," *REB* 39 (1981) 5-143. Special studies by Paul Lemerle, *Cinq études sur le XI^e siècle byzantin* (Paris, 1977), pp. 67-112 and by Waldemar Nissen, *Die Diataxis des Michael Attaleiates von 1077* (Jena, 1894). For the founder, see E. Th. Tsolakis, "Das Geschichtswerk des Michael Attaleiates und die Zeit seiner Auffassung," *Byzantina* 2 (1970) 251-68, "Aus dem Leben des Michael Attaleiates (seine Heimatstadt, sein Geburts-und Todesjahr)," *BZ* 58 (1965) 3-10, A. Kazhdan, "Sotsialnu vozreniya Michaela Attalata," *ZRVI* 17 (1976) 1-53, now translated by Simon Franklin in *Studies on Byzantine Literature of the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries* (Cambridge, 1984), pp. 23-86.

¹⁸*Diataxis*, ed. Gautier, lines 286-91, 348-51, 387-91; cf. 324-30.

¹⁹*Diataxis*, lines 317-22.

²⁰*Diataxis*, lines 361-69, cf. 326-30.

²¹*Diataxis*, lines 398-423, 935-39, cf. 1609-20

Perhaps Attaliates' fondness for Theodore kept him from adopting an independent charter for the *ptochotropheion* modelled on those of other contemporary institutions of this sort. Indeed Attaliates expressed complete confidence in his son in the *diataxis*. He alone of the future directors of the foundation was to be immune from deposition. In Attaliates' own words, "[He] is exempt from rendering an account and [is] in every way immovable from this divine inheritance."²² Attaliates only forbade Theodore to alienate the foundation to someone outside the family or to disregard his instructions as laid down in the *diataxis*. The provision of the *diataxis* which awards Theodore and Attaliates' direct heirs with two-thirds of the surplus revenues of the foundation after the expenses mandated by the *diataxis* had been discharged serves to emphasize the proprietary nature of this foundation.²³ The founder was much less generous to collateral heirs, however. Those who might chance to find themselves directing the foundation were restricted to two monks' stipends and one hundred and fifty *modii* of barley.²⁴

Not being a naive man, Attaliates foresaw the possibility that one of his descendants might prove to be an unfit director for the foundation. He was careful to establish grounds for removal of such an unsuitable director: embezzlement of funds, failure to protect the foundation's properties, or neglect of structural maintenance.²⁵ Again, Theodore was to receive special treatment. The *diataxis* reads: "There is not to be any expulsion [in his case]; rather he is to make reparations quietly and exactly."²⁶ In an unusual display of open-mindedness, Attaliates was willing to allow the appointment of a female director to head the foundation if a suitable male candidate could not be found among his relatives to replace an unworthy heir.²⁷ To mollify such a displaced director, however, Attaliates allowed him a small annual pension, equivalent to a monk's salary, as compensation for his loss of rights.²⁸

As a practical matter the director's authority must have been beyond challenge. Yet Attaliates did try to curb the heir's authority somewhat

²² *Diataxis*, lines 287-88.

²³ *Diataxis*, lines 602-18.

²⁴ *Diataxis*, lines 368-69.

²⁵ *Diataxis*, lines 295-301, 893-920.

²⁶ *Diataxis*, lines 323-24, cf. 921-34.

²⁷ *Diataxis*, lines 301-04, 1091-98.

²⁸ *Diataxis*, lines 919-20; cf. Nicholas I Mystikos, *Ep.* 119 (914-18), ed. R. J. H. Jenkins and L. G. Westerink (Washington, D.C., 1973), in which this patriarch recommends the payment of a *paramythia* (an ecclesiastical pension) by the bishop of Patras as compensation for the abrogation of a patron's rights.

by affirming the immunity of both the *hegoumenos* and the steward from arbitrary dismissal. Attaliates' descendants could not remove these officials except for an extremely serious offense such as a lapse into heresy, sexual misconduct, or the display of "contempt or arrogance" towards his heir.²⁹ The inclusion of the last-named offense suggests that prudent officials would still have to behave with great deference towards the real masters of the proprietary institution.

The danger posed by the *charistike* to the future independence of his foundation evidently was very much in Attaliates' mind as he composed his *diataxis*.³⁰ Attaliates, who was himself the *charistikarios* of several small churches mentioned in the *diataxis*,³¹ evidently held no illusions about the goodwill of his fellow participants in this program. He took the precaution of obtaining imperial chrysobulls³² from Michael VII Doukas (1075) and Nikephoros III Botaneiates (1079) at least in part in an attempt to avert the imposition of a *charistikarios* by an emperor or a patriarch after his death.

Although he was aware of the possibility of adopting an independent constitution for his foundation, Attaliates rejected this except as a last resort upon decease of all his heirs. Instead he chose the traditional form of organization and entrusted the *ptochothropheion* to the goodwill of his descendants.

In 1083, hardly six years after Attaliates composed his *diataxis* another Byzantine philanthropist Gregory Pakourianos drew a *typikon* for his monastery of the *Theotokos Petritzionitissa* according to the independent and self-governing form of organization.³³ Pakourianos was among the astute private benefactors who realized that only a complete break with the traditions of private management of ecclesiastical institutions would solve the old dilemma of assuring protection for these foundations from outside predators without handing over too much power to heirs who could themselves prove unscrupulous or corrupt. In fact, the *typikon* explicitly bars all relatives of the founder from exercising any financial rights in the institution.³⁴

²⁹ *Diataxis*, lines 669-76

³⁰ *Diataxis*, lines 248-62.

³¹ *Diataxis*, lines 506-17

³² Ed Paul Gautier, "Diataxis," pp 101-23 = Dolger, *Regester* Nos 1005, 1042

³³ Ed Paul Gautier, "Le typikon du sébaste Grégoire Pakourianos," *REB* 42 (1984), 5-145. Special studies by Lemerle, *Cinq études*, pp 115-91, V A Arutyunova-Findanyan, *Typik Grigoria Pakuriana* (Yerevan, 1978), K Loumouri, *Kistoru Gruzinskogo Petrikonskogo Monasteryia* (Tbilisi, 1981) For the founder, see Basile Skoulatos, *Les personnages byzantins de l'Alexiade* (Louvain, 1980), pp 112-15

³⁴ *Typikon*, ed Gautier, lines 1143-55

This *typikon* forthrightly censures Pakourianos' contemporaries like Attaliates who erected foundations of the traditional proprietary form of organization.³⁵ The author observes from his personal experience that a founder who attempted to keep an institution as an integral part of the family patrimony was condemning his foundation to bitter litigation among his heirs over the rights of ownership. The courts which resolved such disputes, moreover, could not be depended upon to prefer worthy heirs to worthless ones, who might just happen to have better legal claims to the foundation.

To have true independence, Pakourianos thought it necessary for the institution to be independent not only of disciplinary subordination to the ecclesiastical hierarchy (as Attaliates and his predecessors had realized) but also of accountability to Pakourianos' heirs. To achieve this Pakourianos had to turn over an unusual amount of authority to the *hegoumenos*, the superior of the institution's religious community, provide him with security of tenure, and entrust him with the administration of the foundation's endowment.³⁶ Pakourianos wanted the *hegoumenos* to be the real master of the foundation. He was to control the distribution of salaries to the monks in the community. His overseers were to manage the clusters of endowed properties. He could be deposed only for embezzlement of funds or failure to observe the *typikon*.

In choosing the independent form of organization for his monastery, Pakourianos was assuming a much greater financial sacrifice for himself and his heirs than was customary. For himself Pakourianos retained only a few traditional perquisites as founder's rights such as privilege of burial within the church, commemorative masses for his soul, and preferential consideration for his relatives for admission as postulants.³⁷

The grounds for Pakourianos' choice of the independent and self-governing constitution for his foundation seem to have been eminently practical ones. Basically, his own experience had shown him that proprietary foundations were prey to the machinations of unscrupulous heirs, prone to harmful litigation, and too easily diverted from their appointed missions. For the moment, there was hardly a trace of an ideological justification for the choice.

The campaigns of the reformers changed all that. In the twelfth century the independent and self-governing form of organization became

³⁵ *Typikon*, lines 1179-89

³⁶ *Typikon*, lines 524-31, 808-910, 1248-70

³⁷ *Typikon*, lines 204-05, 314-24, 1287-1383, 1434-57

the rule for the most important foundations of monasteries and philanthropic institutions.³⁸ So popular did this form of organization become that even members of the ruling Komnenian dynasty such as Irene Komnene, wife of Alexios Komnenos, and John II Komnenos, his son, adopted independent constitutions for their foundations in the extant *typika* for the nunnery of *Theotokos Kecharitomene* and the monastery of Christ Pantocrator.³⁹ This is all the more remarkable in view of the fact that Alexios Komnenos had initially been opposed to the views of Leo of Chalcedon and other radical leaders of the Byzantine ecclesiastical reform movement.⁴⁰ Yet Leo's historic assertion that all alienations of consecrated property were manifest impiety⁴¹ finds a clear echo in Irene Komnene's *typikon*:

Moreover I wish all things consecrated or which will be consecrated to the nunnery or which will accrue in any way [to it]—not just immovable property, but also movable property—is to remain immovable and inalienable from it, not to be donated, not to be exchanged, not to be sold, not to be alienated at any time whatsoever, even if two-fold or three-fold or ten-fold should be the thing given in exchange for the alienation. For manifestly it is sacrilege to do such a thing, or to permit it, and the person who does it, or permits it, be he an emperor, patriarch, or archon, private individual or *hegoumene* of the convent or one of the nuns in it, this one will have to render accounts to the fearsome and righteous Judge . . .⁴²

With these views so firmly held, there could no longer be any tolerance for the siphoning off of “surplus” revenues for the benefit of founder

³⁸E.g., the *hypotyposis* of the monastery of Saint John Phoberos, ed. A.I. Papadopoulos-Kerameus, *Noctes Petropolitanae* (St. Petersburg, 1913), pp. 1-88, esp. 51, the *typikon* of Leo of Nauplion for the convent of *Theotokos tes Areias*, ed. G A. Choras, *'H ðyia muvñ Ἀρείας Ναυπλίου* (Athens, 1975), pp. 244-52, esp. 250-51; the *typikon* of the monastery of Saint Mamas, ed. S. Eustratiades, *Ἐλληνικά*, 1 (1928) 245-314, esp. 266; and the *typikon* of Isaak Komnenos for the monastery of the *Theotokos Kosmosoteira*, ed. L. Petit, *IRAIK* 13 (1908) 17-77, esp. 37-38.

³⁹Irene Komnene, *Τυπικὸν τῆς σεβασμίας μονῆς τῆς ὑπεραγίας Θεοτόκου τῆς Κεχαριτομένης*, ed. MM (Vienna, 1887), 5, pp. 327-91, at 332-33; John II Komnenos, *Τυπικὸν τῆς βασιλικῆς μονῆς τοῦ Παντοκράτορος*, ed. Paul Gautier, “Le typikon du Christ Sauveur Pantocrator,” *REB* 32 (1974) 1-145, at 127-28.

⁴⁰Cf. I. Sakkélion, “Décret d'Alexis Comnène portant déposition de Léon, métropolitain de Chalcedoine,” *Bulletin de correspondance hellénique* 2 (1878) 102-28, and Paul Gautier, “Diatribes de Jean l'Osse contre Alexis I^{er} Comnene,” *REB* 28 (1970) 5-55.

⁴¹Sakkélion, “Décret,” p. 123

⁴²Irene Komnene, *Typikon*, ed. MM 5.339 17-25; cf. John of Antioch, *Oratio* Ch. 11, ed. Gautier, “Réquisitoire,” p. 111.

or heirs. The independent and self-governing foundations soon came to eclipse the traditional foundations in popularity, and they were to retain their status as the preeminent religious foundations of Byzantium for as long as the empire survived.

It was for these foundations that most of the extant *typika* were composed, and the Dumbarton Oaks translation project promises to enlarge greatly our knowledge of their organization, administration and religious life as well as make the texts themselves better known to a broader audience of contemporary scholars.



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The Russian Church Under the Soviet Regime 1917-1982. By Dimitry Pospielovsky. Volumes 1 & 2. With a Preface by John Meyendorff. Crestwood, New York: St. Vladimir's Seminary Press, 1984. Pp. 535. Paperbound, \$17.95 (set).

Anyone dealing with the history of the contemporary Orthodox Church must come to grips with the situation of the Russian Orthodox Church under the Soviet regime today. In order to understand that situation, one must understand the history of the Russian Orthodox Church from the time of the collapse of a czarist Russia that "claimed to be inspired by Christian teachings" and the triumph of a new totalitarian state that affirmed atheism as a "precondition of social progress" (Preface). Since 1917 the Russian Orthodox Church has been under constant murderous attack by the Communist state and its leadership and has struggled under the most incredibly barbarous treatment to survive under governments that have done everything conceivable to destroy it.

Dimitry Pospielovsky, Associate Professor of History at the University of Western Ontario in Canada, has presented us with a splendid book, marvelously documented, clearly written and well organized in which we "have an attempt at objective synthesis, within which historical facts are described by a specialist in modern Russian social thought who also possesses true competence in and sensitivity to Orthodox canonical and spiritual traditions" (John Meyendorff, pp. 7-8). Many *samizdat* documents, only recently made available, are used, and all the accessible sources are judiciously and masterfully used.

Pospielovsky's book will certainly contribute to a much better and more comprehensive understanding of contemporary Russian church history and will be very valuable too for understanding the work and place of Russian Orthodoxy in the diaspora, especially in North America. Its twelve chapters (seven in volume 1 and five in volume 2) provide a wealth of information for the uninformed as well as the informed reader, and many, many insights. The subjects of those chapters are: (1) "The Revolution and the Church"; (2) "Leftist Schisms within the Russian Orthodox Church"; (3) "Eradication of the Best: Trials of the Church in the 1920s"; (4) "The Schisms on the Right"; (5) "The Holocaust of the 1930s"; (6) The Church during the Second World War: Soviet Territory"; (7) "The Church during the Second World War: German-occupied Territory"; (8) "The Russian Churches in the Diaspora and the Mother Church"; (9) "The Russian Orthodox Church during the First Post-

war Decade"; (10) "New Trials: Krushchev's Attack on the Church"; (11) "The Catacombs: The 'True Orthodox' and other Currents"; and (12) "The Russian Orthodox Church, 1965-1982." In addition, there are six important appendices that include (1) excerpts from Bishop Leonty of Chile's "Political Controls over the Orthodox Church in the Soviet Union"; (2) excerpts from A. A. Valentynov's *The Black Book*; (3) Letter to Priest P. F.; (4) decisions of the 1937 New York Sobor concerning the administration of the Metropolia; (5) the Address of Thanks to Adolph Hitler from Metropolitan Anastasy of the Karlovci Synod; and (6) the 1975 amendments to the 1929 on religious associations. The bibliography of primary and secondary sources (pp. 501-16) is exemplary and the index is admirably much fuller than what one usually encounters.

The Russian Orthodox Church is a martyred Church. Patriarch Tikhon, in January 19, 1918, issued his encyclical and with the full support of the faithful, excommunicated all those engaged in persecution in spreading hatred, and in patricide. He was subsequently encouraged to confront Lenin on the first anniversary of the October Revolution with a recital of the atrocities of the Bolshevik regime. However, "the state retaliated: in the course of 1918-20 at least twenty-eight bishops were murdered. Thousands of clerics were imprisoned or killed, and twelve thousand laymen were reported to have been killed for religious activities" (p. 38). Tikhon himself was placed under house arrest on May 6, 1922 when he was accused of resisting the confiscation of church property ordered by the state. Persecution continued unabated and countless clergy and laity gave up their lives. In 1943 Sergii was elected patriarch and attempted to achieve legalization of the Church with the Soviet authorities, and thus be able to reopen seminaries, have a regular canonical administration, and a church press. The "registration" of religious bodies in the Soviet Union is crucial to their legal operation, and the history of the contemporary Russian Church has very much been the history of attempts of the Patriarchal Church to achieve a canonical administration and resumption of its status as a legal body with Russian society, a status that it had been consistently refused until given *de facto* privileges during 1943-45, rights which were never confirmed *de jure*. The Sergite Concordat of 1943 provided for a church totally loyal and subservient to the State, and yet religious associations could not organize any kind of central booking offices for the voluntary contributions of their adherents; carry out any compulsory collections; or conclude any kind of contract. Despite the recognition by Stalin of the Church's contribution to Russian resistance to the Nazi invaders

and certain relaxation of attacks against the Church, in 1959 Krushchev again prepared a wholesale attack on religion that forced the Church "to remind the Soviet public and the Soviet authorities of the Church's important historical contribution to Russian culture as well as to the forging of Russian statehood and Russian national consciousness, and to the patriotic cause of resisting foreign invasions, from the earliest pages of Russian history to World War II" (p. 333). The late controversial Metropolitan Nikodom's policies paralleled Krushchev's policies of peaceful coexistence and of expanding the Soviet Union's contacts with the outside world (for example, by joining the WCC, the Prague Peace Conference, by establishing close links with the Vatican). The amendments to the laws of religion made public in 1975 made things more bureaucratic but they had the positive effect of giving the Church an approximation of the status of a legal person and also granting religious associations certain property acquisition rights. There has also been some ease in the oppressive taxation on church and clerical incomes in recent years.

The Soviets have been unable to eradicate the Russian Orthodox Church from their midst. Reports of increases of priestly ordinations and baptisms in the 1970s and 1980s seem to parallel hierarchical concern for the upbringing of children. Even though for the Soviets the Church can serve to persuade the outside world that there is religious freedom in the Soviet Union (thus improving its international image and encouraging tourism) and even if the Church is allowed by the Communist state to satisfy the religious needs of the old, semi-literate masses, it is "the area of political propaganda that the Soviet government finds the Church most useful—especially the international peace movement where it can promote its own foreign policy interests."

The Russian Church under the Soviet Regime, 1917-1982 contains a wealth of information and analysis that this review can barely begin to suggest. Professor Pospielovsky presents honestly and critically the many problems that this church, its leadership, and its people in the Soviet Union and abroad have had to confront, including revolutionary turbulence, the restoration of canonical patriarchal administration, unbelievable persecution and attempts at massive annihilation, schismatic movements, "catacomb" groups, and intense ideological competition with Marxist atheism. The miracle is that the Russian Orthodox Church has survived at all. Its current existence is a monumental tribute to the persistent loyalty and sacrifices of its Orthodox Christian faithful.

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The Sacramentality of Ordination and Apostolic Succession: An Orthodox-Ecumenical View

EMMANUEL CLAPSIS

CHRISTENDOM IS DEEPLY DIVIDED on the issue of the significance of the rite of ordination which reveals different understandings of the nature of ministry and its permanence in the life of the Church. The underlying theological reason behind this division is the different models of ecclesiology that currently prevail in the churches as a result of a different understanding of the way in which Christ and the Holy Spirit are presently active in the world. Thus ministry must be seen in the greater context of ecclesiology from which it cannot be separated. It is also understandable that the various systems of ecclesiology cannot be independent of the historical and sociological contingencies in which the churches find themselves as a result of their mission and the context of their living.² This implies that the theological diversities, as well as the diversity of the historical and sociological contingencies of the world which have influenced the mode of church life, challenge us to accept as an inevitable reality the existence of diverse ecclesiologies and church structures. However, despite some admirable ecumenical efforts, the issue of what constitutes a legitimate diversity in ministry within a united church has not been resolved. For the Orthodox no such diversity can be accepted unless it has its roots in the tradition of the catholic Church as a legitimate development or

¹ It is widely agreed by Orthodox and Roman Catholic theologians that thinking about ministry is theology reflecting upon the Church. Thomas O'Meara, *Theology of Ministry* (New Jersey, 1983), p. 14; Bernard Cooke, *Ministry to Word and Sacraments* (Philadelphia, 1976), p. 1; John Meyendorff, "Church and Ministry" in *Catholicity and the Church* (New York, 1983), p. 52; Nikos A. Nissiotis, "Spirit, Church, and Ministry," *Theology Today* 19 (1963).

² This thesis is well defended from a biblical perspective by the recent work of Raymond Brown, *The Churches the Apostles Left Behind* (New York, 1984).

extension. The Orthodox also believe that the ministry of the Church can only be justified on theological grounds and any sociological understanding of it must be rejected.

Today all churches are challenged to give a new account of the way in which their ecclesial lives reflect their allegiance to Christ's true intentions about the community of his disciples and how this community in its structure reveals or gives us a pre-taste of the new reality of God's Kingdom. In this process, the Orthodox realized that the prevailing concept of ordination as a sacrament to a large extent had been influenced by the polemics of the Reformation and the Counter-Reformation as these had affected the "Orthodox" confessions of Peter Moghila, Dositheos, and others.³ Thanks to the resurgence of the patristic studies and the ecumenical movement, Orthodox scholars have begun to study their tradition and the structure of the early Church in an attempt to liberate Orthodoxy from what Florovsky has coined its *pseudomorphosis*. The idea of the enumeration of the seven sacraments is recognized by Orthodox theologians as foreign to Orthodoxy.⁴ Gregory Palamas knew and spoke only about the two constitutive mysteries of the Church, baptism and eucharist.⁵ It is also true that what the West understands as the nature of sacramentality, at least in its scholastic definition, is not the same as what the East understands or tries to express with the word "mystery."⁶ However even the

³ The so-called "Orthodox confessions" are no longer recognized as official statements of Orthodox doctrine because their contents were greatly influenced in a time of theological decline either by Roman Catholic views (Confessions of Dositheos, 1672, and Moghila, 1640) or by Protestant theories (Confessions of Loukaris, 1631) which are foreign to Orthodox doctrine. See Hamilcar S. Alivazatos, "The Orthodox View on Sacraments," *The Ministry and the Sacraments*, ed. Robert Dunkerley (London, 1937), p. 68; John Zizioulas, "Ordination—A Sacrament?" *Concilium* 74 (1972) 33. However there are still some Orthodox theologians who continue to formulate with some deviations a theology of ministry based on these confessions, for example: Megas Pharantos, "The Priesthood" in *Δούματικά καὶ ηθικά* (Athens, 1983), 1, pp. 121-41.

⁴ Philip Sherrard, "The Sacrament" in *The Orthodox Ethos*, ed. L. J. Philippou (Oxford, 1964), p. 131.

⁵ See George Mantzarides, *Παλαικά* (Thessalonike, 1973), p. 181. The Greek Fathers have always emphasized the priority of baptism and eucharist: Gregory of Nyssa, *In Cant. 1* (PG 44.776C); *Against Eunomios 3* PG 45.609Af. and 7.1277f. In his *Mystagogia*, Maximos the Confessor deals only with baptism and eucharist in detail PG 91.657-717 and Nicholas Kabasilas only studies the three sacraments of Christian initiation in his *The Life in Christ* PG 150.493-725. For the history of the enumeration of the seven sacraments, see Yves Congar, "The Notion of 'Major' or 'Principal' Sacraments," *Concilium* 31 (1976) 21-32.

⁶ From an Orthodox view Sherrard states: "The sacrament is not something set over against, or existing outside, the rest of life so that it is sacred while the rest of life and all other things are non-sacred or profane or non-sacramental; it is not something extrinsic and fixed in its extrinsicality, as if by some sort of magical operation or *Deus ex machina*, the sacramental object is suddenly turned into something universal, the

West is particularly dissatisfied with the scholastic theology of *Sacramentum* and seeks to develop a new theology of the sacraments which takes into a greater consideration the role of the Church in the institution of these rites and gives a greater appreciation of the active role of Christ and the Holy Spirit in the realization of the saving significance of the sacramental rites for the participating faithful and the world at large.⁷

For the Orthodox, ordination is an ecclesial rite by which the Holy Spirit distributes the ministry of Christ in the unity of the Church and thus reveals the “eternal mystery” of God for his creation.⁸ All ministries in the life of the Church are a reflection and extension of Christ’s ministry into the world. In the New Testament all ministerial titles known to the primitive Church are attributed to Christ. He is the Apostle (Heb 3.1), the Prophet (Mt 23.8; Jn 13.13), the Priest (Heb 5.6; 8.4; 10.21; 2.17), the Bishop (Episkopos: 1 Pet 2.25; 5.4; Heb 13.13), the Deacon (Rom 15.18; Lk 22.27; cf. Phil 2.7), etc. Christ is “preeminent in everything” (Col 1.18). However, the ministry of Christ in the world through the ministries of the Church required the presence of the Holy Spirit in order to start functioning (Lk 4.18) and therefore the Christologically founded ministries of the Church must be understood in the context of pneumatology.⁹ Our definition of what ordination is requires that the “sacramentality” of this rite must be studied from the angle of its effect on the concrete community of the Church before we examine its implications for the “ordained” person.

Ecclesiology cannot be conceived of apart from Christology, and Christology must always relate to pneumatology. John Zizioulas believes that a trinitarian perspective of ecclesiology requires us to affirm that the Church is co-instituted by Christ and the Holy

intrinsic sanctity and spirituality of all things, what one might call their real nature,” “The Sacrament,” p. 134. It is evident here that Sherrard repudiates some Western scholastic developments of sacramental theology that contemporary Roman Catholic sacramentology tries to overcome or re-interpret. See Edward Kilmartin, “A Modern Approach to the Word of God and Sacraments of Christ: Perspectives and Principles,” *The Sacraments: God’s Love and Mercy Actualized*, ed. Francis A. Eigo (Penn., 1979), pp. 59-109.

⁷ K. Rahner described this new theology of sacramentology as a “Copernican Revolution” in *Meditations on the Sacraments* (New York, 1977), pp. ix-x. See also by the same author, *The Church and the Sacraments* (New York, 1963); F. H. Schillebeeckx, *Christ the Sacrament of the Encounter with God* (New York, 1963); and J. Powers, *Spirit and Sacrament: The Humanizing Experience* (New York, 1973).

⁸ John D. Zizioulas, “Ordination—A Sacrament?”, p. 39; idem., “Ordination and Communion,” *Study Encounter*, 6 (1970) 187-92.

⁹ Ibid., p. 187; Nikos Nissiotis, “Spirit, Church and Ministry,” *Theology Today*, 19 (1963) 495.

Spirit.¹⁰ Ecclesiology must always be understood from the perspective of the Trinity, since God in his relation to the world acts always as one. An essential function of the Spirit in God's economy is the induction of the *eschaton* into history (Acts 2.17) which creates a communion of people united with God and with each other (Acts 2.41f.), baptized into Christ through repentance and participating in the Banquet of the Kingdom anticipated already, here and now, in the eucharistic community. From this perspective the ministry of the Church and ordination to this ministry, although it must be understood from a Christological standpoint, cannot ignore its relational, and therefore, communal nature as an event which reveals the eschatological involvement of God in history.

If the prevailing notion of ecclesiology is "communion,"¹¹ how can we understand the action of ordination through which a member of the Church is set apart for a particular ministry? Is not an act of dividing the communion into orders creating special classes of people within the Church? Does ordination give a certain objective grace ontologically possessed by the ordained person or is it simply a commission to function in a certain way on behalf of Christ or the Church? Theology needs to transcend the "ontological" and the "functional" definitions of the meaning of ordination which force us to perceive ordination in the light of division and "classification" within the Church or in the light of "non-hierarchical" (or even anti-hierarchical) organization in which efficiency in church life becomes the primary *raison d'être* of ordination. This is possible only if we seek to understand ordination through the notion of "communion."

¹⁰This is a basic thesis that he advances in all his articles which refer to ecclesiology and the structure of the Church: John D. Zizioulas, "The Pneumatological Dimension of the Church" in *Communion/International Catholic Review*, 1 (1974) 144; idem., "Christology—Pneumatology and Ecclesial Institutions," a mimeographed unpublished paper, p. 4. For another Orthodox view, see Nikos Nissiotis, "Pneumatological Christology as a Presupposition of Ecclesiology," *Oecumenica*, 280/9 (1967) 235-52. For a patristic defense of pneumatic Christology, see Boris Bobrinskoy, "The Indwelling of the Spirit in Christ—'Pneumatic Christology' in the Cappadocian Fathers," *St. Vladimir's Theological Quarterly*, 28 (1984) 49-60; Fr. Congar also affirms Zizioulas' views that the Church was co-instituted by Christ and the Holy Spirit in *I Believe in the Holy Spirit* (New York, 1983) 2, p. 7; Fr. Kilmartin also states, "The Spirit Christology of the New Testament provides an indispensable starting point for a better appreciation of Christ in terms of personality which involves an identity of being *in and by communion*. Hence, it opens the way to a more profound grasp of the nature of the continuity between Christ and the Church," "A Modern Approach," p. 67.

¹¹Olivier Clement, "Orthodox Ecclesiology as an Ecclesiology of Communion," *One in Christ*, 6 (1970) 101-22. Zizioulas' conception of ecclesiology is an ecclesiology of communion as this is realized in the eucharist. This is especially emphasized in his article, "The New Man, An Orthodox and Reform Dialogue, ed. J. Meyendorff and J. McKelland (New Brunswick, 1975), pp. 107-31. For other views, see D. Bonhoeffer, *The Communion of Saints* (New York, 1963); J. Hammer, *The Church is a Communion* (New York, 1964). Y. Congar also develops the idea that the Church in its ultimate reality is a

Ordination as an act of the Holy Spirit cannot be a dividing factor in the life of the Church although the Holy Spirit in his capacity as the distributor of the charismata is called dividing (*διαροῦν*, 1 Cor 12.11). This paradox can only be solved through a careful study of chapters 12 and 13 of 1 Corinthians where Paul speaks of the charismata distributed by the Holy Spirit in the Church. It is here, Zizioulas believes, that “all the charismata (and, therefore, all of the ministries) in the Church are defined . . . not in themselves but as absolutely relational notions.”¹² A real charisma of the Holy Spirit, in this context, is the one that relates itself both to the other charismata and to the Body of Christ through the notion of love that Paul develops in chapter 13 of the same epistle.

If we try to understand ordination through the notion of love, then it is almost impossible to say whether ordination bestows an objective grace ontologically possessed by the ordained person or simply delegates authority to function in a certain way in the life of the Church. These options presuppose that it is possible to conceive the ordained person as an individual apart from or above the community. But in the light of love and communion the state of existence of the ordained person is determined not by ontology or function but by communion, which makes him an absolute relational entity.¹³

If the ordained person is a relational entity, it means that ordination in the light of communion must necessarily commit the ordained person to a concrete community of human beings and therefore we cannot have ordination *in absoluto*.¹⁴ This is also evident in the episcopal rite of ordination of the Orthodox Church which presupposes and requires the existence of a concrete community which the ordained bishop will serve. The canon 6 of the Synod of Chalcedon (451) declares “null and void” the ordination of a priest or deacon without having a local community assigned to him.

The question now is raised: What does this view of ordination mean for the hierarchical structure of the Church as it is witnessed in our respective traditions? Zizioulas affirms that “in the Body of Christ only Christ is ‘all in all’; the members of the Body are ‘ordained’ to a specific ministry.”¹⁵ However, all the “specific ministries” are equal in value

fellowship of persons in his book, *Lay People in the Church* (Westminster, Md., 1965), pp. 28-58. For an evaluation of this ecclesiology of communion, see Avery Dulles, *Models of the Church* (New York, 1978), pp. 51-66.

¹²John D. Zizioulas, “Ordination and Communion,” *Study Encounter* 6 (1970) 191.

¹³Ibid., p. 190.

¹⁴Ibid. This is also supported by Edward Schillebeeckx, *Ministry, Leadership in the Community of Jesus Christ* (New York, 1981), p. 38.

¹⁵John Zizioulas, “Ordination and Communion,” p. 191.

and importance for the life of the Church. But the very fact of the existence of many specific ministries in the life of the Church introduces as inevitable the notion of hierarchy in ministry which is usually connected with a classification established with the help of objective criteria of value. The meaning of the notion of hierarchy in the ministry of the Church must be derived from trinitarian theology and particularly from the specificity of each divine Person which does not destroy the notion of communion and love in their relationship to each other.¹⁶ In this context the role of the bishop is to safeguard the unity of his community from any divisions that may occur because of the multiplicity of ministries. Thus the authority of the bishop is derived from the existential relevance that his office has for the unity of the Church. Even his "exclusive" privilege to ordain ministers is founded not on his individual qualifications but on his role as the president of the eucharistic community apart from which he cannot exercise this right.¹⁷ Ordination therefore is a divine act of distributing the ministry of Christ within the united Church as it is particularly realized in the eucharistic celebration.

Here we must be careful not to assume that the community precedes the individual ordination in a sense of causality. Quite the contrary, the particular charismata (ministries) do not follow the existence of the Body of Christ but are constitutive of it. This can be derived from a careful study of 1 Corinthians 12 in which it is indicated that the Body of Christ (the Church) is constituted and defined by the concrete charismata of the Holy Spirit. In this sense ordination is a primordial and constitutive act of the Christian community.¹⁸ It is, therefore, a mistake to believe that the lay members of the Church are "non-ordained." The laity, through baptism and confirmation, are ordained in their own charismatic ministry within the Church and they do not "represent a morally lower or a generically general and 'prior' kind of charismatic existence but rather exist together with the other orders." Thus we must approach the difference between the lay persons and the "ordained" in terms of a

¹⁶On this point almost all Orthodox theologians would agree that the structure of the Church must reflect the relation of love and communion of the Persons of the Trinity. See Johannes Panagopoulos, "An Orthodox Study of Ministerial Office," *Journal of Ecumenical Studies*, 4/1 (1967) 31; Megas Pharanton, "On the Priesthood" in his book *Δογματικά καὶ ἡθικά* (Athens, 1983); John D. Zizioulas, "Ordination and Communion," p. 191; Olivier Clement, "Orthodox Ecclesiology as an Ecclesiology of Communion," *One in Christ*, 6 (1970) 107.

¹⁷John D. Zizioulas, "Apostolic Continuity and Orthodox Theology: Towards a Synthesis of Two Perspectives," *St. Vladimir's Theological Quarterly* (1975) 107.

¹⁸John D. Zizioulas, "Is Ordination a Sacrament?," p. 36.

specificity of relationship within the Church¹⁹ which means that ordination affects the being of man not in an “ontological” or “functional” way but in a personal manner with eschatological implications for his being in God’s Kingdom since God will recognize his people through their personhood and not their ontological substance.

Within the context of ecclesiology as communion we have affirmed that the bishop derives his authority from the role that he plays in the life of the Church as the visible expression of its unity and catholicity, as this is particularly realized in the celebration of the eucharist in which he presides. It is not, therefore, the office of the bishop as such that carries within itself and apart from the community the qualification of apostolic succession whose uninterrupted proof of continuity determines the ecclesial reality of any Christian community, but it is the local community whose apostolic succession is reflected by the bishop as the president of its eucharist.²⁰ Thus apostolic succession must be understood in terms of a charismatic identity of the communities (through their heads) in time and space. This can only be understood if we accept the attribute of the full catholicity of the local church as the link through which the post-apostolic Church understood its unity and its continuity with the departed apostolic generation.²¹ This reality was safeguarded by the ministry of *episkepe* in the local church whose essential function was the offering of the eucharist and the administration of the local community.

¹⁹Ibid., p. 37. Bernard Cooke, referring to those entrusted with liturgical leadership as members of the presbyterate, writes: “Those who belong to this special ministry group are not more priestly than other Christians, but they are called to give special sacramental expression to Christ’s priestly action of Passover so that the entire community can celebrate more authentically and fully its priestly character,” *Ministry to Word and Sacraments* (Philadelphia, 1976), p. 645.

²⁰This view is derived from the eschatological conception of apostolic succession that Zizioulas advances in his articles: “Apostolic Continuity and Orthodox Theology: Towards a Synthesis of Two Perspectives,” *St. Vladimir’s Theological Quarterly* (1975) 75-108; and *Δύο ἀρχαῖα παραδόσεις περὶ ἀποστολικῆς διαδοχῆς καὶ ἡ σημασία των* (Athens, 1981). From a Roman Catholic perspective, see Johannes Remmers, “Apostolic Succession: An Attribute of the Whole Church,” *Concilium* 34 (1968) 36-51; Hans Küng, “What is the Essence of Apostolic Succession,” *Concilium* 34 (1968) 28-35; and Y. Congar, *Ministères et Communion Ecclésiale* (Paris, 1971) 51-94.

²¹For this, see the important articles of John Zizioulas, “The Eucharistic Community and the Catholicity of the Church,” *The New Man, An Orthodox and Reform Dialogue*, ed. J. Meyendorff and J. McKelland (New Brunswick, N.J., 1975), pp. 107-31; and idem., “The Local Church in a Eucharistic Perspective—An Orthodox Contribution,” *In Each Place. Towards a Fellowship of Local Churches Truly United* (Geneva, 1979), p. 33.

It is Ignatios who is the first one among his contemporaries to single out the bishop from the collective whole of “*presbyteroi*” or “*episkopoi*” as a ministry in itself and thus leads us from *episkepe* to *episkopos*. This became possible because the eucharistic community was understood as the portrayer of the Kingdom of God on earth and naturally it led to the conviction that the structure of the eucharistic communion reflects the “heavenly” or ultimate structure of the world in which God reigns. Thus, Zizioulas points out, the president of the eucharistic community who “sits in the place of God” and is surrounded by presbyters (who represent the apostles sitting on their eschatological thrones) passes ultimate judgment on every matter pertaining to the Church.²² Here let us point out Zizioulas’ historical judgment, with which John Meyendorff seems to agree, that it is wrong to attribute to Ignatios the development of monarchical episcopacy. “There are many passages in his writings which show that the bishop is inconceivable apart from the *presbyters* who are united with him ‘as the strings are to the musical instruments’ (Eph 4.1) (cf. Philad 4. ‘*episkopos hama to presbyterio*’); and above all apart from the *community* (Magis 6.1; Eph 1.3; Tral 1.1; Sm 8, etc.). There is nothing ‘monarchical’ about an office which can function only on the condition that it exists in harmony with the other ministries.”²³

Whatever authority Ignatios gives to the bishop is derived from his eschatological significance in the eucharist. From this perspective the ministry of the bishop is constitutive of the Church if we accept the thesis of Meyendorff that “only those ‘structures’ of the Church are truly necessary which have an eschatological dimension”²⁴ and that “. . . it is through the eucharist that one discovers what in church structure is truly eschatological and therefore necessary for the Church to be the Church.”²⁵ Developing the Ignatian tradition of church

²² John Zizioulas, “Episkepe and Episkopos in the Early Church—A Brief Survey of the Evidence,” *Episkepe and Episcopate in Ecumenical Perspective*, Faith and Order Paper 102 (Geneva, 1979), p. 33.

²³ Ibid. John Meyendorff, “Church and Ministry,” in *Catholicity and the Church* (New York, 1983), p. 54.

²⁴ John Meyendorff, “The Unity of the Church and the Unity of Mankind” in *Living Tradition* (New York, 1973), p. 145.

²⁵ Ibid. Boris Bobrinskoy states: “Only on the basis of the eucharistic nature of the Church is it possible to comprehend the role and proper nature of the ministry (and of the laity) in the life of the ecclesial community. The eucharist, as the primary and constitutive fact of the Church, determines the priestly ministry. It is inseparable from the communitarian actuality of the Church, from the people as a whole in the eschatological community”; “How Can We Arrive at a Theological and Practical, Mutual Recognition of Ministries?” *Concilium* 74 (1972) 64. See also Sergius Bulgakov, “The Hierarchy and the Sacraments,” *The Ministry and the Sacraments*, ed. Robert Dunkerley (London, 1937), p. 107.

structure and authority Hippolytus in his *Apostolic Tradition* gives us a clear definition of the contents of episcopacy as it was understood by the post-apostolic Church. Hippolytus affirmed that the bishop is ordained primarily to celebrate the eucharist and to ordain to the ministry while the function of the presbyter is to teach and administer the people. The bishop is to the community *alter Christus* and *alter apostolus* but the presbyters collectively and together with the bishop continue to exercise the ‘apostolic’ functions: governing, teaching and judging.²⁶ However, the emergence and the establishment of the parish as a eucharistic community presided over by a presbyter without the presence of the bishop suggested that the bishop and the presbyter do not differ at all from the point of view of the eucharistic function. This created a multitude of problems for the theology of the episkope that continue to date to be unresolved.

The presbyteral celebration of the eucharist implied that the bishops gave up what we called the Christological aspect of episkope (presiding over the eucharist) from which all their authority in the life of the Church was derived. For this reason conscious efforts were made to derive the authority of the bishops from other functions (administration, teaching) which previously were executed by the presbyters. Zizioulas states that “by giving the presbyter the function which belonged originally to the bishop, the Church turns him into a bishop and thus loses the presbyter.”²⁷ In his view, the entire structure of the local church suffered a “destruction and disintegration” because the image of the Church as a community in which *all* orders are necessary as its *constitutive* elements was destroyed and the understanding of the bishop was radically changed from a eucharistic president to a church bureaucrat. However, the churches were reluctant to forget that it is the bishop who presides over the eucharist of his church and therefore in the West the practice of *Fermentum* was devised while in the East the name of the bishop must be mentioned aloud right at the *anaphora* and the priest must

²⁶John D. Zizioulas, “Episkope and Episkopos in the Early Church,” p. 35. This tradition appears in the Lima document on Ministry and, more specifically, in the descriptions of the functions of bishops, presbyters, and deacons. It is stated there that the function of the bishops is to preach the Word, *preside at the sacraments*, and administer discipline in such a way as to be representative pastoral ministers of oversight, continuity, and unity in the Church (M29). As far as the presbyters are concerned, they are described as the ones who serve as *pastoral ministers of Word and sacraments in local eucharistic communities*. Here we note that only the bishop is described as the president of the sacraments, and the presbyter is described as the pastoral minister of Word and sacrament.

²⁷John D. Zizioulas, “Episkope and Episkopos in the Early Church,” p. 39. See also on this issue his article, “The Local Church in a Eucharistic Perspective—An Orthodox Contribution,” *In Each Place—Towards a Fellowship of Local Churches Truly United*, (Geneva, 1977), pp. 50-61.

celebrate the eucharist upon a piece of linen (the antimension) which bears the signature of the bishop. But all these devices lose their significance if we are unable to recover the christological aspect of episcopacy and when the bishop is the administrator of a huge diocese without, or even with, rare, pastoral and liturgical contact with God's people.

It is to be noted that both East and West do not have a satisfactory definition of the ecclesiological status of the parish. In Orthodox tradition, the local church is the episcopal diocese and not the parish because it is the bishop and not the presbyter who guarantees the ecclesiological nature of the local church.²⁸ Yet the view contradicts the basic Orthodox position which states that whenever the eucharist is celebrated the full catholicity of the local church is fully realized.²⁹ From this ecclesiological rupture, it is hoped that Orthodoxy may eventually recover its essential truth that a local community can be called *ecclesia* if it includes the lay persons of all cultural, linguistic, social, and racial backgrounds living in that place and when all the other orders of the Church are constitutive elements of this community. It is clear that this image of the local church desires the creation of small dioceses in which the bishop will be known to his people more as their father and the president of the eucharist and less as a church bureaucrat. It is also hoped that the collegial function of the presbyters may be recovered as a consultative body of ordained people who, together with the bishop, minister to the historical and eschatological needs of Christ's Church. How small should the diocese be? This must be left to the conscience of the Church but let us not forget that when Gregory the "Thaumaturgus" became bishop of Neocaesaria he had only seventeen faithful in his diocese.

Professor Zizioulas, through historical evidence, has proved that in the catholic tradition of the Church, despite the "classical" understanding of apostolic succession as a linear historical transmission of ministry from God through Christ to the Apostles and finally to the bishops, there is another view of apostolic succession which holds that the ministry of the Church, instead of being historically transmitted, is iconically portrayed in the eucharist. This latter view, he believes, is more consistent with the theology of the Church as communion, the catholicity of the local church and the function of the bishop as the visible expression of the Church's unity. From this perspective even the universal unity of the Church must be understood through the

²⁸John D. Zizioulas, "The Local Church in a Eucharistic Perspective," p. 34. For another Orthodox view, see Stanley Harakas, "The Local Church," *The Ecumenical Review* 29 (1977) 141-53.

²⁹John D. Zizioulas, "The Eucharistic Community and the Catholicity of the Church," pp. 107-31.

catholicity and the unity of the local church. It is my belief that Zizioulas' views on apostolic succession must be taken seriously especially since the linear uninterrupted apostolic succession of episcopacy as it was developed by Clement (1 Clement 42) is perceived by modern historians to be an "overly simplified history"³⁰ of the Church's ministry whose primary purpose was to affirm the continuity of the Church with previous historical events of salvation upon which the mission of the Church in the world is founded. Zizioulas believes that this "historical" understanding of apostolic succession can be complemented with the "eschatological" view that he described.³¹ This will mean that not only the bishop, but the presbyters and the people of God at large united in the eucharist, are the legitimate successors of the apostolic Church.³² In this context apostolic succession is not only the transmission of ministerial responsibilities but continuity in the permanent characteristics of the Church of the Apostles: "witness to the apostolic faith, proclamation of the Gospel, celebration of baptism and the eucharist, the transmission of ministerial responsibilities, communion in prayer, love, joy and suffering, service to the sick and the needy, unity among the local churches and sharing the gifts which the Lord has given to each."³³ This, from an ecumenical perspective, means that a Christian community which lacks what we called "historical" apostolic succession but, in its eucharistic gathering reflects the eschatological structure of God's Kingdom and lives according to the apostolic faith and tradition, cannot be easily dismissed as lacking the essentials of an ecclesial reality. For this reason any discussion about the mutual

³⁰ Raymond E. Brown, "A Brief Survey of the New Testament Evidence on Episkope and Episkopos" in *Faith and Order Paper 102*, p. 29. Avery Dulles also states: "The popular impression that the Twelve ordained bishops to take their place is, at best, an oversimplification. The view that bishops in the Catholic Church have orders stemming without interruption from the Twelve probably cannot be disproved but it seems highly improbable in the light of the available historical evidence," "Successio Apostolorum—Successio Prophetarum—Successio Doctorum," *Concilium* 148 (1981) 65.

³¹ John D. Zizioulas, "Apostolic Continuity and Orthodox Theology," *Δύο ἀρχαῖαι παραδόσεις*, pp. 75-108.

³² John D. Zizioulas, *Δύο ἀρχαῖαι παραδόσεις*, p. 28. This view is also supported by Sergius Boulgakoff who writes: "The Church is also called *apostolic*, not only because it has the apostolic succession of episcopal ordination, but also with reference to the whole fullness of apostolic tradition. And apostolic succession in this later sense applies to the *whole* Church and not only to the hierarchy, just as pentecostal gifts were given not to the apostolic hierarchy alone, but to the whole body of the Church," "Sacraments and Hierarch," p. 97.

³³ Lima Document on Ministry, par. 34.

³⁴ This I believe is the general position of the Orthodox Church on the issue of the mutual recognition of ministries within a united Church. For this reason the study project of the Faith and Order Commission on the Common Expression of the Apostolic Faith is of paramount importance for the advance of ecumenism.

recognition of ministries must be based on a broader consensus about the nature of the Church and its faithfulness to the apostolic tradition.³⁴

Finally, Zizioulas, after he has proven the essential importance of episcopacy for the life of the Church, asserts that “we must not venerate history in a conservative manner”³⁵ because the “Holy Spirit can point to new ways at different times.”³⁶ This means that the churches are free to experiment with new ministries, however, without destroying the spirit of communion and unity that must prevail in the Church. But all these experimentations with new ministries must be governed and limited by the awareness that “the early Church did not plan its ministries primarily according to the needs of the time but mainly according to the vision it held of the eschatological nature of the Church which was taken seriously at that time.”³⁷ What does this mean for ecumenism? Should we begin a debate on eschatology and on the nature of God’s Kingdom and then try to see how the ecclesial structures of the divided churches are images of this eschatological community? Would this be an adequate criterion for recognizing the ministries of other churches provided that we have reached a consensus on the nature and contents of the apostolic faith?

³⁴This I believe is the general position of the Orthodox Church on the issue of the mutual recognition of ministries within a united Church. For this reason the study project of the Faith and Order Commission on the Common Expression of the Apostolic Faith is of paramount importance for the advance of ecumenism.

³⁵John D. Zizioulas, “Episkope and Episkopos in the Early Church,” p. 41.

³⁶Ibid.

³⁷Ibid., p. 42.



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The Significance and Status of BEM in the Ecumenical Movement

ARCHBISHOP KIRILL

SEVENTY—FIVE YEARS have passed since the Edinburg Conference and sixty-five since the Geneva Preparatory Conference where the Orthodox participation in the ecumenical movement was started, but one may still hear an opinion that ecumenism belongs to the sphere of external church relations. The Lima document is particularly significant because it leaves no doubts about the interconnection between ecumenical relations among churches and their inner life. The clearer the churches comprehend this intrinsic meaning of ecumenism, the less ecumenism will resemble “foreign policy of the churches” and the more it will be inspired by theological, pastoral and missionary preconditions as well as by those of diakonia dictated by real needs of the churches which perform their ministry in the modern world.

These preliminary remarks give us ground to speak about the significance and status of BEM for the ecumenical movement and for the Orthodox Churches, for their inner life. The latter is the reason for analyzing the Lima document. This analysis does not claim to be complete and is not an official response of my Church.

1. Almost eight years separate Accra (1974) from Lima (1982) and they bear witness to quite successful activities of the Faith and Order Commission and—what is more important—to the growing ability of churches to carry on multilateral theological dialogue. As a result of the immense work done in this period of time the second version of the agreed theological document on Baptism, Eucharist and Ministry appeared. Undoubtedly, this document, in comparison with the previous one, is a substantial step forward along the way to the common expression of the apostolic Tradition and the faith of the early undivided Church. The Lima document shows the higher level of agreement

reached by a group which consisted of over one hundred theologians who represented practically all major confessions and the most important trends in contemporary Christian theology. This growth of consent confirms the right direction taken by the Faith and Order Commission in its work which is aimed at the achievement of theological agreements on the most important questions of Christian faith as well as the effectiveness of the chosen method.¹

2. The Lima document has a well-defined and well-thought-out structure. The main text contains the agreed material, while the questions on which convergence has not been achieved are italicized in the form of commentaries. The tone and manner of exposition are positive. There are no imposed averments, nor edifications concerning the theology and practice of this or that church. A manner of expounding the differences should be noted in particular for its tactfulness and respect for the traditions of churches making this part of the paper a remarkable example of how differences may be discussed and compared ecumenically. Deserving attention is the method of using biblical texts and the reference to the Tradition and liturgical practice of the early Church. It should be noted that the text would have been even more convincing if these references were based on the appropriate patristic assertions. The laconic phrases of the precisely clear exposition reveal the heart of the problems connected with mutual recognition of Baptism, Eucharist and Ministry. One can see the immense work behind every line of the agreed text, the work which took in reflections, research and discussions in the churches which found their expression in the collective wisdom of the members of the Faith and Order Commission.

3. I would like to make a general positive remark and to mention the significance of the distinction made in the Preface between theological convergence and true consensus in faith. This distinction leads to the correct understanding of the unity which is based not on the theological formulations, but on the unity in faith, sacramental life, spiritual experience, witness and service.

“The faith of the church throughout the centuries” rather than a confessional criterion suggested for the evaluation of the document also deserves appreciation. If we understand under this faith the faith of the early undivided Church, it means a very correct methodological step to further improvement of the agreement on Baptism, Eucharist and Ministry.

¹ A tendency to reach theological consensus on Baptism, Eucharist and Ministry found a positive evaluation in the report of the Holy Synod Commission on Christian Unity and Interchurch Relations (1977) which was an official response of the Russian Orthodox Church to the Accra document

4. The Lima document stands out among common ecumenical documents for many reasons. First of all, it touches upon the problems which are the focus of the theological differences and makes an attempt to reach an agreement on the most important questions of faith. The reception of this document by the churches presupposes actions with decisive consequences for their inner life. Secondly, the importance of the document is increased by the fact that it has been unanimously received by a group of theologians who formally represent their churches in the Faith and Order Commission. And thirdly, it was composed and accepted by the representatives of practically all Christian confessions including those which do not belong to the WCC but are nevertheless members of the Faith and Order Commission. In other words, *the BEM document reflects a very high degree of agreement reached on important questions of faith among the widest possible range of ecumenical audiences with official representatives.*

5. All this gives a special authority to the text and calls for thorough attention and respect for it. Yet, in spite of all the importance of the BEM document it is quite clear that it is not a "consensus" on Baptism, Eucharist and Ministry, i.e., it does not reflect full doctrinal agreement. The text is a declaration with an exposition of convergence reached by a group of theologians, but not a declaration of the churches. The agreement does not embrace all problems which exist among the churches on questions of Baptism, Eucharist and Ministry. Implied is an interim provisional character of the Lima statement which serves as a basis for a new theological agreement at a higher level. One may only hope that a new statement would embody responses from the churches to the Lima text and cover all problems which are still not agreed upon. Here I would like to recall a statement from the Preface that consensus is understood as "experience of life and articulation of faith necessary to realize and maintain the Church's visible unity . . . Full consensus can only be proclaimed after the churches reach the point of living and acting together in unity." In light of this statement the Lima document looks like an important link in the chain of the complex process of the churches' consensus on Baptism, Eucharist and Ministry, a process which implies not only theological agreements and verbal overcoming of differences but also an appropriate internal development in the churches which would heal dissensions and bring about genuine consensus.

As to the status of the Lima document, it should be emphasized that regardless of its special authority and significance for the ecumenical movement it has the same status as any other theological agreement reached in the framework of the WCC clearly defined by the principles of the Toronto Declaration and cannot have any other

in virtue of the World Council of Churches' nature. In other words, the Lima agreement has no ecclesiological status because neither the Faith and Order Commission nor the WCC can give such a status to it. An ecclesiological status may be given to such documents only by the churches themselves acting together or separately. Obviously, the latter mode of action is already now possible in principle. If this or that church sees an adequate expression of its faith in the Lima document, it can accept it using its innate valid procedure.² The ecclesiological status given to the document would have a significance only for this church. As to common reception of the doctrinal documents elaborated on the ecumenical basis by the churches as well as to an ecclesiological status given to them, such an action seems impossible in the WCC framework in principle, since the WCC does not have an ecclesiological reality by virtue of its nature and is just an instrument at the service of the churches striving to achieve unity. And if at one particular historical moment the churches undertake such an action, it would mean that the World Council of Churches ceased to exist and that the Ecumenical Council (Sobor) acts instead.

The lack of the ecclesiological status in no way diminishes the ecumenical significance of the BEM document. This lack only testifies to the reality of the WCC and the Faith and Order Commission.

6. At present the Lima document is being scrutinized and thoroughly analyzed along theological lines by many churches. It is understood that the results of this work would influence the process of its reception. This process has two aspects—external and internal—and it is very important to take both of them into account during theological consideration of the Lima text. When we speak about the internal aspect we mean a critical attitude to our own practice in the light of the provisions of the document which reflect the indubitable truth of the apostolic tradition and the norms of life of the early undivided Church.³ For many churches this document should become an impetus for the inner theological and liturgical renewal. The external aspect implies the continuation of common efforts undertaken for the solution of the yet unsolved theological problems and for the further growing together in one ecumenical fellowship. Let us consider these problems upon the solution of which the reception of the BEM document depends, as it seems, and which concern both external and internal aspects of the process.

² This mode of action cannot be used by the local Orthodox Churches, since they compose one Church and have no right to make separate decisions on the doctrinal questions which concern the Orthodox plenitude

³ This does not mean a literal repetition of the practice of the early Church, which is impossible in most cases, but a creative use of the norms of life and ministry of the undivided Church under present circumstances

Baptism

1. This part of the Lima text as well as that of the Accra document is characterized by a greater consent than others. Deserving deep appreciation are an approach to the problem of infant baptism and an openness to an idea of the unity of the three sacraments of initiation: baptism, chrismation and eucharist. Yet, this unity is not reflected in the document as explicitly as would be wished by the Orthodox who, on the one hand, assert a special meaning of each of the three sacraments and, on the other hand, emphasize the necessity of their sequence and perception as total for full initiation. Initiation cannot be considered complete if one of these sacraments is not administered. It is also known that the Orthodox strictly follow the sequence of these sacraments (baptism-chrismation-eucharist) having strong arguments for it which, unfortunately, were not properly reflected in the commentaries. That excludes an opportunity to give a proper evaluation to the Orthodox practice according to which infants are allowed to receive Holy Communion immediately after baptism and chrismation. Actually, it is this practice that most visibly shows the inner unity of the sacraments of initiation. Concerning the western practice of confirmation of children as teenagers and of giving Holy Communion after baptism but before confirmation which pursues the goals of catechizing and provides a personal contact of the initiated persons with their bishop, it is a less visible sign of the unity of the three sacraments. These differences pose serious questions to both sides. How can the Orthodox, while keeping the undoubtedly more correct practice, ensure proper catechization of children and form in them, when they reach the "age of consciousness," a sufficiently responsible attitude to participation in the sacramental life of the Church? And on the other hand, how could the West tie up the fully developed tradition of catechetical instruction with such a practice of initiation which would not shade the inner unity of the three sacraments?

2. The BEM formulations concerning chrismation should be defined more precisely in the future. While declaring that baptism is baptism in water and the Holy Spirit, the document establishes a link between the paschal mystery of death and resurrection and the Pentecostal gift in affirming that "baptism in its full meaning signifies and effects both" (14). Thus an exclusion of a special action through which the gifts of the Holy Spirit are given is allowed. This assertion does not give an answer to the question about the meaning of the passages in the Bible which tell us about the grace of the Holy Spirit descending on the baptized through the laying on of hands on them at the time of the Apostles (Acts 8.15-17) and does not take into account the testimony given by the Tradition of the early Church which had not

been argued until the sixteenth century.

3. Recognizing both the “baptism of infants” and the “baptism of believers,” the Lima document rightly emphasizes that they “take place in the Church as the community of faith” and that “the whole congregation reaffirms its faith in God and pledges itself to provide an environment of witness and service” for a baptized person (12). This assertion should be singled out particularly since it contains the truth which could serve as a real basis for mutual recognition of the validity of both forms of baptism and for stopping the practice of rebaptism. But at the same time this assertion contains a challenge for the Orthodox causing them to ponder over the existing practice critically. The same may be said about para. 16 which calls the churches to “guard themselves against the practice of apparently indiscriminate baptism and take more seriously their responsibility for the nurture of the baptized children.” Indeed, baptism belongs to the whole Church. It is not a private affair but that of the whole Christian community through which it renews its baptismal vows and takes upon itself responsibility for a baptized person. The importance of baptism was emphasized in the early Church by its celebration at the great feasts—Easter, Pentecost and Epiphany. Such practice corresponds to the very meaning of the sacrament. From the pastoral point of view it would seem very useful to restore this practice at least partly.⁴ Thus, for example, the adults could prepare themselves for baptism on special days through receiving the catechetical instruction, as was the case with the early Church. In this connection it would seem quite appropriate to reestablish the institution of catechumens. We have a reminder of it in the Litany of the Catechumens in the Orthodox liturgy and in a special order before baptism. In case of an adult’s conversion to the Church it would be more appropriate to perform an order for catechumens and to time baptism to one of the great feasts of the Church. The period of time between the order for catechumens and baptism may be used for the catechetical instruction. In this case it would be only proper to revive the Litany of the Catechumens in those churches which do not use it and thus to express a prayerful care of the congregation for those who prepare themselves for baptism. The very act of baptism performed in the liturgical assembly and combined with the eucharist would not be a private, but a common celebration involving the whole congregation in the renewal of its baptismal vows.

But a priest should keep in mind this communal dimension of the

⁴ Full restoration of this practice is impossible in many places because of the large number of baptisms, mainly infant baptisms. Some parishes of the Russian Orthodox Church have over ten baptisms a day. On Sundays this number increases considerably.

sacrament even with the existing practice of baptism. His duty is to remind all those present of their own baptism as well as of their responsibility for a baptized person, especially in the case of infant baptism which initiates the catechizing of a new member of the Church.

Eucharist

The Lima document on the Eucharist is a serious step forward in comparison with the Accra document. It is a happy attempt to reach an agreement while leaving behind all differences originated by Scholasticism, Reformation and Counterreformation. It may be asserted that there is the biblical and patristic approach in the paper, though it does not include direct quotations from the holy Fathers.

1. The section "The Eucharist as Anamnesis or Memorial of Christ" should be singled out. While stressing the uniqueness and unrepeatability of the sacrifice of Christ and all that he has accomplished in his incarnation, life, death, resurrection and ascension, the document warns against two delusions: on the one hand, against the thinking that the eucharist can be repeated or prolonged as that sacrifice and those events (8), and on the other hand, against the understanding of anamnesis as a mental recollection or a certain excursus into the past. In the eucharist memorial "Christ himself with all he has accomplished for us . . . is present . . . granting us communion with himself" (6). It is desirable that this important part of the text be more clear and convincing. It should speak explicitly about the action of the Holy Spirit and state clearly that *anamnesis is essentially inseparable from epiklesis*. The Holy Spirit in the eucharist actualizes that which Christ has performed once and forever. The eucharist exists as the sacrament of Christ himself and through it—by the power of the Holy Spirit—members of the Church are really incorporated into Christ and become co-participants in the history of salvation. The eucharist does not *show* this history (as it was and is interpreted by Orthodox upholders of the visual symbolism); it neither continues it, nor reminds of it, but in the sacramental anamnesis we really and truly become the co-participants in the history of salvation. The reality of the sacrament may exist only in the Holy Spirit. Therefore any separation of anamnesis from epiklesis as well as an attempt to bind both exclusively to certain moments of the sacrament (which means to separate them from each other) are inadmissible. The Lima document clearly avoids such separation (14). It would be desirable to have the text composed in such a way as to make this thought well emphasized and the action of the Holy Spirit clearly expounded in the section "Eucharist as Anamnesis . . . "

2. Commentary (8) invites "to review the old controversies about 'sacrifice' in the light of the biblical conception of memorial." The point

is in the concept of “propitiatory sacrifice” used in Catholic theology. This proposal should be welcomed. Yet it is quite important in this connection to analyze thoroughly the use of the term “sacrifice” by the holy Fathers (in *Adversus Haereses* by Saint Irenaios of Lyons, in the appropriate writings of Saint Cyril of Jerusalem, Saint Cyril of Alexandria and by the Fathers of the later period). On the other hand, a question should be posed: whether it is possible, in the light of the same biblical understanding of memorial, to call the eucharist “the sign of his sacrifice” (5), even though “the living and effective sign”? Is this term sufficient for the description of the reality which is revealed in the sacrament, the partaking of which is the central moment in the life of a Christian?

Practically the same may be said about para. 15 in which the bread and wine are called “the sacramental signs of Christ’s body and blood.” To what extent are such words allowed in the text which solemnly proclaims that “the Church confesses Christ’s real, living and active presence in the Eucharist” (13)?⁵ Such an unfortunate term as “sign” gives the impression of being a foreign body and its inclusion in the text contradicts both the logic and contents of the document and causes confusion with reason.

3. The Lima document leaves two questions unanswered. The first is mentioned in commentary (13), the second in para. 32. What is meant is the understanding of the reality of Christ’s presence in the bread and wine and the practice of reserving the consecrated elements after the sacrament. The manner of speaking about the existing differences should be encouraged. Yet, the very fact of these differences testifies the necessity of further efforts aimed at the elaboration of a fuller theological agreement.

4. The Lima document contains a positive tendency to establish a link between the eucharist and the Church (19), but from the Orthodox point of view it seems necessary to find a more resolute expression of this link. The believers receive baptism in order to become one body (1 Cor 12.13). When the Church celebrates the eucharist it becomes itself, realizing that which it is—the Body of Christ (1 Cor 10.17). *In the eucharist the Church is revealed as the sacramental image of Christ (τρόπος). In this sacramental image his God-man person exists and acts in the history beginning from Pentecost and ending with Parousia.* On the other hand, it may be said that the eucharist creates the Church,

⁵ The term “real presence” was not known in the patristic tradition. But this is no reason for avoiding its use in a dialogue with the non-Orthodox. Yet, in order to avoid ambiguity it would be helpful in the future to elaborate on a common ecumenical understanding of it or to find an adequate substitute for this term.

since it is in the eucharist that the Holy Spirit makes the Church the Body of Christ. Therefore the eucharist is called the sacrament of the Church. The Church will administer this sacrament until the end of its earthly pilgrimage.

Naturally, the eucharist as the sacrament of the Church implies the participation only of the church members in it. The catechumens were not allowed to stay at the eucharist in the early Church. They left the congregation after the reading of the holy Scriptures and the sermon. The penitents, i.e. those who fell away from the Church through their sins, did not participate in the eucharist either. The eucharist has always been received as a sacrament of communion, as a sacrament of the unity of the Church. On these grounds the Orthodox do not accept the practice of ecumenical intercommunion. There may be only communion in the eucharist, and any intercommunion which implies the participation of persons from outside is excluded by virtue of its nature. That is why the participation in the eucharist is preceded by the confession of faith which testifies to the doctrinal unity of thought of the members of the congregation. There could be no sacrament of the eucharist without unity in faith.

5. Differences in the theological understanding of the eucharist brought about a situation in the past when different churches did not give the same place in their liturgical practice to it: some celebrated it every day, others only on Sundays and on feast days, still others—once a month or even less frequently. The Lima document affirms that it is necessary to celebrate the eucharist “at least every Sunday” (31) and encourages every Christian to receive communion frequently. This assertion fully accords with the Orthodox view and poses serious questions the answers to which need a critical evaluation of the existing practice concerning Holy Communion both in the Orthodox and non-Orthodox churches. What is the meaning of the preparation for the Lord’s Supper? What place in this preparation is occupied by penitence and asceticism on the necessity of which the Orthodox East has always insisted referring to the warning of Saint Paul (1 Cor 11.27)? And on the other hand, how can we proclaim the central place of the eucharist in the life of the Church restricting ourselves only to the presence at its celebration and partaking of Holy Communion only several times a year? Those who adhere to this practice voluntarily excommunicate themselves from the Church and place themselves outside it, invoking, generally, “pious” arguments concerning the necessity of proper preparation. The early Church did not know such a practice of self-excommunication at least until the fourth to fifth centuries. Excommunicated from the eucharist were those who, having committed a sin, did not repent. Originally those were the so-called fallen persons, i.e.

those who could not bear the brunt and trials of persecutions and fell away from the Church.⁶ They composed a special group of believers—the penitents. They did not participate in the eucharist while preparing themselves for reconciliation with the community. This reconciliation has been always perceived by the church's conscience as a sacramental act. After receiving forgiveness the penitents came back to the eucharistic community, became its members again and regained the right to participate in the Lord's Supper. The holy sacrament of confession which exists in the Orthodox Church is the sacramental act through which a person who fell away from the eucharistic community through a sin reunites with it. This meaning is revealed in the prayer which is offered during the rite of confession: ". . . reconcile and unite him (her) unto thy holy Church, through Jesus Christ our Lord." Unfortunately, this church community dimension of the confession is supplanted in the consciousness of many Orthodox by a personal dimension. The sacrament is perceived as related exclusively to the person of the penitent and as a spiritual healing given only to him through the remission of sins. But as a sacrament of the reunion with the Church confession *heals the divisions in the community*, constantly recreating unity around the Lord's Table. In the modern practice of confession the Orthodox have two, rather widespread extremes. One consists in very rare administering of this sacrament. Mentioned here in the first place should be the ministers many of whom make their confession just one or two times a year. The other extremity finds its expression in the firmly rooted connection between confession and every participation in the eucharist. In the case of regular and frequent communion it leads to formalism, to the practice of receiving an absolution prayer. Thus confession becomes a kind of pass for those wishing to come to the holy chalice. Neither of these extremes facilitates eucharistic piety, i.e. the regular participation in the eucharist with the proper spiritual preparation. The Orthodox Churches face a great and difficult task: how, while encouraging the practice of frequent communion, to provide conditions for our contemporaries necessary for spiritual and moral preparation for the eucharist. It seems quite probable that this problem may be solved if the meaning and sense of the confession for the spiritual life of a believer and the whole community are restored in accordance with the norms of the early Church and if pastors adapt the unbroken principles of Christian asceticism to the conditions of the present times. In this field the Orthodox may render an invaluable service to other churches, thus promoting the correct implementation of the

⁶ Hermas in his "Shepherd" speaks about other transgressions which were strictly condemned in the early Christian communities

recommendations of the Lima document concerning frequent communion.

It should be added to the above-said that the theme of confession must find its worthy place in the ecumenical agreement on the Eucharist.

Ministry

This part of the Lima document is the largest in comparison with the other two. It considers the questions of ecclesiology, church order and practice which lie at the heart of the existing confessional differences. In spite of a remarkable progress in this field since the Accra meeting this part of the document is less agreed upon. Without going into positive aspects of the statement on Ministry we shall touch upon only major controversial problems the solution of which would determine perspectives of the process of reception.

1. The Lima document does not make a sufficiently clear distinction between the ministry of the people of God and the ordained ministry. Correctly affirming the roots of both in the unique priesthood of Christ (17), the text speaks very loosely about the nature of the difference between them.

2. It should also be noted that BEM does not sufficiently bring out the link of succession between the ministry of the Apostles and that of ordained ministers. An assertion that the ministry of ordained ministers is founded on the ministry of the Apostles (10) is general in character and does not explain the nature of the dependence of the former upon the latter. The elucidation of the meaning of this link seems principally important for the understanding of the nature of the ordained ministry. The document quite correctly affirms the uniqueness and unrepeatability of the ministry of the Apostles and the ordained ministers (10). Yet, while emphasizing the difference, it does not say anything about that which is common for both ministries. But this commonness exists and is conditioned by the very mission of the Apostles: they are witnesses of the resurrection (Lk 24.28) who received special power from the Holy Spirit and are called to bear their witness even "to the end of the earth" (Acts 1.8). The ministry of the witness could hardly be restricted to one generation of the eyewitnesses of the Resurrected. It was received by those to whom these eyewitnesses transmitted the right given to them by the Lord to be witnesses. These people may be called, according to Saint Paul, "apostles from men" (Gal 1.1), the apostles who became such through the mediation of the real witnesses of the Risen One. They could not convey the unrepeatable character of the witness of the eyewitnesses to their successors, but they committed their ministry to them, which is to preserve in the Church the very truth of the witness. Saint Paul shares his apostleship with Silvanus,

Timothy and Titus since they are also apostles, though “from men.”⁷ They differ from Saint Paul not in the scope of their ministry but in the extent of their personal authority. The Pastoral Epistles imply a practical identity of the apostolic activities of Paul and Timothy. Both perform two important ministries which compose the contents of the apostleship: mission and management of the organized communities.

Whatever the interpretation of the term “apostle” in the second century by the theologians,⁸ the very fact of the existence of this term testifies that the early Church saw a successive link between the ministry of the eyewitnesses of the Resurrected and the ministry in the Christian communities in the post-apostolic time.

To reflect this succession in the ecumenical statement on Ministry would mean to make a real major advance to the genuine agreement.

From here we should proceed to the very important question of the apostolic succession. The Lima document differentiates the apostolic Tradition of the Church from the succession of the apostolic ministry. This distinction is fair, because the apostolic Tradition means continuity in the permanent characteristics of the Church of the Apostles, including the ministry (commentary 34). Speaking about the realization of this continuity the Lima document affirms: “Within the Church the ordained ministry has a particular task of preserving and actualizing the apostolic faith” (35). Hence the conclusion: “The orderly transmission of the ordained ministry is therefore a powerful expression of the continuity of the Church throughout history” (35). Therefore “the succession of bishops became one of the ways . . . in which the apostolic Tradition of the Church was expressed (36). All these formulations should be welcomed, since they mark a major advance in the

⁷ Thus, in the Epistle to the Thessalonians, Saint Paul wrote that they might claim a certain authority and power as apostles of Christ (1 Th 2 6) “They” include not only Paul, but Silvanos and Timothy (1 Th 1 1, 2 Th 1 1) The name of Timothy is met together with an authoritative signature of Paul in the Epistle to the Philippians (Phil 1 1) The ministry itself rather than the appellation speaks of the apostleship of Saint Paul’s companions They were the preachers of Jesus Christ, the Son of God (2 Cor 1.19), and had received this ability from the Lord God animates them with the Spirit (2 Cor 3 3) They were “ambassadors for Christ, God making his appeal” through them (2 Cor 5 20) because they worked together with him (2 Cor 6 1) and were entrusted with the Gospel (1 Th 2 4) Paul sends his co-workers who share in his apostleship to different communities in order that they should replace him there and encourage steadfastness in the believers It is obvious from the Pastoral Epistles that the closer the time of Paul’s departure (2 Tim 4 6), the more important the ministry of his companions becomes and the more vividly it is narrated The Pastoral Epistles tell us about the extensive activities of Paul’s co-workers

⁸ As, for instance, in “The Didache” One of the controversial attempts to explain the term “apostle” as used in the second century was undertaken by A. Harnack See A. Harnack, *Prolegomena, Texte und Untersuchungen*, Bd 2, Heft 1-2, Leipzig, 1884, s. 112

agreement on the apostolic succession. Yet, according to the Lima document itself, “Among the issues that need to be worked on . . . that of the apostolic succession is of particular importance” (52). Indeed, the above-mentioned formulations do not solve the problem of the apostolic succession. Moreover, there is an impression that this problem cannot be solved on the level of the Lima document, since it is presented here along the pragmatical lines: the document emphasizes the *activities* of the ministers and speaks about the *task* of a minister “of preserving and actualizing the apostolic faith” (35). It becomes clear in this context why the Lima text avoids speaking of the episcopal succession as one of the guarantees of the continuity of the apostolic Tradition. Indeed, this guarantee can be given neither by the activities of the bishops, nor by their personal qualities, nor by their solution of “the task of preserving and actualizing” the faith. (There were heretics and people unworthy of their ministry among bishops.) The guarantee lies in the apostolic ministry itself, in its charisma. Therefore the problem of the apostolic succession should not be considered on the pragmatic and even less on the anthropological level, but on the ontological one. Apostolic succession is the truth in all its fullness and wholeness. The Church is the custodian of this Truth, the pillar and bulwark of it (1 Tim 3.15). The Truth cannot be either half- or semi-truth. The apostolic Tradition can only be integral. The ministry of the apostles is an ontological part of the Tradition. There is no whole without this part; there is no apostolic Tradition without the apostolic ministry. It would certainly be a mistake to affirm that only the succession of the apostolic ministry guarantees the wholeness and continuity of the Tradition and ensures the apostolic succession in the Church. It is ensured by the transmission of the apostolic faith and the distinctive characteristics of the apostolic Church, including Baptism, Eucharist and the apostolic Ministry. Distortion of the apostolic faith or loss of any of these characteristics (and not only these) severs the continuity and wholeness of the apostolic Tradition, in other words—disrupts the apostolic succession. As to the preserving of the continuity of the apostolic ministry, it is achieved by the continuity of ordinations performed by those who carry out this ministry, i.e. bishops. Episcopal succession is something more than a mere “sign” of the continuity of the apostolic Tradition (53); similarly the ordination performed by a bishop is not only a tribute to “the old Tradition which should be recognized and respected” (comm. 39).

This is the most important element of the apostolic Tradition conditioned by the very nature of the apostolic ministry: only those can be successors of the apostles who received the right to continue their ministry from the apostles—the eyewitnesses of the Resurrected. The

ordination performed by a bishop who stands in the consecutive line of the apostles' successors ensures the link between the ordained and the apostles, i.e. guarantees the receiving of the apostolic ministry. The ordaining bishop is, so to say, a mediator between the apostles—witnesses to the resurrection and the ordained person who receives the charisma of the apostolic ministry. The successive laying on of hands by bishops should not be understood as a mechanical transmission of the charisma. The Lima document correctly asserts that “it is the Risen Lord who is the true ordainer and bestows the gift” (39). Ordination is also the “invocation of the Holy Spirit—epiklesis” (41), implying “the absolute dependence on God for the outcome of the Church’s prayer” (42).

The manner in which the Lima document raises the question of the apostolic succession deserves high appreciation. It is necessary to give this important theme a worthy place in the ecumenical discussion in the immediate future and especially in the context of the search for “The Common Expression of the Apostolic Faith Today.”⁹

3. While recognizing special gifts of the Holy Spirit in the ordained minister (41, 42, 44)¹⁰ the Lima document at the same time avoids mentioning the sacramental character of this ministry. It is probably so because the BEM document does not consider the problem of sacraments at all. Speaking about Baptism, Eucharist and Ministry the document says nothing about the sacrament of the Church. This is the main omission, perhaps the weakest point in the whole document. This weakness becomes more tangible in the section “The Church and the Ordained Ministry” which totally lacks the sacramental-ecclesiological dimension. Without understanding the sacramental nature of the Church it is impossible to understand the sacramental character of the ordained ministry either, as witnessed by the Tradition of the early undivided Church. The same weakness may explain why the connection between Eucharist and Ministry is brought out so insufficiently. A very brief para. 14 and commentary on it say practically nothing about the nature of this connection. It seems absolutely necessary to give a thorough study to the theme of sacraments, because without an ecumenical agreement in this field the significance of the BEM

⁹ The question of “The Common Expression of the Apostolic Faith Today” is in essence a question of the wholeness, nondistortion and continuity of the apostolic Tradition in the life of the churches at present, i.e. a question of the apostolic succession. Dependent on the solution of this question is the mutual recognition of churches as true churches and the establishment of full communion between them which includes the recognition of ministries.

¹⁰ It would be appropriate here to use the expression “charism of an ordained minister” in accordance with the explanations given in para 7

document is lessened.

4. The Lima document suggests that the churches should undertake concrete steps for the sake of mutual recognition of ministries. Thus, churches without the episcopal succession are actually called on to recover it (53b). Churches which have preserved the episcopal succession are invited to recognize "both the apostolic content of the ordained ministry which exists in churches which have not maintained such succession and also the existence in these churches of a ministry of episkope in various forms" (53a). And here a question arises: how may such recognition be attained? The hierarchical structure of churches which did not preserve the episcopal succession after the sixteenth century has undergone certain changes which were often introduced with a view to adjust to new conditions and were explained by the testimonies from the New Testament understood in this or that way (cf. 19). But these changes were not realized in line with the apostolic Tradition of the Church, and this is the root of the problem. Such notions as "the apostolic content of the ordained ministry" and "episkope" are those from the apostolic Tradition. Out of the Tradition they lose their true meaning and significance and so they may have any meaning and any significance. There is no guarantee that the meaning and significance will not be changed on account of time, conditions of life and sometimes of theological opinions and tendencies. Even if mutual recognition of the ordained ministries were achieved today, it would be a fiction without a common faithfulness to the apostolic tradition, since already tomorrow it might be cancelled by a new understanding of the ministries or by a radically new practice. Are we not witnessing at present such a new understanding and such a radically new practice in the form of women's priesthood?¹¹ This invocation gives a convincing example of what could happen if a renewal of the church's life takes place outside the apostolic Tradition: it could lead to new divisions and nullify all efforts aimed at the restoration of unity. The same happened in the past and is happening in the present: ideals of renewal are opposed to the unity of the Church and the choice is made of the former. We see today how the aspirations of millions of Christians for unity and the substantial theological achievements in this field (as, for instance, the BEM document) are disrupted by the introduction of women's

¹¹The question of women's priesthood, i.e. of giving women a right to celebrate the eucharist should be separated from the problem of women's ministry in the church. The Orthodox should participate most actively in the solving of this problem. It seems important in this context to make a fresh study of the experience of the early Church which gave wide opportunities to women for participation in the life, ministry and witness of a Christian community, and to make a critical evaluation of the church's practice in the light of this experience.

priesthood.¹² And what comes next? What is the sense of agreements if in the future they could be reappraised and reinterpreted separately with ensuing radical practical steps which might break the church's unity? We should strive for doctrinal agreements and aspire for mutual recognition only when the churches agree to use one, common criterion of evaluating the church's life and the efforts undertaken for the sake of unity. The Tradition of the early undivided Church of the times of the Seven Ecumenical Synods may be the only criterion,¹³ because this Tradition witnesses to the experience of unity and the struggle for unity for which we are striving. An agreement on the unbroken normative significance of the Tradition of the Seven Ecumenical Synods would become a sure instrument for the achievement of unity and its preservation in the future. Common recognition by the churches of the principles and norms of this Tradition will make any doctrinal agreement real and sustainable—mutual recognition of the ordained ministry included. Moreover, this recognition would guard such agreements against their arbitrary interpretation and against any practical actions which may undermine their meaning for the unity of the Church. Concerning a proposal from para. 53a (to recognize the apostolic ministry and episkope in the churches which have not maintained the episcopal succession) it would be possible to accept it only on condition that the norms of the Tradition of the undivided Church be used. Using these norms, it would be possible to decide to what extent these churches have preserved the apostolic ministry and episkope and which further steps are necessary for the mutual recognition of the ordained ministry.¹⁴

5. The Lima document poses a question to the Orthodox which may be formulated as follows: to what extent does the modern practice of the ministry of bishops, presbyters and deacons allow the realization of their potential for the most effective witness of the Church in this world (25)? Indeed, how can the Orthodox who maintain the principles of conciliarity (sobornost) realize them today with greater effectiveness, showing in practice the unity of the episcopate, clergy and all believers

¹²Suffice it to mention the repeated appeals of the upholders of women's priesthood to introduce it in spite of all ecumenical arguments in order to realize the danger of this innovation for the search of Christian unity

¹³A reference to the Oriental Orthodox Churches (pre-Chalcedonian) usually made by the non-Orthodox opponents to the normative character of the time of the seven Ecumenical Synods is erroneous in essence. The Oriental Orthodox Churches, while not recognizing all these synods formally, practically share common Tradition with the Eastern Orthodox Churches. This was stated clearly at the Joint Consultation in Geneva in 1970.

¹⁴The same should be said about the acceptance of the episcopal succession by the churches which do not have it. This acceptance would have a decisive meaning for the unity of the Church if it is realized in accordance with the apostolic tradition and the norms of life of the undivided Church

in the solution of problems facing the Church? How may these principles be effectively developed on the Pan-Orthodox level and facilitate the overcoming of difficulties and misunderstandings which appeared as a result of the historical development of Orthodoxy? Finally, how far does the present content of these ministries with all their functions correspond to our knowledge about them derive from the history of the Church?¹⁵ Obviously, this list does not exhaust the questions which face the Orthodox in connection with the Lima statement on Ministry.

* * * * *

A person who is familiar with the BEM document does not have any doubts about its particular significance both for the ecumenical movement as a whole and for the churches which participate in it, including the Orthodox Churches. Despite controversial and unagreed parts, the Lima text is the most successful compared with previous attempts to reach an ecumenical agreement on the important doctrinal questions. Differences stated in the document show the reality of the divisions among churches rather than the weakness of the text. But the BEM document suggests methodology, terminology and formulations which provide an opportunity for the continuation of a constructive theological dialogue. In other words, the Lima document gives a good basis for further theological work within the churches and among them, including bilateral and multilateral conversations in the framework of the ecumenical movement.

The true meaning of the BEM document will be shown by life itself. If this document is able to bring about real changes in the theology and practice of the churches with the aim of reviving the norms of life of the early undivided Church and if, as a result of this revival, the churches come to a true consensus on Baptism, Eucharist and Ministry, then its historical mission will be fulfilled. But the real development does not depend on the Lima document or any other ecumenical document. It depends on the churches and their desire and ability to structure their life and to fulfill their ministry in such a way as to implement creatively the principles of life and ministry of the early undivided Church in conditions of the present time. The Orthodox have a lot to say in this regard, for, according to an outstanding Russian theologian, "the creative revival of the Orthodox world is a necessary condition for the solution of the 'ecumenical problem.' "¹⁶

¹⁵ Thus, for instance, the functions of deacons which at one time included administrative and charitable duties are reduced to assistance to a bishop or priest during divine services

¹⁶ Archpriest G. Florovsky, *Ways of Russian Theology*, Paris, 1937, p. 516.



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having been blurred by the impact of the other is to miss the meaning of iconography and to deny the universality and commonality of spiritual form that iconography reveals. This very same principle applies to hagiography.

The illustrations and plates in this book are superb, some being presented for the first time in print. The cover is a beautiful design (by Mary Vaporis) and enhances the general beauty of the book itself. Again, I must remark on the useful and excellent indices and addenda to the text. This is a provocative, controversial book which deserves attention and which will please some readers and displease others. I myself view it as an excellent source-work which presents an interesting challenge to the Orthodox thinker in particular.

Archimandrite Chrysostomos
St. Gregory Palamas Monastery

Treatise on Prayer. By Saint Symeon of Thessalonike. Trans. by H. L. N. Simmons. The Archbishop Iakovos Library of Ecclesiastical and Historical Sources, Number 9. Brookline: Hellenic College Press, 1984. Pp. 101. Index.

This is a very good translation of one of Saint Symeon's more important works. The book, unfortunately, does not retain the title of the saint's treatise as such (a liberty which I do not like taken in the translation of spiritual texts, since the Fathers often tell us much, simply in the manner in which they title a text), but a better translation and a better translator one would be hard-pressed to find. There are some flaws in the translation. At times the author has difficulty transforming adjectival sequences in the Greek into descriptive phrases that read easily in the English. And at least in one place, in dealing with the service of the "Elevation of the *Theotokos*," he misunderstands the text because of a lack of familiarity with the service, imagining the particle used in honor of the *Theotokos* to be a loaf of bread. But since this service is unknown except in monasteries, this is a lack of experience that he shares with many other scholars—in fact, I saw a Dumbarton Oaks monograph on the subject of this service to the *Theotokos* that treats this common monastic service as though it were a great oddity! Otherwise, the text is readable, fresh, free of some of the Latinisms that so often mar translations of the Greek Fathers, and quite true to the original Greek.

Dr. Simmons, formerly a lecturer at Hellenic College/Holy Cross Greek Orthodox School of Theology, is an Orthodox Christian, a

scholar of some repute in his native Australia, a well-known figure in Western European scholarship, and was recently a Visiting Scholar at the Harvard Divinity School. His attention to Saint Symeon, relatively recently glorified by the Ecumenical Patriarchate, is most welcome. This saint has long been venerated as a spiritual writer in the Greek Orthodox Church and has been widely used by Slavic Orthodox writers in commentaries on divine services. Saint Symeon's writings on the Church's services, as represented in the present volume, often contain information that is at odds with other writers, in terms of various details. However, he gives us most valuable insight into the liturgical life of his times and, of course, conveys to us that subtle patristic sense that is so necessary in understanding all aspects of the Church, from theology to liturgics.

Dr. Simmons has provided us with a rare book from the writings of a saint who should be better known to English-speaking scholars and to Orthodox in the West. I do hope that we see more of Simmons' work in the future.

Archimandrite Chrysostomos
St. Gregory Palamas Monastery

Pavel Florensky: A Metaphysics of Love. By Robert Slesinski. Foreword by John Meyendorff. Crestwood, New York: St. Vladimir's Seminary Press, 1984. Pp. 259. \$10.95, paper.

Fr. Robert Slesinski of the faculty of the John XXIII Institute for Eastern Christian Studies and holder of a doctorate in philosophy from the Pontifical Gregorian University in Rome has written a very important book on a very significant Russian Orthodox thinker that now makes an aspect of the latter's thinking available in some detail to English readers for the first time. Father Pavel Florensky (1882-1943?) exemplified in his person and in his speculative thought the spirit of the Russian religious renaissance before the Revolution of 1917. His *magnum opus*, *The Pillar and Foundation of Truth*, made a lasting impact on Russian religious thought and it is this work in particular that Father Slesinski utilizes to provide a critical and interpretative analysis of his experiential methodology, his antinomic theory of truth, and his controversial sophiological contribution. A priest-theologian who was also a distinguished mathematician and engineer, Pavel Florensky's work, in science as well as religious thought, has been duly recognized within and beyond the borders of Russia. Father Slesinski's monograph becomes the first of its kind in English and was produced on the occasion



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Reviews

G O T R 30 (85)

Valamo and its Message. Helsinki, Finland: Valamo-Eura, 1983. Pp. 287, 324 illustrations. Cloth.

Valamo and its Message is a handsome volume, richly illustrated with hundreds of plates of photographs, paintings, and drawings in black and white and color, many of them rare nineteenth-century products, which together result in a visual delight. This beautiful volume not only presents in words and pictures the rich and long history of the venerable monastery of Valamo, but many of its liturgical and iconographic treasures as well.

According to tradition, Valamo was founded by the Greek monk Sergios, who was followed by his Karelian convert Herman, on the islands in Lake Ladoga (present day Soviet Union). Since the founding in the middle of the twelfth century (the exact date is unknown and even the century is often disputed), Valamo has had an extraordinary history and has exercised an important influence on Orthodox missionary activity in northern Russia and beyond to Siberia and from there to Russian Alaska.

The present volume is a product of a collective effort among whose fourteen contributors is Archbishop Paul of Finland, best known in the United States for the English translation of his *The Faith We Hold*. Archbishop Paul authored "Phases in the Spiritual Life of Valamo," "The Path of Spiritual Wisdom," and "Recollections of Valamo's Last Days 1939-1949." Other chapters deal with the main monastery and its church, its twelve sketes, its icons and liturgical objects, its church singing, icon painting and restoration workshop, as well as with the present daily life of the monastery.

The Russian-Finnish War of 1940 resulted in the moving of the monastery to Finland where it has established itself and is once again a thriving institution. This extremely well designed and very informative book belongs in the library of all those interested in Orthodox monasticism, spirituality, and ecclesiastical arts.

N. M. Vaporis
Hellenic College/Holy Cross



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